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ISLAMIC CULTURE

THE HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

Edited by

MARMADUKE PICKTHAIL

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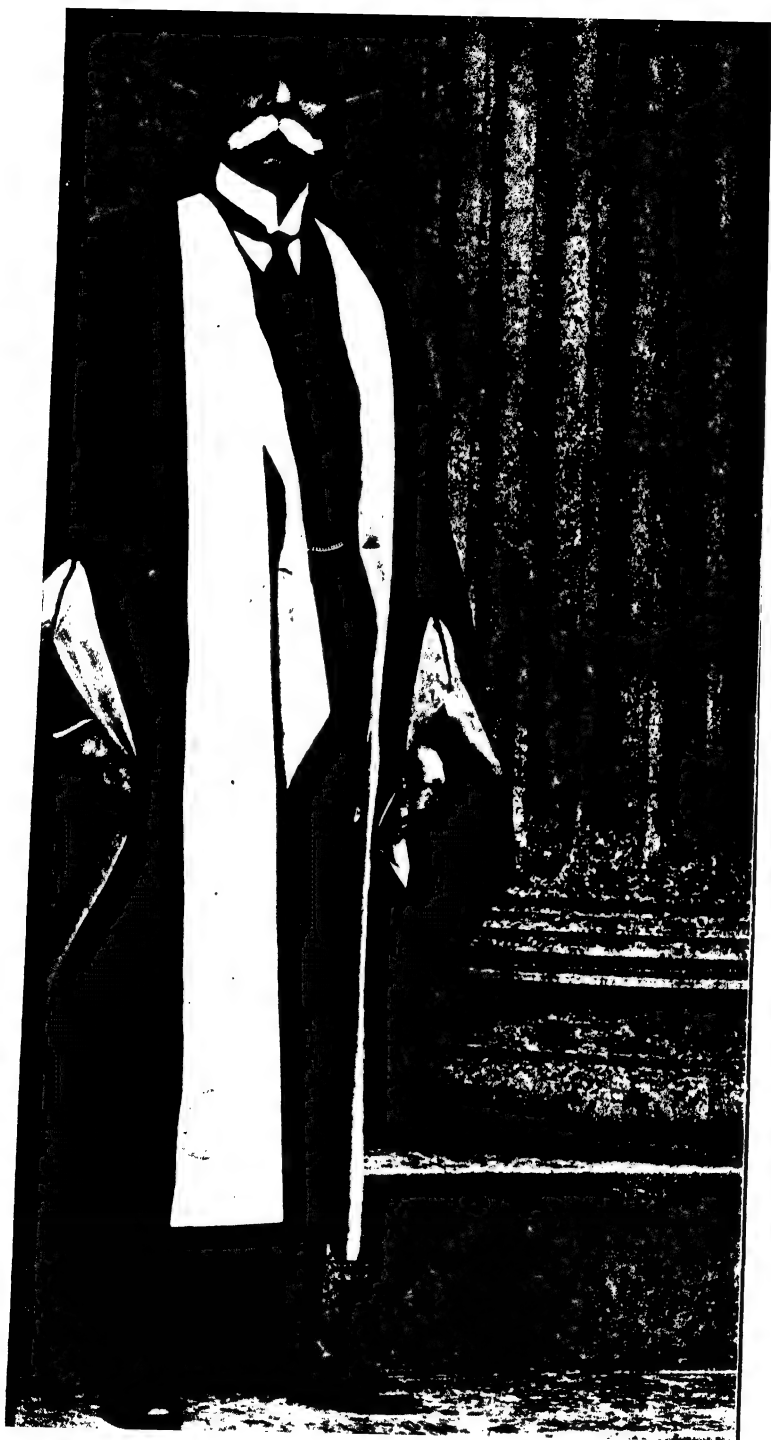
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MEMOIRS OF THE LATE RT. HON'BLE SYED AMEER ALI

STARTING LIFE.

(Continued from our last issue)

WHEN I arrived home at Hooghli I was struck with what appeared to be neglect on every side. The orchard, the big garden, and the flower-beds had lost their old charm. Perhaps the forlorn impression was due in part to a psychological change in me, as I had become accustomed to a wider outlook.

I received a warm welcome from my venerable friend the Mutawalli; he told me that he had my book on the life and teachings of the Prophet translated and read to him by his Munshi and was specially pleased with the Persian motto on the title page. Mr. Robert Thwaytes was equally kind in his welcome and gave the whole College a holiday next day. To me this was excessively gratifying, as the College had grown remarkably during the period I had been away in England.

I was enrolled as an advocate of the High Court in February 1873. Old Mr. Belchambers was then Registrar on the Original Side; he was a capable man and all the Judges relied on his knowledge and experience on questions affecting precedent and practice.

I ought to add here that the High Court was divided into two "sides", and so far as I know is still so divided. The "Original side" as the inheritor of the jurisdiction of the defunct Supreme Court, had absolute Judicial cognisance of all questions requiring determination within the technical boundaries of Calcutta, *i.e.*, the "Presidency Town". The "Appellate side" took cognisance of all cases arising outside of Calcutta in appeal from District and Sessions Courts. Barristers were sworn in before the Judge presiding on the "Original side" and the old Registrar was the *genius loci* on these occasions.

At that time the English contingent at the Calcutta Bar was very strong and was composed of able men.

Paul was the Advocate-General, my friend James Pitt Kennedy was standing Counsel; J.T. Woodroffe, who succeeded as Advocate-General, Branson, Evans, and T. D. Ingram, were outstanding figures. There were three Indian Barristers, W. T. Bonnerjee, a man of great ability, was the most prominent and successful among them. Monomohan Ghose's work was entirely criminal. Rao Tarukh Nath Palit, who was afterwards knighted for his munificence to the Calcutta University, had an excellent practice in the Mofussil. The English Barristers were most kind to me, in particular Thomas Dunbar Ingram and James Pitt Kennedy, both from the Emerald Isle. Ingram had made a name for himself as Anstey's junior in the great Wahabi case. Anstey, who was at the time a prominent member of the English Bar, went out to defend the accused with Ingram. The trial was held in the Mofussil before Prinsep, I.C.S., who afterwards became Judge of the High Court. Almost the whole of the accused were convicted and their property was confiscated.

What happened some years later left little doubt in my mind that the conviction was an error of justice. The very man who was instrumental in getting the accused convicted exerted himself in obtaining their release. The poor old Amcer Khan, convicted of waging war against the Queen, did not live long to enjoy his freedom. He was knocked down by a hackney carriage and I had, as the Divisional Magistrate, to give permission to the Commissioner of Police to allow the released man's funeral without a formal inquest. Ingram's speech in the defence of Amcer Khan was a masterly forensic effort.

I was a regular contributor to the "Observer", edited by Ingram, which was regarded as a powerful journal in Calcutta. This was of some assistance on commencing practice as I had rather an uphill task. I expected no backing and received none. The English solicitors looked upon me as an interloper; the Hindus frankly disliked me; whilst the Moslems considered me a renegade because of the English method of life I had acquired. I was determined, however, with the fullest trust in Divine help, to succeed in spite of all. I had sufficient success before 1874 was out to be able to clear off my brother's debts, and in 1875 to pay a flying visit of three weeks to England.

Shortly after I joined the Bar I was given a Reportership, which brought me experience as well as emolument.

At that time my friend C. C. Macrae, a brilliant barrister, was Clerk of the Crown and had charge of the Criminal Sessions on the Original side of the High Court. The work of assigning the cases of undefended prisoners lay within his province, and he assigned to me a case of murder of exceptional difficulty. A good-looking Brahman youth who worked in a Hindu family in Calcutta, and was privileged to go into the zenana apartments, was found one morning inside the house with his throat cut, and another youth was accused of the crime. I found some difficulty in unravelling the mystery. Whilst I was listening to the case for the prosecution, the Deputy Commissioner of Police came into the Court and gave me some information which furnished a clue to the whole story. I suspected that the murder of the boy was due to his familiarity with the young ladies of the house, and that it was committed by someone quite other than the boy who was accused of it. This youth was only a water-carrier and his life was not considered of much value. I defended him on these lines and was able to convince the Jury that a verdict against the accused would be most unsafe, and they pronounced him "not guilty".

My first two cases, in which important questions of Mohammedan Law were involved, established me as an expert in that branch of the Law. A little while after I was appointed Lecturer in Mohammedan Law in Calcutta University. The Lectures were from 9-10 in the morning, and did not interfere with my professional work. Moslem families in affluent circumstances still existed in the country; they had not all been wiped out by the money-lenders and "Mahajans". There was a good deal of work for a lawyer with an established reputation as an expert in Moslem Law.

Lord Northbrook had succeeded Lord Mayo, who was assassinated in the Andaman Islands, and was Viceroy when I first returned from England. He was not a great statesman but was a thorough English gentleman, gifted with sound common sense, courteous and dignified. I received much kindness from him as well as from his entourage, especially General Earle and Major Pomeroy Colley, both of whom unfortunately lost their lives in action, the one at Kirbekan in the attempted relief of Gordon; the other at Majuba Hill. Both of them were greatly interested in questions connected with the propagation of Islam. Later I became associated with Lord Northbrook in the establishment in London of the Northbrook Society. He had often spoken to me in India of

the necessity for a society exclusively designed to help Indian students on their arrival in Britain, to put them in the way of things and if necessary to exercise a certain guardianship over them, as he thought the National Indian Association too general to take charge of this duty. He set himself to the task of organising the Society in 1888 which took his name. As I was then in England I was able to give him what he considered a good deal of help in the prosecution of his wish, besides obtaining subscribers in India. It was when working in collaboration with this Society that I made the acquaintance of Sir Gerald Fitzgerald who was for many years Political Aide-de-Camp to the Secretary of State for India, and our friendship lasted until his death.

Lord Northbrook was followed by Lord Lytton, the son of the great novelist. His Viceroyalty is noted, apart from the Afghan troubles, for the assumption by Queen Victoria of the title of "Kaiser-i-Hind", Empress of India. I have been told that the title was suggested by the Viceroy himself. The Prince of Wales (King Edward VII) visited India in 1876.

Lord William Beresford, Military Secretary to the Viceroy from the days of Lord Ripon, was an autocrat. He ruled Society at Calcutta and Simla without cavil or criticism. He also tried, and to some extent succeeded, in introducing the strict etiquette of the Court of St. James' under the great Queen. Newcomers experienced some difficulty, and many democrats from abroad considered his rulings capricious and arbitrary, but they certainly kept out undesirables. As a man, Lord William not only possessed the high courage which won him the V. C. in the Zulu War, and which, with his innate humour, made him the best of sportsmen; but he had great kindness of heart, which expressed itself in many a good deed not generally known.

THE MAGISTRATE'S BENCH

About this time I was appointed to officiate in the position of Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta. On the post again falling vacant I was offered it once more, but I refused in spite of the blunt exhortation of Mr. Colman Macaulay, then acting Chief Secretary to the Bengal Government.

I had met him on my first visit to England, when he and Mr. Denzil Ibbetson had been successful in the Civil

Service Examination and were about to go out to India. Ibbetson selected the Punjab, of which he afterwards became Lieut.-Governor, and Macaulay went to Bengal.

In Calcutta, as in England, the Magistrate has no direct control over the police, while the District Magistrate in the Mofussil, the vast tract of country outside the Presidency Towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, is in titular control of the police in his jurisdiction. The system in the Presidency towns, however good in some ways, has decided disadvantages. The Magistrate cannot himself deal with police irregularities ; he can only report them to the Commissioner of Police or his Deputy.

When I took up the post I found much laxity. Of this I had already been warned by the Deputy Commissioner, Lambert, but had not known how widely it prevailed in the different police areas. The Northern Division was the most populated part of the town, crowded with big houses, tenements, shops, hovels, and inhabited by a heterogeneous mass belonging to all classes of society. It can easily be imagined what a favourable field such conditions afforded for all manner of villainy if the police were in any way wanting in discipline. It became my duty to deal firmly with the bad characters who infested the neighbourhood and with any laxity in the guardians of law and order. Every offence against women and children was visited by the severest punishment I was empowered to inflict and in cases of second offences it was enhanced by flogging. In a few weeks peaceable citizens were able to go about their business without molestation or threat of blackmail.

Some pitiable cases came before me. An elderly Hindu woman was once charged with attempting to commit suicide ; an offence punishable by imprisonment. I asked her why she desired to take her life. Her story was a sad one. A son who maintained her had died a few months before ; his widow had supported her by begging. This daughter-in-law had also died. The old woman said she had nothing now to live for. I ordered her immediate discharge and a monthly allowance of 3 rupees from the Police box. When the order was explained to her she wept in gratitude. So long as I was Magistrate she appeared every month in my Court on the due date, and invoked blessings on my head. May be it was her blessing which followed me through life.

A young woman with a child in her arms was once charged with the heinous offence of taking a handful of

rice worth perhaps a halfpenny from a grocer's shop. I was angry at the callousness of the prosecution. The woman's defence was that she and her child were starving, and tempted by the first sight of food she had snatched a handful. I made the same order in this case as in that of the old woman who had attempted suicide.

In the vacation of 1877, I went to England for 5 weeks and took with me the youngest son of Nawab Ameer Ali, who, I thought, would do well withdrawn from his immediate environment. With Lord Northbrook's kindly interest I got him admitted to Balliol.

Sir William Herschell, grandson of the astronomer, who was retiring from the post of District Magistrate of Hooghly, was, on this journey, a genial travelling companion. We toured together through Italy, visiting the Lakes, and eventually took the diligence to Domodossola on the Simplon Pass. The only Inn was a primitive structure, built entirely of wood. We were able to get three cubicles, miscalled bedrooms, but a bath was a thing unknown.

On my return from England Sir Ashley Eden, then Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, sent for me to his official residence, and told me he was keeping the permanent appointment of the Presidency Magistrate vacant in the hope I would accept it. I thanked him for his kindness and said that although my ambitions lay in other directions I was willing to take up the vacant Magistracy on condition that an arrangement could be made which would more or less equalise the emolument of the two Magistrates. He readily acceded to my request and I assumed charge of the Office. Sir Ashley Eden was unquestionably the ablest Governor Bengal has ever had after Sir Frederick Halliday. Gifted with great perspicacity, sound common-sense, and an unsurpassed knowledge of men, he was said by some to be rather hard and uncompromising to those serving under him, but I found him always kind, courteous and not at all difficult to please. I will give only two instances of his reasonable desire to meet the views of his subordinates.

He had entrusted me with the task of selecting a number of Honorary Magistrates for the Town of Calcutta. I submitted six or eight names. Among the Hindus was a prominent politician who had made himself obnoxious by violent denunciation of all Government measures, good or bad. Sir Ashley strongly objected to his inclusion. I pointed out first the salutary effect his appointment would have in imbuing him with a sense of responsibility,

and secondly to the fact that I was more or less pledged by my enquiry. Sir Ashley thereupon said "in that case he must certainly be appointed".

On another occasion a report had been made to the Governor by the Deputy Commissioner of Police that I used the power of flogging very sparingly. Sir Ashley sent me a copy of this futile report and wrote himself, asking me to come and see him. I explained that in my view flogging should not be used as a deterrent; that it was loathsome as a punishment in ordinary cases, and that I had made up my mind not to impose flogging except for offences against women and children where the "rattan" would be applied without hesitancy or compunction. The Governor was perfectly satisfied and my Court was not exposed to any more prying.

In those days (I am afraid no change has taken place since) the dispensation of official hospitality for the general public to dinners, balls and receptions, was almost entirely in the hands of subordinates who naturally supplemented their inadequate income by outside "largesse".

One evening, coming down from a large reception at Government House, I found Sir Ashley Eden in the Hall in a towering rage. He called out to me "It is a great scandal that Government House should be invaded by such a rabble; will you undertake the task of making a clearance." I agreed, if it was his wish, to go through the list though I feared it would create a great flutter in the dovecots.

Unlike many who attained that high position he hated sycophancy.

The Port of Calcutta was then frequented by large numbers of sailing ships often under the command of hard, cruel shipmasters, and manned by sailors picked up indiscriminately at any port. The men were often surly, drunken, social outcasts. But as a Magistrate I got on well with all of them, even the surliest behaved themselves in my Court and did not dare to be otherwise than respectful.

About this time a sailing vessel named the "Ganges" came into the Port of Calcutta. Captain Code was the owner and master. And now began a duel between him and his men which became a real scandal. There were daily applications by Captain Code or his men; on the one side for disobedience of orders, on the other for cruelty and ill-treatment. Often the men bore visible evidence

of brutality on their bodies. The Lieut.-Governor saw a report of the case, and the Government Prosecutor was directed to appear for the men who by this time had left the ship and had taken refuge with the Harbour-master. Captain Code was represented by Counsel with a notoriety for browbeating Judges and Magistrates. The master was convicted, fined and directed to leave the Port forthwith.

Towards the end of the year my colleague took leave to England and I officiated as Southern Division Magistrate. I then found that the respective work in the two divisions was disproportionate, the cases in the Southern being far fewer. I represented the matter to the Lieut.-Governor with the statistics of the preceding four years. He found my suggestions reasonable and practicable and gave me "*carte blanche*" for readjustment. In spite of a representation submitted by my colleague on his return from England, the new arrangement was maintained and facilitated the quick discharge of public duties.

The question of a juvenile Reformatory for Calcutta, had been under consideration for some time. The acute need for one was understood by all interested in the administration of criminal law and the moral well-being of juvenile offenders. I submitted a representation on the subject to the local Government, and the Reformatory question was taken up with the Governor's usual earnestness and energy. It did not take long to get the Reformatory Act passed into Law and about the middle of 1878 the Institution was opened at Alipore with, I think, 20 boys, under my governorship. One Kirschner, a German, who had considerable experience of juvenile offenders and of their tactful treatment, was placed in charge.

I visited the Reformatory on Saturday afternoons, unless sent for on an emergency which was rare. Kirschner's control was firm and mild; and he was very successfully assisted by his wife in maintaining discipline. The boys were contented and seemed well-cared for. The Superintendent trained them in carpentry, turnery, tin-smith's work, gardening, etc., and there were evening classes for the elder boys. Good employment was found for many on the termination of their detention; only a few drifted back to vagabondage but even they came to Kirschner for help and advice in adversity.

For 25 years I laboured to make the Reformatory a beneficent institution, and I only severed my connection

with the Reformatory when I retired from the High Court Bench to England in 1904.

Among my duties as Magistrate was one which entailed a great sacrifice of time. As *ex-officio* visitor, I had periodically to inspect the Presidency jail. Apart from the official visits I had often to go and hear the complaints of the Europeans sentenced to detention under the Vagrancy Acts. For some reason they particularly wished to tell their grievances to me, perhaps because I listened patiently and did not treat them roughly or contemptuously, and they knew that so far as possible I would ameliorate their lot. For this small considerateness, the majority appeared grateful, few only were surly, but they were one and all respectful, which was not always, I was told, the experience of others.

PUBLIC DUTIES.

I was, about this time, nominated as a Member of the Legislative Council of Bengal. There was then no electoral system. The spirit of democracy had not yet grown into an obsession, but the old system also had its drawbacks. Men were selected to represent their people often on account of merit and personal worth, but not infrequently for sycophancy and unmeritorious services. Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, which then formed the one province of (united) Bengal, was an immense country. In Bengal proper the Moslem element constituted the majority. Their representation, therefore, if honestly and conscientiously undertaken, was not a light task.

Perceiving the complete lack of political training among the Moslem inhabitants of India, and the immense advantage and preponderance the Hindu organisations gave to their community, I had founded in 1877 the National Mahommedan Association. When soon some 34 branches were formed, spreading from Madras to the Punjab, from Chittagong to Karachi, the name of the Association was changed to the "Central National Mahommedan Association", and it became the *de facto* and *de jure* representative organisation of the Moslem community. Non-Muslims were eligible as members, but were not entitled to vote on purely Moslem matters.

That friend of India, Miss A. E. Manning, Secretary of the National Indian Association, did us the honour of becoming a life member. Babu Saligram Singh, a prominent Zemindar of Shahabad, and Babu Ganesh Chunder,

a much respected solicitor of Calcutta, both Hindus, were members of the Committee. Our programme was primarily to promote good feeling and fellowship between the Indian races and creeds, at the same time to protect and safeguard Mahommedan interests and help their political training. I felt that great changes were impending in the system of Government, and that unless the followers of Islam prepared themselves they would soon be outstripped in the political race by their Hindu fellow-countrymen.

On my appointment as Magistrate I obtained Sir Ashley Eden's sanction to continue as Secretary of the Association. Its programme of work, its policy of conciliation of conflicting interests, its co-ordination of efforts for social, economic and political progress appealed to his far-sighted statesmanship and he gave his full support to my labours. Our President was the Nawab Ameer Ali, while the venerable Sheikh Mahmud Khunji, and my esteemed and cultivated friend Sheikh Esau bin Qurtaas represented the rich and influential Arab community. The learned scholar, Shams-ul-Ulama Sheikh Mahmud Ghilani and Mirza Muhammad Khalil represented the large colony of Persians; Haji Muhanunad Zakaria the Memons, Sama-ud-Daula Bahadur the Upper India Moslems. These different elements, with many others too numerous to detail, with widely divergent mentalities, required the utmost tact and patience to bring them into line. We had to consider carefully the rapidly changing conditions affecting Moslem interests under British rule. I affirm with gratitude that one and all gave me unstinted help, and if I failed in some of my endeavours to benefit the community such as my ill success in salvaging the Musulman Waqf or dedications, it was not for want of sympathy and co-operation on the part of my colleagues, but from the timidity of the Government. This was after Sir Ashley Eden left India. I may have to recur to the subject, which even after this lapse of years causes me sorrow.

If my memory serves me aright it was in 1878 that the Government decided to appoint a Commission to enquire into the affairs of the Ex-King of Oudh¹. That unfor-

(1) This "Ex-King of Oudh" was Wajid Ali Shah, still remembered in his old Kingdom for reckless extravagance and weakness of character. He was notorious for his fondness for low company, making favourites of bards, dancers and singers. The state of his Kingdom was the excuse for his deposition and its annexation by Lord Dalhousie in 1856. The sledge-hammer methods of dealing with the often usurped rights of the Taluqdars or Feudal Barons of Oudh, who commanded a good deal of

tunate sovereign, in the hands of evil advisers, soon became hopelessly involved in debt, and most of the allowance granted to him by the British Government was sequestrated by his creditors.

His children who were supposed to be receiving education from a number of tutors in fact received none.

The Nawab Ameer Ali, who bore the title of Vizier, had in reality no power either to control the capricious extravagance of the Ex-King or to prevent the harpies who surrounded him from what was practical robbery. In these circumstances a searching enquiry became necessary to devise, in the first place means of extricating the Ex-King from his pressing financial difficulties, in the second place to contrive a check on his own extravagance and the peculations of his courtiers. The Commission was composed of Mr. F. Peacock, i. c. s. Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal (as Chairman), of Colonel Mowbray Thompson,¹ Agent to the Governor-General, with the King, and myself. We had some twenty-five sittings and examined a host of witnesses whose evidence was taken down in writing by a Secretariat Clerk. For these we had to drive at about 7 a. m. to Garden Reach, where great residences built by the Company's magnates in the 18th Century line the River Hooghly, hold our sittings for about two hours and return for breakfast before going to our various official duties. This made a tiring day, but it is quite usual in India for hard-worked officials to be saddled with extra duties of this kind. Often, too, on my evening rides, I had to visit the jail.

The work of investigation lasted well into 1879, when the Commission was able to devise a fairly good scheme ; it, however, did not please the King. He was especially angry with me for allotting Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 6,000 out of his allowance of Rs. 100,000 for the education of his sons. I had pressed on my colleagues the absolute necessity of giving the young generation a sound education to make them worthy citizens, pointing out that to let them grow up as mere drones would be a source of danger to the State, and a calamity to themselves. This was agreed upon ;

feudal loyalty in spite of their tyrannical methods, and with this the disappointment of the 70,000 of the East India Company's Sepoys who were recruited from Oudh at the loss of their special privileges due to the annexation, were contributory causes of the great Mutiny of the following year.

(1) Mowbray Thompson was one of the only four survivors of the defence of Cawnpore in the Mutiny : the others were Captain Delafosse and two Irish Private Soldiers of the 82nd Regiment, D. C. L. I.

a suitable residence was secured ; an English principal and excellent masters and maulvis were selected. The Institution thus commenced under very propitious circumstances. Alas for the vanity of human wishes ; before I left India it had lapsed into inanition chiefly due to Government indifference, and has ceased to exist.

The year 1879 was an unusually busy one for me as I was appointed Chief Presidency Magistrate. This, with the Bengal Council work combined with the Oudh Commission of Enquiry, taxed my strength and I was advised to take leave on Medical Certificate in December. It was rather a bad time of the year for Europe but I was recommended two winters in England with a summer in between.

The winter of 1879 was unusually severe. We were surprised to find it snowing at Suez. For some reason our steamer could not pass through the Canal and we were landed there as guests of the P. & O. Company. We spent a night in chairs at the decayed hotel, the beds being impossible to sleep in. Two Egyptian servants brought breakfast in the most leisurely fashion to the 100 famishing passengers ; no amount of "swearing" would hurry their pace.

The train to Alexandria consisted of discarded carriages of the British Midland Company, the cushions were old and musty, and we had to stuff the windows with paper to keep out the wind. It travelled very leisurely, time seemed of no consequence, and we stopped at every station to Alexandria.

On eventually arriving at Bologna from Brindisi, the cold was intense with the snow piled in the streets almost as high as the ground-floor of the Italian houses. Hot water was unavailable and a hot bath a luxury impossible to obtain. On the train to Paris the water was frozen and the conductor suggested our washing in claret ! At the big stations we could get hot food, but the astute Italians with true cunning took payment in advance and they gave us soup which was so hot that we could not drink it in the few available minutes. The snow in the streets of Paris was as deep as in Italy, but the French made some attempt at clearance whilst the Italians left nature to take its course.

It was delightful to be in England again, and for the first time in my life to enjoy freedom from pressing work with many months of leisure before me. My old friends

gave me the kindest of welcome, and I made many new ones.

I had the privilege of being a frequent guest at the house of the famous Captain Shaw, the acknowledged organiser of the London Fire Brigade whom I met at Abbey Lodge. He was a most entertaining host and was gifted with remarkable insight into human character.

In the house of Mr. Sutherland Edwardes, I met the famous War Correspondent, Archibald Forbes, and the then celebrated George Augustus Sala, than whom a more humorous or entertaining man I scarcely ever met. One of his stories convulsed us with laughter and is worth repeating. In a western town of the United States his eye caught the following inscription on the glass panel of a shop. "No trust, no bust, no hell; we only trust God, everybody else pays cash"! He was so tickled, to use his own words, with the oddity of the inscription that he went into the shop to ask for enlightenment. He was told that they never gave credit as it led to the bankruptcy court; that's what they meant by "bust"; the rest was plain enough.

Archibald Forbes had recently been at Plevna and gave marvellous accounts of the heroic defence of Osman Pasha and his inferior numbers against the Russian hordes, throwing them back time after time. The defence of this obscure Bulgarian town was perhaps the first example of what really modern weapons and entrenchments could effect, and showed to those who had sufficient observation what horrors had been added to the possibilities of war. Sutherland Edwardes had been a "Times" correspondent with the Prussian forces during the Franco-German War, and was the author of a very interesting book called "The Germans in France". His son Gilbert Edwardes was later a prominent official in the London Post Office.

Early in the summer of 1880 I made the acquaintance of Mr. James Knowles, which grew into long and lasting friendship. Mr. Knowles made himself known to me at the Reform Club as the editor of the "Nineteenth Century". After a talk on Indian politics he asked me for an article for his Review and left to me the choice of a subject. My first contribution to the "Nineteenth Century" was published by Mr. Knowles under the title of "Some Indian Suggestions for India". It attracted the notice of Lord Hartington (the late Duke of Devonshire), then Secretary of State for India. At his reception at Devonshire House he talked to me for some time on Indian matters. A few

days later at his request I went to see him. He put to me a series of questions covering a range of subjects from education to a larger association of the Indian element in the administration of the country. What struck me in Lord Hartington was his enquiring mind, readily open to the reception of new ideas. Unlike many administrators he even appeared willing to accept suggestions. I ventured to observe, in reply to some of his questions that after the suppression of the Mutiny the British Government made a mistake in not associating, in administrative activities, new elements that were emerging from the chaos. He asked for explanation. I said that if instead of basing British rule entirely on the old conservative forces which were supposed to be in its favour, the younger generation had been taken into counsel at the earliest possible stage of development, the growing disposition to be captious and hypercritical would have been kept under.

One of the points on which I laid stress and which Lord Hartington appeared to approve, was the widening of the Councils and giving them a more popular character. Had he been allowed by circumstances to carry into effect what I believe he had in mind, India would have been better prepared for Mr. Montagu's experiment in democracy. The educated classes would have received a solid foundation of political training, and realised the value of compromise and mutual toleration in a country, or continent, replete with bitter divergencies. It was not his fault that the proposition did not mature as he wished ; the usual *vis inertiae* frustrated his design.

I have never forgotten a dinner at the house of Mr. George Cotter Morrison, the author of "The Religion of Humanity" and of the "Life of Gibbon", and the father of Sir Theodore Morrison. The guests included George Meredith, Bulwer Lytton, and other men of letters whose names stood foremost in English thought of the time. It is not an exaggeration to say that George Meredith's conversation kept us spell-bound to a late hour.

Lord Stanley of Alderley has been described by his traducers as an eccentric man. I came to know him well and found him remarkably shrewd, well-read and broad-minded. His eccentricity in the minds of his detractors consisted in the fact that he had avowedly abandoned the traditional creed of Christendom and had embraced Islam. We had thus, of course, many ideas in common.

I used to be frequently at Abbey Lodge. Mr. de Bunsen's enquiring mind interested itself greatly in Bud-

dhism and its influence on early Christian conceptions. He was wont to refer to the deadening effect of Brahmanism on the Hindu mind after the destruction of Gautama's religion in India, its original home, as the sole cause of the decadence which overtook Hindu India. Very little can be said against this view, which seems well supported by the facts of history.

I came to know Mr. (afterwards Lord) Bryce and was on friendly terms with him until he took up the Armenian cause without giving a thought to the other side of the question. The Armenians suffered terribly, but, as I repeatedly pointed out to Lord Bryce, much of their misfortune was brought on by their adherence to revolutionary movements originating in Russian territory. Previous to this they had lived in amity with their Moslem neighbours. As early as the XVth Century four thousand Armenians had been buried alive by the conqueror Tamerlane for assisting the Ottoman Turks in the defence of Sivas.

To Lady Hobhouse I believe I owe among many kindnesses my entrée into the Salons of Lady Hatherley and Lady (Roundell) Palmer (afterwards Lady Selborne). Among prominent politicians of those days I was often in contact with Mr. John Bright and his brother Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. James Stansfeld, and other leading Liberals.

It was a brilliant Season in London, as Seasons then were, with much movement in political and literary circles, music and art playing a great part in it all—the heyday perhaps of the æsthetic movement. Oscar Wilde, its protagonist, was much to the fore, and was frequently met in society. His affectations and attitudinising produced a certain aversion to the man.

In the midst of this I was writing the “Personal Law of the Mohammedans” which I amplified a few years later and which is now incorporated as the second volume of my work on Mohammedan Law. Having always been an early riser, I worked at it in the early morning. This habit has enabled me still in my old age to get through a mass of work, chiefly literary, without strain or irksomeness, and without interfering with my legal avocations.

At the house of some friends on Friday the 16th July 1880, I met the lady of my dreams who a few years later did me the honour to become my wife.

On returning to India after a year I felt that the time had arrived for me to choose whether I should stagnate in

the performance of work I disliked or resume practice at the Bar with its attraction of variety.

Sir Ashley Eden relieved me of my office in June 1881. with the kindest of messages.¹ I retained my seat on the Bengal Council. I felt that perhaps I had done something to improve conditions; the police were more careful in their prosecutions, the slums of the Northern Division which abounded with hooligans and bad characters were more orderly; respectable people could go about without fear of molestation and the Reformatory was established.

The great Dacca Waqf Case, in which I had a special retainer for my good friend Nawab Ahsanoolah who was a defendant in the suit along with his father, just then came on for hearing. The Advocate-General, Mr. J. H. B. Branson, and I were for the defendants. Our client had placed a fine house on the banks of the river and three carriages at our disposal. Meals and servants were provided. A nice Turcoman cob with good manners was every morning sent from the Nawab's stable for me to ride.

We had very heavy work and my task in coaching my leaders in the intricacies of the Mohammedan Law of Waqf was by no means a light one.

The question involved in the Mysore Appeal on which I was next engaged, was of considerable importance, not merely to the two parties. The father of Prince Halim-uz-Zaman, Prince Gholam Mahommed, the youngest son of Tippoo Sultan, was a mere child when Seringapatam was stormed and taken by the British in 1799. The entire family were brought first to Vellore and then to Calcutta, and a not over-generous provision was made for them.²

(1) Extract from a letter dated June 13th 188--from Edward Henry, C. S. then Private Secretary to the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, afterwards Sir Edward Henry, Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis :—

“The Lieutenant Governor desires me to take this opportunity of saying that he has the fullest appreciation of the admirable manner in which you have performed your duties as Magistrate of Calcutta and of the independence and tact with which you have maintained your position. He will always be glad to forward your views in any way in his power and will continue to avail himself of the advice and the information which you have always been so ready to give on matters affecting the welfare of your countrymen. I am, Yours very truly, —Ed. Henry”.

(2) Prince Gholam Mohammed went twice to England, as did once the mother of the deposed King of Oudh, to plead in person his case before the governing body of the Empire. Queen Victoria received him with gracious kindness, which must to some extent have softened his disappointment at the rejection of his claims. (Note *re*. Hickey's Memoirs on the subject).

Whilst engaged in this Mysore Case, the Lieut.-Governor sent for me to take my advice as to the desirability of intervening to bring about a settlement in the Dacca Waqf Case. The Commissioner of the Division had, I believe, strongly urged a settlement ; and I suggested that if the Governor himself were to take up the matter the *amour propre* of both parties would be satisfied, and there would be a reasonable prospect of compromise.

It is to Sir Ashley Eden that the Nawabs of Dacca owe the continuation of their existence ; for even if my client had won, the cost of the litigation would have been ruinous. Moreover the result of the case was by no means certain, for much depended both in India and in England on judicial idiosyncrasies. Lord Hobhouse's judgment had laid down such principles as to the Law of Waqf, that in 1913 the legislature had to enact a special law, Act VI of 1913, to validate family Waqfs. Men who had no acquaintance with Mohammedan Law looked at questions relating to Moslems from the English point of view and tested them by English standards based on principles of English Law. I have always considered that when a Judge has to deal with the law of any particular people he must set on one side all preconceptions and bring to his determination a mind wholly free of ideas fostered by any other system. He must throw himself into the spirit of the law he has to administer. This quality, though very rare is in my belief essential to the administration of justice, especially in the case of India.

It may be of interest to the readers, if there are any, of these recollections, to know that 45 years later, the son of Nawab Ahsanoolah impugned the validity of the settlement, and miserably failed before the Privy Council. I withdrew from the Board of the Judicial Committee during the hearing of this Appeal, as "one party" objected to my presence. The judgment of Lord Cave, who presided, was a masterly exposition of the principles governing family arrangements among Moslems.

I would here like to record my acknowledgment of much kindness and hospitality I received on occasions when I was called upon to appear in Courts in the country districts presided over by judges of the Civil Service.¹

(1) The following extract from a letter dated 11th May 1884 shews what was sometimes involved by accepting a Brief in those days outside the Presidency Towns :—

" I left Calcutta at 9-30 *p.m.* by the mail train, and arrived at Raneegunj at 2 *a. m.* and then transferred myself to the tender

Many times I stayed as a guest in the houses of my clients, mostly English planters, or agents for some of the large British firms in Calcutta, who were most hospitable and considerate.

"mercies of the Dawk Gharry. I crossed the Damoodar (a river) fast asleep. On reaching Gondashary which is a dry sandy bed of the river in the hot season, we found a roaring torrent, flooded by the overnight rains up in the hills. The ponies were driven into the rivulet, but the current was too strong and so 20 coolies were employed to drag us across. It took a full hour to traverse 80 yards of ground. There were some very pretty girls bathing in the current who were nearly drifting off. I sent my coolies to their assistance—but the Naiads would not deign to accept their help and soon regained the banks themselves. It was very funny. We arrived at the Circuit House at 9 a. m.; at 12 I went into Court, and had to cross-examine the sub-inspector of police who investigated the case against my clients. He is a most peculiar character. I asked him—"Was it possible for the Prosecutors' people to have concealed the arms in the house of the defendants! Yes or No!" He said—"That requires explanation". I said "I don't want any explanation, simply yes or no." He then said "No". When I asked why he answered "No", he said "because the villagers guarded the village". I said "Do you know that of your own knowledge". Here he began "Knowledge Sir, is preventative and representative". I then asked, "I simply want to know, do you know of your own knowledge?". At last he confessed "No". After that I let him down gently.

"I dined with the Collector (District Magistrate), and his wife. But for this I would have gone back that very night. As it was I started on Friday at 10 a. m. hoping to catch the 4 p. m. train at Raneegunj, but in the meantime the Damoodar had risen and we, carriage and all, had to cross in a boat, which took an infernally long time, therefore missed the 4 p. m. train and had to stop at the dirty hotel there. It is an evil place. I managed to get an hour's sleep and got up at 1 a. m., woke my servant with considerable difficulty, got some coolies and told him to take the luggage to the railway station. We caught a train for Calcutta at 2 a. m. I slept till 5 and then got up, washed, packed my bedding, and prepared for arrival at Howrah, which we reached at 5-30 a. m. Had expected that I would have to remain at Bancorrah for 20 days, but my clients begged me to get the case adjourned in order to enable them to go home to pay the Government Revenue, or else their property would be sold up. Therefore, I may have to go up again."

(To be continued.)

*THE ORIGIN OF THE BARMAKIDS**

It is generally known that the Barmakids (Barâmikah) were originally Magians (fire-worshipping Iranians). They were the custodians of a fire-pit in Balkh named Nau Bahâr and erected by Manuchihr. When the Muslim armies swept over Balkh in 31 A.H., the fire-pit cooled before the strong wind of Islamic conquest. But a few years after, the flames leapt high again. At last, in 84 A.H., Qatibah the famous general of Khorâsân, brought it for ever inside the zone of Islamic conquests. Some of the guardians of the pit who owned the fertile lands in or around Balkh became Muslims and migrated to Damascus. When the centre of Arab government shifted in 133 A.H. from Damascus to Baghdad, they also moved with it and, in course of time, filled high offices of State till at last they were Viziers and governed the Islamic world in all but name and form.

This family which was the guardian of the fire-pit was known as Barmak (بَرْمَك), the Arabic plural of which is Barâmikah (بَرَامِكَة). The question naturally arises : What is the origin of the word ' Barmak '. Ancient historians and lexicographers have paid no heed to this question. Later Persian historians and lexicographers have traced the word from the Persian verb Makidan (مَكِيدَن) which means ' to suck ' and is used with the prefix ' Bar ' (بَر). A curious story is told in this connection and a superstructure is erected on that groundless tale. When the first Barmak, after his conversion to Islam, came before the Caliph, the latter rebuked him. ' Dost not thou know the etiquette of the court ? Why hast thou come with poison ? I have some pawns which

* This article forms part of one of a series of lectures delivered by the author at the Hindustani Academy on "The Relations of Arabia and India" in the course of which the origin of the Barmakids has been traced. The present article has been translated from the Urdu by Sa'id ul-Haqq, B.A., (Honours) with numerous additions.

tell me wherever there is poison.' 'I am guilty, no doubt', said the Barmaki. 'I have poison in the glass of the ring. Should I come to disgrace at any moment, I shall suck the ring and thus end my life'. Barmakam (برمک) in Persian stands for "I shall suck". Thenceforward he became known as Al-Barmaki. All this is pure fiction, the invention of Persian story-writers. The court language at Damascus was Arabic, not Persian. Moreover this would mean that the title of Barmaki dates from 86 A.H. while all the reliable Arab historians have described the word as the ancient title of the chief priests of Balkh.

Some Persian lexicographers say that Barmak is the name of a place and Barmaki means a native of that place.¹ An Arab historian has given us a more interesting philology. He says, "This shrine of Balkh was erected to rival the House of Ka'bah. The chief of the shrine was called Barmakka (Chief of Mecca) which word is shortened to Barmak.² There is another explanation in *Mu'jam-ul-Buldan* by Yâqût that Bar means 'son' and Barmakka 'son of Mecca'.

The history of this famous family known as Al-Barâ-mikah has been written in Urdu. The learned author writes that Barmak is originally Barmugh (برمغ) which word is used with its plural Mughân (مغان) and Peer-e-Mughân (پرمغان) in Urdu poetry. Mugh means a fire-worshipper. The Greek form is Magos and the Arabic Majûs.³ 'Bar' means 'chief' and Barmugh 'chief of fire-worshippers'. We should have no hesitation in accepting this theory if only we could find the chief of any other fire-pit called by that name. Moreover, this word ought to have been common in Persian poems and dictionaries; but it is not. In addition, this word should have been pronounced Barmug (برمک) or Barmuj (برمج) and not Barmak (برمک). Nor is there any example of Persian *ghain* (غ) changing into 'kaf' (ک). Persian 'ghain' (غ) is changed into 'jeem' (ج). as 'chiragh' (چراغ) into 'sirâj' (سراج) but not into 'kaf' (ک). The original of the Turkish word 'Halaku' (هلاکو) is not Halaghu (هلاغو), as is generally thought but

(1) *Târîkh-e-Zeya-e-Barnî*, Rawzat-us-Safa, Burhân Qâte.

(2) Burhân Qâte. Rabi-ul-Abrar Zamakhsheri.

(3) The Sanskrit form is Magh and many fire-worshipping sects of Brahmins are known as Magh Brahmins.

Halagu (هلاکو). No wonder that the name of that atrocious tyrant was wrongly pronounced as Halaku (هلاکو) by the Arabs to link it up with the Arabic word ' hilak ' (هلاك) and give it a satirical tinge.

The truth will be apparent from a study of whether the shrine was a fire-pit of the Majûs and whether the religion followed by this family before its conversion to Islam was that of fire-worshipping. The Persians will say that it is so, that the shrine was a fire-pit, and their religion fire-worshipping. The tendency to claim a great man as one of kindred clay is common to every nation. Do not the Persians trace Alexander's lineage to the Persian royal family of Khafya ? Did not the Muslim romancers treat Richard Cœur-de-Lion as belonging to the family of Sultan Saladin (Salâhuddîn) ?¹ So with the Barâmikah. The Persians, by a curious process, have linked them up to Jamasp, minister of Gushtasp, and described them as an old family of Persian ministers.² Against this the Arabs claim that Ja'far Al-Barmakî who fathers the glories of this family was the son of Qatîbah, the general of Khorâsân. Ja'far's mother was captured in the war and Qatîbah took her as his wife. She went back to her home pregnant after the conclusion of peace.

Apart from these contradictory statements, let us discuss the shrine, whether in it are found the characteristics of a fire-pit or not. The first thing required that it should be a firepit in the real sense of the word, that it should contain fire. To the existence of fire in the shrine none but the later unscrupulous narrators have referred. I have Balazari before me, who is the most ancient authority on the shrine but he does not give us much detail. Later on, in Mas'ûdî (330 A.H.) Ibnul-Faqîh Hamadâni, *Ma'jamul-Buldan* by Yâqût (626 A.H.), *Asrar-ul-bilad* by Zakarya Qazwîni (686 A.H.), we find references to the shrine. The introductory words of Abû'l-Faqîh and Yâqût are the same. Yâqût draws on 'Umar bin-ul-Azraq of Karman in his description.

MAS'UDI'S DESCRIPTION.

The historian Mas'ûdî, while describing Nau Bahâr, says :—“ The building of Nau Bahâr was solid and high. At the top of it there were lances with flags of green silk

(1) And did not the Italians claim the sweet son of Avon as one of their own kith and kin ? (Tr.)

(2) *S.yasat Namah wa Nuzhat-ul-Qulub.*

fixed to them and waving in the air. The cloth of each flag was about a hundred cubits in length. The four walls were also as high. The green silk of the flag was so large that it covered a fair distance.”¹ There is no mention of fire here, mind you. Nor does the description of the building and flags betray any signs of the fire-pit.

IBNU’L-FAQIH’S DESCRIPTION.

Ibnu’l-Faqih Hamadâni says :—

Nau Bahâr was a shrine of the Barâmikah who were idolators. When they came to know of Mecca and of the religion of Quraish, they *erected this shrine* known as Nau Bahâr.

The non-Arabs visited it as a place of pilgrimage. It was covered with green silk. Over it was a dome called Ashbat (اشبت). This dome was a hundred cubits long and as many cubits broad. Round about the building there were three-hundred-and-sixty rooms. There was one priest for every day of the year. The title of the high priest was Barmaka. The kings of China and of Kabul belonged to this faith. When they came here, they bowed before the great idol.²

Here again there is no mention of fire. Instead, the idol is described, a feature which has nothing to do with a fire-pit. It is also stated that the kings of China and Kabul followed this faith. Everybody knows that there was no cult of fire-worship in either place at any time.

YAQUT’S DESCRIPTION.

Yâqût Rûmî quotes from a predecessor :—

‘Umar bin Arzaq K rmîni says that the Barâmika were a highly respectable family in Balkh. They existed even before the anarchy which preceded the sweeping, cyclonic march of that colossus of a man, Alexander. They were idolators (then he describes how Nau Bahâr was built in imitation of Mecca).

On all the four sides were idols standing. These idols were draped in silk. Nau Bahâr means ‘New spring’. Every spring offerings of fresh buds were made to these idols. The Persians visited it as a place of pilgrimage. Over the largest dome known as Astan (استن) were flags. Round about there were 600 rooms tenanted by

(1) *Moruxowej uz-zahab* (مروج الذهب).

(2) *Kitab-ul-buldan* p. 328 (Leyden).

priests. The kings of Hindustan, China, Kabul, etc., followed this faith, came here as pilgrims and bowed before the great idol. It was so high that the cloth of its flag waved from Balkh to Tirmud.*

The offering of flowers and other features of spring have been ingeniously devised in connection with the word, 'Bahar' and in order to explain the significance of Nau Bahâr.

QIZWINI'S DESCRIPTION.

Writing about Balkh he says : Here was the building called Nau Bahâr, the largest of the idol-houses. (Then there is the story of the erection of Nau Bahâr in imitation of Mecca). It was adorned with silk and jewels. There were idols standing in it. The Persians and Turks looked upon it with devotional fervour, came here as pilgrims and made offerings. Its length, breadth and height were each more than a hundred cubits. The Barâmikah were the original worshippers of the shrine. The Rajahs of Ind and the King of China used to come here and perform the act of prostration.

From all these evidences there is not a tittle of doubt but that this is the Vihâr of Buddhists, not the fire-pit of Magians. Bahâr is the corrupted form of Vihâr. Nau Bahâr in its pristine form is Nau Vihâr. Vihâr is the special name for Buddhist monasteries. An illustration of this is the town Bihâr which was really Vihâr of the Buddhists. The Muslims in their peculiar Persian accent pronounced it as Bahâr. During the early years of Muslim advent there were several Vihârs in Sind called by the name of Nau Bahâr. The description of these Vihârs given by Arab historians exactly tallies word for word with the description of the Nau Bahâr of Balkh.

Balazari, a very old historian, writes in *Futuh-ul-Buldan* in connection with the conquest of Sind, "In Dabal there was a large Bûd, that is, Buddhist shrine. Over it was a high pillar, and over it a red flag which was so large that it waved all over the city. Bûd is (as travellers from or to Sind know) the place where there are idols. There is a huge tower and sometimes the idol is placed inside it. Everything that is revered devotionally is Bûd and Bûd is also called But (idol)." After this evidence, is there an iota of doubt to keep us from the belief that this Nau Bahâr of Balkh was the idol-house of the Buddhists and not the fire-pit of the Majûs?

* *Mu jam ul-buldan.*

It is interesting to note that even European writers and some famous Orientalists have missed the mark. Von Kremer failed to point out the secret and called the Barâmîkah Muzdakîs.¹ A scholar like Professor E. G. Browne also followed the Orientalists in the old rut, calling Nau Bahâr a fire-pit and the Barâmîkah fire-worshippers.² In course of research work in this matter, it gave me pleasure to see that Sachau, in his introduction to the English translation of *Kitab-ul-Hind* (*Book on India*, p. 31) has suggested that Nawa Vihâr is the original of Nau Bahâr, and that it is a Buddhist monastery. One more Orientalist W. Barthold, in his article on Barâmîkah in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* (Vol. 1, p. 663), has pointed out in a few lines that Nau Bahâr looks like Nawa Vihâr of the Buddhists, that a Chinese traveller has referred to it and that Ibnu'l-Faqîh's description of the shrine also suggests it. But none have enlarged the subject, nor have they given us any proof. They all share in the error of describing the Barâmîkah as fire-worshippers of Iranian descent. They are of opinion that the Iranians had made a fire-pit of the shrine.

But to my mind this is entirely fallacious. I claim that the Barâmîkah were followers of Buddha's religion and were connected originally with India. Some contemporary satirical poets and others who were biassed against the Barâmîkah described them as Majûs or fire-worshippers because in Persia there was practically no religion save fire-worship, no nationality save the Majûs. The politics of Persia required that the Iranians and the Barâmîkah should be as one race.

I may sum up the following points in favour of my theory that Nau Bahâr was a shrine of the Buddhists and that the Barâmîkah were Buddhists.

1. Nau Bahâr was nowhere the name of any fire-pit of the Majûs, but it is a famous name of Buddhist shrines. There were found many Buddhist shrines in Sind called by the name of Nau Bahâr.³

2. The description given of the shrine by reliable Arab geographers and historians corresponds with that of a Buddhist shrine.

3. Hiven Kung, a Chinese traveller of the seventh century, has referred to the Buddhist shrine of Balkh.⁴

(1) Vide the Translation by S. Khuda Bukhsh.

(2) Vide *Literary History of Persia*, p. 259.

(3) *Chach Nama* translated by Elliot, volume 1, p. 150.

(4) *Encyclopædia of Islam*, vol. I., p. 664.

It was the time when the Arab conquerors had invaded, or were preparing to invade the place. (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*), Vol. I, p. 664).

4. Mas'ûdî, in describing Nau Bahâr, says that researchers say that they saw at the gate of Nau Bahâr an edict inscribed in Persian. It ran, "The Buzasufs say that access to a king's court requires three virtues—wisdom, patience and wealth". Somebody had written below in Arabic, "The maxim of Buzasufs is wrong. Whosoever owns one of these virtues, what business has he got to cringe in a King's court"?¹

Scholars believe without any manner of doubt that the Arabs called Buddhists by the name of Buzasuf (بوزاسف)². The existence of a Buddhist maxim over the shrine goes further to support the theory that Nau Bahâr was a Buddhist shrine, for why should a Buddhist maxim be inscribed over a shrine of fire-worshippers?

5. Balkh is a town in Khorâsân. The religion followed there before Islâm had made headway was, according to both ancient and modern scholars, Buddhism. Ibn-i-Nadîm also, quoting from an old history of Khorâsân, has said, "The religion of Khorâsân before the introduction of Islam was Buddhism".³

6. Historians have written that the religion of the priest of Nau Bahâr was the same as that of the kings of India, China and Turkistan.⁴ Everybody knows that the religion followed in India, China and Turkistan was Buddhism and not fire-worship.

7. Yâqût quotes from an earlier historian 'Umar bin Azraq Kirmâni. (This Kirmâni is certainly a man of the third or fourth century since this statement exactly occurs in Ibnu'l-Faqîh who flourished in the middle of the 4th century). When Balkh was conquered by the Muslims during the reign of the Caliph 'Uthmân, the Barmaki guardian of Nau Bahâr was sent as a hostage to the court of the Caliph. When he came back to Balkh, people were hard on him for his change of faith. He was deposed and his son instated. Nezak Tarkhan (نکطرخان) King of Turkistan, threatened him with ruin and invited him to come

(1) *Murawweju'z-zahab*, vol. 4, p. 49 (Paris edition).

(2) *Kitab-ul-Fihrist* (Ibn-i-Nadîm) p. 345, edited by Flengal with commentaries.

(3) *Kitab-ul-Fihrist* (Ibn-i-Nadîm) p. 345.

(4) Ibnu'l-Faqîh Qizwîni, Yâqût.

back to his old religion. He replied that he had embraced his new faith of his own accord and quite knew its merits. Tarkhan wanted to attack and end him, but he was silenced for the time being by the Barmak's threat. The king, however, by an intrigue had the Barmak and his ten sons killed. Only one child survived the Barmak's death. The question arises :—Why should a Buddhist king's spleen be stirred at the change of the Barmak's faith if the Barâmikah were not Buddhists ? Why did his blood boil, so much so that he became the sworn enemy of the Barmak ?

8. The Barmak's wife, after the murder of her husband and sons, fled away with her surviving little son and came to Kashmîr. The little boy was brought up in Kashmîr, and was taught Medicine, Astronomy and other Indian sciences. He followed the religion of his forebears. It so happened that a terrible plague ravaged Balkh. The people there attributed this visitation to the change of faith. The young Barmak was called from Kashmîr and Nau Bahâr was again adorned.¹

The flight from Balkh to Kashmîr may suggest that the Barmak was connected with India and followed Buddhism which had a stronghold in Kashmîr. Otherwise, in order to escape persecution by the Turks, they might have fled to Persia and lived with their co-religionists. Or they might have sought refuge under the sheltering wing of Islâm.

9. The above is a review of their relations with India before their conversion to Islâm. Later on, when they became Muslims, they strengthened the tie by calling scholars and physicians from Sind and giving them posts at Baghdâd in the Translation and Medical departments. A deputation was sent to enquire into the religion and medicine of Sind. Ibn-i-Nadîm says in his *Kitab-ul-Fihrist*, a work of 377 A. H. :

‘The man who, during the Arab government took an absorbing interest in India was Yahya bin Khâlid al-Barmaki, who is noted for inviting to Baghdâd the Pundits and physicians of India.’² If they had been Iranian fire-worshippers, Iran, and not India, should have drawn their interest and admiration.

10. Lastly Barmak, the ancient dynastic name of the family and the honorific title of the custodian and high

(1) Vide Mu'jam-ul-Buldân, (Yâqût) and Kitâb-ul-Buldân Ibnu'l-Faqîh) p. 824 (Leyden edition).

(2) *Kitâb-ul-Fihrist*, p. 845 (Leipzig edition, 1871 A.D.).

priest of Nau Bahâr, is the Sanskrit word 'Parmak'. Dr. Sachau, a learned Sanskritist, says that the word in Sanskrit means 'highly respectable men', 'nobles' or 'betters'. I also have consulted some Sanskritists who confirmed this, adding that it really meant 'Pishwa' or leader (Par=high as in Parmatma, Parmeshwar; mak=mukh Sardar as in mukhia).

11. The name of the great dome or cupola in the shrine has been written with various spellings. In the Egyptian edition of Yâqût's *Mu'jam-ul-Buldan*, it is written as Astan (استن). In Ibnu'l-Faqîh's *Kitâb-ul-Bulân*, published at Leyden, it is written as Asbat (آسبت). But the learned scholar de Goeje, who has edited the book gives us a few forms as Astan (استن), Ast (است), Asbat (آسبت). To me the correct word seems to be Astab (آستب) which is only 'stupa' as pronounced by the Arabs and Persians. Everybody knows that 'stupa' is a structure raised over the ashes of a Buddhist saint. Stupas have been commonly found in India and archæologists have given us interesting details about them. Here also the resemblance of words has given birth to a fatal error. Astan (استن) of which another popular form in Persian is Sotoon (ستون) is the Persian word for pillar. The word Asboot (آسبت) being unintelligible to the Persian writers was replaced by a Persian word. Could anything be more fantastical than to call a dome a pillar.

12. In the greatest Encyclopædia of the Arabic language, *Masalik-ul-Absar fi Mamalik-ul-Amsar* مسالك الابصار في ممالك الامصار by Fazlullahu'l-'Umri of Egypt, فضل الله العمرى مصرى, the first volume of which has been published, the story of Nau Bahâr is chronicled in these words. :*

"Nau Bahâr was built in Balkh by an Indian Rajah named Matu Shahr. Here came the star-worshippers (Sabians), who also worshipped the moon. The custodian was called Barmak. The kings of Persia revered the shrine and its custodian. Later on this dignity was conferred on the father of Khalid bin Barmak. So they were called Barâmikah. It was a very high building draped with green

* *Masalik-ul-Absar*, vol. 1 p. 223. (Egyptian edition).

silk. Flags of the same green silk, a hundred feet long, waved over it. Over it is inscribed this dictum (It has occurred above). There is only one difference that Boozasaf (بوزاسف) is wrongly written here as Soorashaf (سوراشف)”.

The fact that the builder here is shown as an Indian further corroborates my theory. Here it (Nau Bahâr) is described as a shrine of moon-worshippers, but not as a fire-pit. This also suggests India since, according to some, the original of the word, ‘Hindu’ is ‘Indu’ which is only another word for ‘moon’! That is why the country is so named.*

13. Qalaqshāndi (d. 821) has, speaking of odours, in Subh-al-Asha, mentioned the Mandal ‘ud which was exported from Mandal (Madras) to Baghdad for the use of the ‘Abbâsid Caliphs. How this ‘ud reached the Arabs is related by him on the authority of Muhmmad bin ‘Abbâs Khashiki as follows :—“ This ‘ud is more costly and better than all other ‘uds, but from the Days of Ignorance to the time of the Omeyyads the merchants did not trade in it. When, however, Husain (?) bin Barmak escaped from the Omeyyads and came to India, he saw and approved of the Mandal ‘ud and urged the merchants to carry it with them. And when, on the success of the ‘Abbâsids against the Omeyyads, the Barmakids were honoured in the ‘Abbâsid Court, Husain bin Barmak went to Mansûr one day and saw him scent his clothes by burning Kumar (of Cape Comorin) ‘ud. He told the Caliph that the ‘ud he used was better. Accordingly it was fetched and presented to Mansûr who approved of it and ordered it to be brought from India. From that day it became popular.”

These are the evidences I have to offer in proof of my theory. Thus we come to discover the ‘missing link’ in the chain of literary relations between Arabia and India. The chain is now complete and firmer. This also explains why the Barâmikah had so great a taste for the arts and sciences of India, and also what were the reasons which impelled them to hold intercourse with the Pundits and Scholars of India.

* *Lubdat-us-Sha'ef fi Siyahat-ul-Ma'arif* By Nawfal Afandi (A Syrian Christian) p. 93.

(*Subh-ul-Asha*, Vol. II. pp. 120, 121).

THE MYSTIC

He stands and gazes on the brow of night.
Silence around, but yon bright orbs that roll
Millions of miles above --they speak in light
And send their message to his hearkening soul.

The Universe, and life and death, and man ;
Religion, law and morals, faith and love ;
Of these the God-made scheme, the man-made plan ;
Man's life below, the Spirit's life above—

All these seem mingled in one little word,
A word, a thought that glances like a beam
And penetrates the soul unseen, unheard !
Is it a voice, a light, or but a dream ?

He sees the stars--they crumble and disperse,
Vapour once more to shapeless chaos hurled;
Sees storm-tossed atoms of a Universe,
Fragments adrift of many a shining world.

Time with his dusky train of formless years
Glides through a boundless void all noiselessly ;
He turns to look again—Time disappears
Its trail is lost upon a shoreless sea !

Yet there he stands—with nothing all around:
No heaven, no earth, no flames, nor gardens fair ;
His place all space where silence is like sound,
And all his soul could wish for, all is there.

Was it a breath, a sigh ? On noiseless wings
An unseen spirit comes and says ' Rejoice !
Think of the Self once thine ; now from it springs
Thy formless being—this unbodied voice.

I am thy soul—the stars' soul—spark divine
And living part of the Eternal Mind.
Yea, I am thou and all—foredoomed to shine
Eternal o'er all forms to dust consigned.'

And lo ! the long past object of his care,
There lies the ruined mansion of his breath—
A heap of grim white fleshless bones laid bare,
A gruesome monument of life and death !

' Are these ' he asks ' My splendid plans, my hope,
Ambition, passions, aspirations vain,
Presumptuous strife with mightier powers to cope ?
In this gaunt frame does aught of me remain ? '

' Long since we passed ' he hears ' the gate of strife
And saw the measure of our gain and loss,
And thence we passed on to a higher life
Whiter than these white bones and free of dross.

Like thy dead frame the stars' dead orbs decay,
But that which is All-life shall never die,
'Tis one with that which once made Night and Day
And chose to wear the form of Earth and Sky.'

NIZAMAT JUNG.

INDIAN ART AND MODERN CRITICISM

The Art Critic is no doubt a privileged soul ; and more often than not puts a sad strain upon the faculties of forbearance of those who read him. He even moved the late J. M. Whistler (not the most patient of artists) to cite Balaam's ass as "the first great critic !" Yet he flourishes in our midst, and his family seems to increase and multiply rather than to show signs of speedy extinction. His is the Presence that from time immemorial has crossed the path of the aspiring æsthete. It chilled the efforts of the first artist of the species *homo sapiens*, and made him spoil the bit of reindeer-horn which he was beautifying with a flint graver, by the criticism (expressed of course by signs) that the pioneer was "on the wrong lines". In time artistic Man became inured to this monitory Presence, which has followed him through history as closely as his shadow ; and which follows him still. People have come at last to regard the critic as part and parcel of the constellation,—to shine with the reflected light of the celebrities he chooses to adhere to, and so to share, to some extent, in their glory. So the art critic, ever since, has hooked his waggon to his bright particular star in the artistic firmament ; and if, as sometimes happens, it turns out to be only a meteor after all, which, after whirling him through the empyrean, deposits him ignominiously in the mixen, he need only rise and dust himself, and look out for a safer star. No-one will blame him for the error, for no-one remembers it. Our art world approves of this dual system of the successful artist and the laudatory critical parasite. Thus considered, the time-honoured spectacle of Mr. E. B. Havell "the (English) father of the Calcutta school" clinging to the star of Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, the successful artist, and swearing the while metaphorical murder against all who dare to differentiate perceptibly from the only or true type of the "Indian" artist, is not so great a phenomenon as might be supposed by the "constant reader" of

Mr. Havell's books, jaded *ad nauseam* by everlasting reminders of the Great Twin Brethren. He may long secretly to get a glimpse of Dr. Tagore just for once *without* Mr. Havell in explanatory, laudatory and expostulatory attendance; or even for a sight of Mr. Havell *solus*—without his "disciple", which of course is impossible. So "Constant Reader" may heave a sigh, but understands that if he would have the one he must put up with the other; for assuredly famous artists and their devoted Press agents are as inevitable a partnership as the great Paracelsus and the helpful jinn which he conveniently carried in the hilt of his sword; or the greater Socrates and the attendant dæmon who always used to jog his elbow at the right moment. Such partnerships are rare, because the artists are rare; more frequently they have died unwept, unhonoured and unsung because no critic had "taken them up" in their day. It would be an entertaining subject to discuss the vagaries of the art critic adown the ages; to enquire after the artistic reputations which he helped to create indeed, but which have now worn so desperately threadbare. But in Indian Art the artist has been far less indebted to the critic for weal or for woe than has been the case in the West. It is a truism to point to the anonymity of the painters of Ajanta; of the Sculptors of Ellora and Elephanta, and of many of the artists whose works illuminate the Moghul and the Rajput albums. No, the art critic never did his worst to Indian Art before our own time; the cynic may deduce therefrom some reflections on the nature of his indispensability which it would be painful to pursue, and high treason to utter. Anyway, the obscurantist type of art critic has wormed his way into Indian Art at last, with a vengeance. We hear his strident paradoxes on all sides. He has become a very concrete obstacle in the path of progress; and must be reckoned with by those Indian artists who claim the right of freedom in self-expression, and by all who have the welfare and progress of Indian Art at heart.

In order to appreciate the ramifications and implications of "Havellism" (to use the term which has crystallised that hotch-potch of parochial, historical and artistic values in Indian Art criticism of which Mr. Havell's books are a leading example) we must consider this author's own explanation—such as it is—of how, when he was Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, he trained India's first "live artist", Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore. "It was not until I swept away the entire system", he writes (with reference to his *bête noire*, art in Bombay)

“that India produced a real live artist”. This little gem of egotism (which recurs more than once in this critic’s writings) could perhaps only be matched from the works of Benvenuto Cellini. But then Benvenuto, though blustering, was at least creative. But what was Mr. Havell’s discovery in the training of Indian art students? Naturally we seek in his works for that absorbing revelation; for no Principal of any Art School has ever trained any students whatsoever by merely “sweeping away” anything. Mr. Havell is not at all shy of taking credit to himself for Dr. Tagore and the Bengal School; indeed the congenial theme recurs constantly, in the new editions of his works in particular. He was the guide, philosopher, and friend of the “New Bengal School”. He was also—by the way—running an Art School under Government. Now the “New Bengal School,” continuing this lead, claims to be responsible for the only true art education in India to-day. Is this miracle all due to that clean sweep of Mr. Havell’s in Calcutta? Of course Bombay and those adjacent regions of Western India wherein lie the Ajanta, Ellora, and Elephanta Caves, still dwell (in spite of “Havellism”,) in the gall of bitterness. But what—I repeat—what was the method of Mr. Havell’s exclusive training of Indian Art students? We may imagine him tirelessly at his task; hard at work in the crowded classes, from which he had swept away those sad and bad eclectic influences, the Greek and Roman casts; from which he had expunged the last relics of the baneful “foreign influence”—with the exception of course of the presence of Mr. Havell, the European Principal, himself. But every intelligent reader, however enthralled by the picture Mr. Havell has drawn of himself as the modern Hercules in his self-attested feat of cleansing the new Augean stables of our Indian Art Schools, will sooner or later enquire: “How and what did Mr. Havell *teach*?” This is precisely the subject of my enquiry and I seek in Mr. Havell’s books for the panacea. It is slow in coming, for in his copious works the creative note lags tardily behind the destructive onslaughts upon opponents as airy as many of his own feats of “pedagogy” (the word is his own) in India. But the information comes at last. His account of how he educated Dr. Tagore in painting presses hard upon the following remarkable sentence:—“New India, in matters of taste, is now split into two camps, one of which hails the propaganda of the Bombay School as the modern revelation of art to educated India, and the other which follows the lead of Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, the

founder of the new Calcutta School of Painting".¹ This simple division of æsthetic thought in a country of three hundred and thirty millions surely requires a sterner exercise of the reader's credulity than the partition of Poland! Bombay and Calcutta are made to stand, in this sweeping allocation of Indian "taste", like Dives and Lazarus with the great gulf fixed between them. There are no transitional half-tones in this picture of "India from within"; no intervening shades or stages of thought are allowed to weaken the striking antithesis. The other Indian provinces and Provincial Schools of Art are all left out because, according to this writer, they must adhere to the one side or the other, to the sheep (or "saved") of Bengal, or the goats (or "condemned") of Bombay. Hard upon this statement, which gives the key to all this author's special pleading, follows at last one of the few passages in his works purporting to reveal Mr. Havell, as *teacher* of drawing and painting. He writes:—² "Dr. Tagore never came within the depressing æsthetic environment of an Indian University, and very speedily gave up the *European routine of technical training which was his starting point as an artist*. Having thus escaped the Scylla and Charybdis, upon which so many Indian art students have been wrecked, he devoted himself to a close study of the Indian pictures which I was then collecting for the Government Art Gallery, and this collection was the guiding influence in his artistic development, though *in matters of technique he had adopted a compromise between European and Indian methods*."³ It will be observed that the mountain has been in labour again, and produced another mouse! Mr. Havell's epoch-making discovery in teaching was to give Indian students pictures to copy. Not a very exacting strain this, upon the ex-Principal of the Calcutta School of Art's teaching capacity; and ever so much easier than teaching a Life Class. So the beginning of Dr. Tagore's training in Art, as appears from Mr. Havell's own account, was "the European routine of technical training"; while the end of it was that (like the Bombay School) "in matters of technique he had adopted a compromise between European and Indian methods". I shall return to this question of Mr. Havell's

(1) "Indian Sculpture and Painting." 2nd edition (1928).

(2) "Indian Sculpture and Painting". 2nd edition.

(3) I cannot find this admission in the first edition of "Indian Sculpture and Painting" published in 1908. I may have overlooked it or Mr. Havell may have decided to copy Bombay in this—as in so many other instances.

use and understanding of Moghul painting. First, however, let us notice his description of his revival of Mural Painting in India; for, as Bombay has been specialising in this branch of art on a large and organised scale for over a decade, Mr. Havell could not of course have left the necessary references to this important subject out of the second editions of his books, although such are scarce in his first editions published many years earlier. "My own efforts, as Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, were directed towards finding for his (*i.e.*, Dr. Tagore's) remarkable genius the widest scope in mural decoration." How did these efforts, assisted by the partnership with genius, materialise? "One of his earliest efforts was an essay in Indian fresco buono, (*sic*). He also on my advice began the preparation of a series of cartoons for the decoration of the Government Art Gallery in fresco, but the scheme was dropped after my retirement". That is positively all there is to it.¹ This abortive little effort, too slight to be even mentioned among artists, of one Indian art student advised by Mr. Havell, has justified our author in posing as an expert on mural decoration (especially in his second editions) and condemning fiercely the work of many brilliant Indian students of the Class of Mural Painting in Bombay, which work he had never even seen! Every artist knows that an ounce of production is better than a ton of theories in art. The Bombay School which, for some unfathomable reason, Mr. Havell has so bitterly attacked in letters and books since 1925², has liberated and revealed the abilities of scores of clever Indian mural painters where Mr. Havell's sentimentalising apparently resulted in the discovery of one; and that one abandoned mural painting almost as soon as he began it! This is a fraction of what this critic writes of the paintings of the Indian students in Bombay, of which, as he himself admits, he had seen no more than one or two photographic reproductions in a magazine: "A European artist, viewing these paintings with indulgence and condescension, might find much merit in them as the work of promising Indian school-

(1) On page 171 of "Indian Sculpture and Painting" (2nd edition) Mr. Havell tells us: "I engaged a Jaipur painter to decorate the entrance hall of the Calcutta School of Art and to give instruction to the students." Honour where honour is due!

(2) See Mr. Havell's extraordinary attack on Bombay in the India Society's Organ, "Indian Art and Letters" of November 1925, in which he wrote: "I could not discover at the Wembley Exhibition a single work of the Bombay schools which showed an Indian outlook on art" etc.

boys, but only if he does not know or care to learn the end of the story—these clever school-boys never grow up! Therein lies the damnable defect of the whole system.”¹ Here Mr. Havell perhaps achieves his greatest feat of imagination. He has created (1) a European artist who is as imaginary as the opinions attributed to him; (2) a criticism upon paintings which he has never seen; (3) Indian students who “never grow up”; (perhaps here Mr. Havell has borrowed something from the author of *Peter Pan*?) and (4) a “system” of training which does not exist in the Bombay School.

He adds to all this one of those jejune sentiments which are scattered throughout his works like the tinsel spangles on the sham fairies in the Pantomime: “Mother India may be in many ways inefficient and behind the times, but in the upbringing of her own children she has nothing to learn from Europe.”² Modesty no doubt prevented his naming the one exception that proves the rule of this profound reflection. No wonder that a writer recently observed of the “Father of the Bengal School”:—“It must by now be generally known that the controversial methods of Havellism are peculiar: they can only be effective when scanned by the uninitiated reader. Mr. Havell misrepresents the views of his supposed opponent, and then shatters the fallacies he puts into his mouth. The game is really very easy because the mythical opponent does not talk sense.”³

It is twenty times easier to give a man sympathy than to give him the time, trouble, and expense of practical help. It is fifty times easier to tell the Indian student that he is being deorientalised by foreign art, than to assist him practically to master the technique of oil painting; and it is a hundred times easier to sit down and pour out regretful sentimental effusions upon the past of Indian Painting Sculpture, and Architecture than it is to help to shape a course for their advance to-day. Mr. Havell’s books exude sentimentality until we yearn to leave this pent boudoir-like atmosphere—so hostile to activity in art—for the open landscape, even if the weather outside be unfavourable.

Let us consider Mr. Havell’s avowed method of training Indian students—that method for which (he says) he

(1) “Indian Sculpture and Painting”. Second edition 1928 p. 258

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) “Times of India.” August 8, 1931.

“swept away” the wretched system of teaching at present in vogue in Bombay.*

He has explained that he set his students to study—i.e., to copy—Moghul pictures. But how did he teach them to study the principles upon which Moghul painting was based? The Moghuls could not have produced their pictures without faithful and constant reference to the only original which has been regarded as worth copying by the artists of all races, (from the Stone Age to Ajanta, and so up to the present time)—to Life itself. Copying is an elementary branch of the painter's art, a partial means of transition, for the beginner, from the Lower School to the Upper Classes. It has been pointed out that the radical defect of copying as a means of instruction for art students is that no picture is perfect, and so the copyist has to take as much pains over faulty or mediocre passages as he does over the brilliant ones. The art galleries of Europe are crowded with copyists some of whom can copy so well that one can hardly tell the difference between their work and the originals; these painters are the failures of artists. The reader may see them on any “paying day”, at the National Gallery, when he visits London. In my student days copying one “Old Master” still existed precariously as an elementary subject in the most elementary department of the School. Its place in the scheme cannot possibly take that of painting from Life itself, to which it can only serve as an introduction for a novice. (We do not teach Indian students to copy, in the Bombay School of Art.) The Moghuls went direct to Nature for the inspiration for their famous School of Indian Painting, as every other noted School of Painting has done from the Caves of Santillana to the present day. The duplication of some of their pictures was of course quite another matter; and when the artists left Nature to follow the copies of it, the School very soon collapsed—just as reduplication killed the art of Egypt. Copying is simply the easiest, stupidest, and most mechanical occupation in the whole field of painting. The only excuse for making copies a staple product of any art school would be the laziness of the Principal, or his incapacity to teach his students how to draw accurately from Nature. Moghul

*Mr. Havell left India in 1907. I started the present system of training in the Bombay School of Art in 1919 by means of a Class of Mural Painting (endowed with Scholarships by Government) and organised life classes. Mr. Havell's statement is therefore an anachronism. It occurs in his letter in “Indian Art and Letters” for November 1925, and elsewhere in his press correspondence.

Painting shows extremely accurate and searching drawing direct from Nature, essentially the same and not a whit inferior to that which delights us in the work of Holbein.

Abul Fazl tells us very clearly in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that "His Majesty (Akbar) himself sat for his likeness, and also ordered to have the likenesses taken of all the *grandees* of the realm". This is clear enough; and indeed Mr. Havell has drawn the naive, almost childlike deduction: "It was no doubt, the practice of drawing from the living model, enjoined by Akbar and Jehangir on their painter-calligraphists, which led to the very remarkable achievements in portraiture and direct representation of animal life."¹ Yes, no doubt it was precisely that. But Mr. Havell hurriedly adds (for his, as we shall see, is a very tempered admiration of Moghul Art) "they cannot be put in the same class as the great masters of Ajanta and Bagh, who followed their own traditions, and were not under dilettanti dictation." This is a somewhat original way of describing two of the greatest art patrons that the world has seen, Akbar, and Jehangir! What would happen to the author who ventured to describe the patronage of Phidias by Pericles; of Raphaël by the Pope; or of Velazquez by Philip, as "dilettanti dictation?" Patronage is *not* dictation—as Vasari's testimony proves. But Mr. Havell doesn't like the idea of drawing from Life, and this obsession is the trouble which causes his chronic belittling of Moghul, and European art. He cannot really be unaware of the very close similarity between the methods of the Eastern and Western hemispheres in art;² and he desperately endeavours to avert the inevitability of the obvious application of the historical *fact* of this similarity by adding the following amazing announcement:— "The painters of the Hindu School, whose superiority as artists impressed Abul Fazl so strongly, did not take "drawing from the life" in the same sense as the modern European academician. It did not mean that the student sat down in front of his model and reproduced as closely as possible the reflection of it on the retina of his own eyes; but that

(1) "Indian Painting and Sculpture". Second edition. p. 204.

(2) "I was told recently by an Inspectress of Girl's Schools in this country that there was a radical difference between the Occidental and the Oriental way of (literally) looking at things, the Occidental seeing them in the round and the Oriental as flat surfaces bounded by lines. Put thus simply the absurdity of this view is obvious to any one who knows anything of Art in either continent." Mr. Oswald Couldrey in the "Bombay Chronicle" (Sunday edition) 22. Aug. 1931. In India I have frequently heard the same heresy uttered by Europeans

after the most careful observation he went away to record his mental impression of it; returning occasionally "(that is a happy thought certainly!) "if necessary, to refresh his memory". But Mr. Havell has already told us that the success of the School of Moghul portraiture was due to painting from Life—indeed it is a self-evident fact in Moghul Painting which cannot be denied. What was the use, if the artist had a sitter for his portrait in front of him, of his *going away* to record his "mental impression" of the sitter? Why not record it then and there? Mr. Havell is here explaining the success of Moghul portraiture; yet he winds up the whole utterly non-artistic hypothesis as follows: "In this way the artist's memory and powers of observation were developed to an extraordinary degree, as we can see in the wonderful memory paintings of the Ajanta and Bagh viharas." How can one compare *portrait painting* in the Seventeenth Century, with *mural painting* of the Buddhist School of the first five centuries? Abul Fazl's compliment to the Hindu Portrait Painters of Akbar's period has been confused by Mr. Havell. Abul Fazl actually wrote: "Most excellent painters are now to be found and masterpieces worthy of a Bihzad (the Persian artist) may be placed at the side of the wonderful works of the European painters who have attained world-wide fame..... More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, while the number of those who approach perfection, or those who are middling, is very large. This is especially true of the Hindus etc., etc.,"* It will be seen that Abul Fazl was giving information about the comparative values in art in his own time. The whole passage is in the present tense. Yet Mr. Havell inverts the argument so as to suggest that Abul Fazl's admiration of the Hindu portraitists was because they did *not* draw from Life. If he does not mean to convey this what does he mean to convey? The Buddhist artists of the Ajanta Caves undoubtedly drew copiously from Life itself, and Mr. Havell may rest assured that many a sketch from Nature assisted their "Memory Drawings." It is however something to see that Mr. Havell ascribes "the very remarkable achievements" to the period of "dilettanti dictation" of the Moghul Emperors! This should count as "one up", anyway, to the Moghuls in this astounding game of "heads I win, tails you lose." Is it a wonder that professional artists find it hard to read Mr. Havell's books? One can be sure

(*) Ain-i-Akbari.

that this author's own record as a painter was entirely undistinguished ; for his views on art-teaching are those an artist could hardly condone even in one for whom the higher branches of art and the practice of them are a closed book.

But what can one say of an art critic who can write thus :—

“ The pernicious principles of the Italian Renaissance, the bigotry of Puritanism, and the pedantry of pseudo-classical education combined to destroy the national art of Europe.”¹ Imagine the Medici, Cromwell's Ironsides, and the Restoration Dramatists all lumped *together* as conspirators against the art of Europe !

This rebellion against the lamentable but certainly incontrovertible historical fact of the Italian Renaissance runs like a refrain through Mr. Havell's ballad of Indian Art. His thesis is that India gave Art to Europe,² and that all was going very well until the Renaissance came along and upset the apple-cart. The advent of the New Learning was the cardinal blunder (like “ the sad and sorrowful union ” of England and Scotland, according to Andrew Fairservice, in “ Rob Roy ”) which knocked the world's art to pieces, and cursed India with the “ Western Pedagogue ”. Europe would have still been chiselling and painting in the one and only Indian Style if we could only have eliminated Ruskin's Modern Painters and all their works ! Or, in simpler form, Mr. Havell urges that Europe's art would have been great, if it hadn't been for Europe's great artists ! The reader may cull this enchanting theory at length and at his leisure from Mr. Havell's own books ; it does not here concern me except in so far as it impinges upon his protests against Moghul and European influences upon Indian Art, which are largely unsound. For if Europe derived art from India, why should this critic criticise the Moghuls for their interest in European methods of painting, seeing that, at worst, they were only taking back to India something of what India had already given to Europe ? “ The Moghul Court painters were temperamentally realists ” (we shall see presently that “ Havellism ” affirms the vast numerical as well as artistic superiority of Hindu artists among these realists !) “ and therefore inclined to admire the realism of the European

(1) “ Indian Sculpture and Painting.” Second edition. p. 286.

(2) “ The spirit of Indian idealism breathes in the mosaics of St. Marks at Venice, just as it shines in the mystic splendours of the Gothic Cathedrals.” “ Indian Sculpture and Painting”. Second edition p. 188.

pictures they saw. But except under Jehangir's dictation, they did not copy them as the modern Indian student does, consciously or unconsciously" (Mr. Havell wins either way!) "at the suggestion of his European teachers"¹. Now, as every novice in the history of Indian Art knows, the finest flowering of the Moghul School of painting was during the brilliant patronage of Jehangir; so that all this depreciatory and utterly inaccurate reference to "Jehangir's dictation" etc., cannot conceal the sad fact that the European "Father of the Bengal School" has here made another serious slip in his logic. Even amid the tissue of inconsistencies which form the warp and woof of the fabric of Mr. Havell's criticism, this error stands out — a very perfect example of its species. Of course Jehangir did *not* "dictate" on art for the simple reason that his artists' superb work could not be done under dictation.² But all these side-issues are as a mere bagatelle in face of the admission implied in Mr. Havell's own indictment of Jehangir, for he cannot deny that the system which he attacks—whatever it may have been—was that which obtained during the zenith of Moghul Painting!

But the Moghuls came originally from *outside* of India, so—no matter though these Emperors employed thousands of Indian-born artists and craftsmen. Whatever is best under the Moghuls, Mr. Havell tells us, is *not* Moghul; whatever isn't, is. There we have his commentary on Moghul Art in a nutshell. His followers display the same queer kink. Only the other day one of them—Mr. O.C. Gangoly—told the Rotary Club in Madras (according to the Press reports³): By forced conversions of different groups of artistic community, highly skilled craftsmen of diverse nationalities and schools were annexed, at one stroke, for the benefit of the development of Islamic Culture and passed automatically within the boundaries of Islam".

Anon he explained how Muslim art owes its existence to the Hindus. "Indeed more than 80 per cent. of the so-called Moghul painters in the court of the Moghuls were Hindus, and hardly 20 per cent. were Muslims."⁴

(1) "Indian Sculpture and Painting". Second edition. p. 224.

(2) I have shown in my article "Jehangir and his artists" which appeared in "Islamic Culture" Jan. 1929 how consistently Jehangir encouraged the artists to copy *Nature*. That was the end itself which he had in view. The occasional copying of European pictures was merely one means towards that end.

(3) The Statesman. May 6th, 1931.

(4) See. Mr. Mohammed Ishaque's letter in the "Statesman" May 19, 1931, and Mr. Kanaiyalal Vakil's article on the subject in "The Bombay Chronicle" (Sunday edition) of the 26th July 1931.

Mr. Ishaque's comment upon these brilliant examples of "Havellism" is too good to be paraphrased. He writes "If by forced conversion the Muslims swelled the ranks of their artists and painters, may we ask Mr. Gangoly how he accounts for the vast majority of the artists in the Moghul Court who belonged to his community". Mr. O. C. Gangoly is the Editor of "Rupam" which is a great distributor of Havellism; he has been complimented on his brilliant editorship by Lord Zetland (no less) in the conclaves of the India Society. Hence it is not easy to get at Truth, which being great, ought sooner or later to prevail—even in Indian Art. Only a hardy optimist will see much hope of this desirable consummation of the controversy when he peruses such information as the following: "And what is the Taj Mahal—that indefinable something, always felt rather than understood by those who have tried to describe it—but the subtle inspiration of Hindu genius?.....The inspiration of the Taj came not from its Muslim builders: it was the spirit of India which came upon it and breathed into it the breath of life."¹ But who, one naturally asks, *invoked* this spirit of India? Who made the Taj materialise so that it stands where no Taj had ever stood before—*facile princeps* in the World's architectural treasures? Who but the "dilettanti dictators",—the Moghuls? Let us see to what goal Mr. Havell's iteration of these esoteric obsessions—his denials that India could learn anything worth while from outside her own geographical boundaries will lead us. "From the seventh or eighth to the fourteenth century was the great period of Indian Art, corresponding to the highest development of Gothic art in Europe, and it is by the achievements of this epoch rather than by those of Moghul Hindustan, that India's place in the art-history of the world will eventually be resolved."² What is the point which this pugnacious writer, whose statements seem incomplete without the citing of some slighting comparison, is trying to prove? Why all these arbitrary divisions, these useless assessments in India's national artistic legacy?³ The parochial school of art criticism will hear of no equality in Indian

(1) "The Ideals of Indian Art". 1911 p. 120.

(2) "The Ideals of Indian Art." p. 132.

(3) That I am very far from being a detractor from the glories of Buddhist and Hindu Art is, I trust, proved in my books and pamphlets particularly "the Women of the Ajanta Caves", "Jottings at Ajanta", "Mural Paintings of the Bombay School", "The Art of Elephanta" and "The Charm of Indian Art".

Art. The shouting-down of the other man is the only hope of advertisement for its own wares. Such narrow and prejudiced views cannot help to interpret the grand and spacious, and unrestricted outlook upon Indian Art of Akbar, Jehangir, and Shah Jahan, to the world to-day.

Fergusson was unable to see any trace of Hinduism in the works of Jehangir and Shah Jahan. Our pugnacious author sees in this a whole host of aspersions, inferences, and reflections upon his own "purdah" views of Indian Art. It is an outrage; so, he retaliates; and Mr. Havell is so very generally either the aggressor in controversy, or else replying to the imaginary arguments of a mythical opponent that it is almost a relief to read his reply—however wide of its mark—to a genuine statement: "The Moghul Emperors and their Viceroys made use of Hindu genius to glorify the faith of Islam. The Anglo-Indian and the tourist have been taught" (Mr. Havell detects the malign Western "Pedagogue" in every deficiency in Indian Art) "to admire the former and to extol the fine æsthetic taste of the Moghuls. . . . Even the term "Mogul" architecture is misleading, for as matter of fact there were but few Mogul builders in India. . . . Mogul architecture does not bear witness, as we assume, to the finer æsthetic sense of Arab, Persian, or Western builders, but to the extraordinary synthetical power of the Hindu artistic genius."¹ This writer however seems to concede that there was something to be said for the Emperor, Akbar. "Akbar was an Indian of the Indians, and disgusted his orthodox Musulman courtiers by the enthusiasm with which he entered into the study of Hindu Philosophy and religions." As Akbar was "Indian" Mr. Havell shows us how, "Akbar's palace at Agra and the buildings of Fatehpur-Sikri are essentially a new development of the same Buddhist-Hindu craft tradition which had created the architecture of the preceding Musulman dynasties in India."² We are next permitted to learn how the Moghuls set about this vicarious art—so wrongfully attributed to them. Mr. Havell's particular example is the great mosque at Fatehpur-Sikri: "Probably one of Akbar's Persian painters drew a rough sketch of one of the famous mosques at Ispahan or Baghdad, and the Emperor showed it to his Indian master-builders and said, "Build me a mosque like this." The result was an entirely original Indian building, as original as it would have been had

(1) "Indian Architecture". Second edition. p. 8. (1927).

(2) "Indian Architecture". Second edition. p. 158.

Akbar been Christian and commanded them to build him a cathedral like Canterbury or Notre Dame de Paris."¹ This is history, not a *jeu d'esprit* ; for Mr. Havell is not a waggish writer. He can be pompous, accusative, denunciatory, despairing, but the lighter literary graces do not flow from his pen. His works are devoid of humour. He evidently never shared in a "Social" of Indian Art students, or he would surely sometimes have remembered that the Indian is a great humorist, and not at all the sad individual he is popularly reputed to be in the West. The Indian student well knows how to adapt the adage, "Save me from my friends" to the present crying needs of Indian Art, and is not likely to be betrayed by Mr. Havell's hotch-potch of history into supporting an India-versus-Moghul way of looking at Indian Art. Indian opinion generally and very properly regards both the Moghul and the Ajanta traditions as emphatically Indian ; and makes no cheese-paring effort at apportioning praise ; nor does it invite the world to arbitrate as if between two rival candidates for the laurels, which Mr. Havell is doing all the time. It is a pity that English officialdom in India shows a marked tendency to take Havellism, which is not a working proposition for artists, but at best an idealistic theme for drawing-rooms, seriously, and to talk plaintively of "Indian Art" when the people want to talk of patronage. After all, it was the "nation of shopkeepers" which started the Indian Government Art Schools,² in some unwonted outburst of (perhaps contagious) artistic enthusiasm. "That could not last, of course" as Mr. W. W. Jacobs has it. The fit passed almost as soon as it came, and has left India with the spectacle of British officialdom—imitating the famous flight of Frankenstein—in the act of running away from the Monster of its own creation !³ However Bombay has refused to repeat the shibboleths of Havellism. Instead of throwing up the sponge and joining in abuse of a genuine constructive system of art education,⁴ it has shown Indian art students to be by no means confined to a single School of expression in the graphic and plastic

(1) "Indian Architecture". Second edition. p. 171.

(2) The Bombay School of Art was started over seventy years ago by a donation of one lakh from Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy (first Baronet), and the Government added largely to this sum.

(3) Fortunately the personal patronage of the governors of Bombay has steadied its art school much.

(4) This system and some of its results have been discussed in my book "Mural Paintings of the Bombay School" (Times of India Press.)

arts ; but to be highly successful in many methods. So the double of that art critic of the Reindeer-Age who looked in on us at the commencement of this discussion, attacked Bombay strongly, and warned it that whatever it was now doing in art or would do in the future was, and would be "on the wrong lines"! The big issue of helping the Indian Artist by providing the facilities for training which he demands have been obscured by skilfully raised debates on the subject of how, when, and where Indians ought to paint. So the world is supposed to believe in an art revival by means of restrictions upon mediums, methods, styles, and nationalities! This quaint conceit, by reason of its easiness of comprehension and mildly patriotic flavour, has been adopted in many quarters; especially by Europeans, both in India and London, who like to lay the flattering unction to their souls that they at least do abjure Western influence in Indian Art. However "it's an ill-wind," as they say ; and India's deficiency is Europe's opportunity ; for as the Indian is deprived of the facilities for advanced training in his own country he naturally escapes these parochial disabilities and seeks for freer instruction in Europe.¹ This is one, and only one, of many amusing corollaries upon Mr. Havell's propaganda, and goes oddly with his wonderful indictment :— "The Italian Renaissance marks the reversion of Christian art to the pagan ideals of Greece.....but what irony there is in the present spectacle of the Christian nations of Europe, in the twentieth century, using their influence to paganise the art of India!"² Here apparently, "vigour failed the towering ecstasy" as it failed Dante at the climax of his dream—presumably because Mr. Havell laid down his pen, to burst into tears! This is the sort of thing that has terribly frightened us all, though the taunts are all sound and fury, signifying nothing except that Mr. Havell objects to the Antique Class³ as much as he does to the Life class. The confusion between Art and Ethics in this remarkable outburst is however most significant. For of course the plaster cast or the living model, are both merely

(1) "An artist may ransack Mr. Havell's books from cover to cover without discovering a particle of explanation as to how Indian students are to be taught to draw *without* leading them to nature. So Bengal, the home of Havellism, can show more artists who have studied in Europe than all the rest of India put together." "Times of India". 8th August 1931.

(2) "Indian Sculpture and Painting". Second edition.

(3) "Greek and Roman casts were thrown into a pond" complained Mr. Atul Bose, the Calcutta artist, in a recent interview in the "Statesman" in the course of a protest against the prevailing craze.

a means to an end with the student, whether he is Occidental or Oriental, and not the end itself. If, as Mr. Havell implies, Raphael's divine Madonna del Granduca is pagan what is the sublime *Trimurti* of the Elephanta Caves? It is perhaps not unpatriotic for one who has spent eleven years in charge of an Indian Art School to admit that art is *not* our Nation's strongest point; and Mr. Havell may well be right when he says: "the Indian artist lives in a world of his own imagination, where the stolid Anglo-Saxon is unable to follow him". Are not all artists the Indian artists' kith and kin? But this rare and welcome bulls-eye is (inevitably) followed immediately by another bad shot. "Until the Western pedagogue brought Indian culture into contempt and stifled" (etc., etc.,) "the Indian artist found that his traditional methods were perfectly adequate for obtaining that response from his public which every artist needs."¹ Well, perhaps! But I live too near to the manifestations of Indian artistic genius—too close to the realisation of the needs and aspirations of many hundreds of Indian art students to be bludgeoned into agreement with those whose dilettante view of art and history have been responsible for the erroneous views we have been noticing.

1 "Indian Sculpture and Painting." Second edition. p. 285.

W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON.

THE TABLE-TALK OF A MESOPOTAMIAN

JUDGE

PART II.

(Continued from our last issue.)

82. Muhammad b. 'Ubaidallah b. Sukkarah al-Hashimi, a descendant of 'Abdallah b. 'Ali b. al-Mahdi, generally known after his mother as Ibn Ra'it, just as Ibrahim b. al-Mahdi was generally known as Ibn Shaklah, after his mother, recited to me a satire on Abu'l-'Abbas b. Abi'l-Shawarib a descendant of Khalid b. Usaid al-Umawi, brother of 'Abbad b. Usaid, Companion of the Prophet, composed when this person was appointed qadi of qadis; the populace nicknamed him Hadandal. The satire ran as follows:

A robe of praise I've on Hadandal thrown;
 May one who threw it ne'er a garment own!
 I curse myself, whom folly did incite
 To seek benevolence from such a wight.
 How could I hope from foeman for reward,
 Whose blood I had not wiped from off my sword?¹

83. There is a poem by Abu Firas al-Harith b. Abi'l-'Ala Sa'id b. Hamdan b. Hamdun al-Adawi al-Taghlibi commencing:

To halt by ruins art thou not ashamed,
 When loan of youth by time has been reclaimed?²

(1) The meaning is probably that he had previously satirized this judge, and then presented him with a eulogy.

(2) The erotic prologues often commence with the sentiments of the poet when in riding he sees the ruins of a former encampment of his lady-love.

The following lines occur in it :

How long the hours of night now seem to last !
 How short they were in happy seasons past !
 With comrades ever ready to my call,
 No haste too great for them, and tankards tall.
 I used what fortune lent without remorse ;
 You ride your hardest on a borrowed horse.
 When night had spent itself, a mirage floats
 Wide as the sea and we therein like motes.
 Water it seems at first before our gaze,
 But turns to flame beneath the burning rays.
 Beneath our chargers' tramp how oft has quailed
 Some stranger land, whose thrones we have assailed ;
 And when the raid was over, home we brought
 Households entire, the spoil for which we fought.
 Monarchs dethroned by us no longer reign,
 And slaughtered tyrants unavenged remain.

There is another poem by him which commences

A plague on those grey hairs that now appear
 and in which the following lines occur

A glorious task of me demands my soul ;
 Patience would fail me ere I reach that goal.
 And what avail farreaching thoughts in mind
 Of man in strait environment confined ?
 They bid me bide my time, but who can say
 That death will bide my biding and delay ?

84. Abu'l-Faraj 'Abd al-Wahid b. Nasr al-Makhzumi, called al-Babbagha,¹ clerk, recited to me some verses of his own, describing wine which had been brought in a white vessel. They are to be found in his collected poems, and here are some extracts :

Hard by in Qufs a topers' haunt
 Is famous, such as Christians want.²
 A sky it is, where beakers roll
 Around like stars, myself the pole.
 Their substance is so delicate,
 A glance might them annihilate.
 Sunlight which sets not ; fancy, though
 They're real ; water, could they flow.
 Faultless except that they betray
 The secret which their breasts convey.³
 Hypocrisy's material here,
 Not wholly false, nor quite sincere.
 It takes, however different,
 The hue of its environment.

(1) The Parrot.

(2) Qufs was a village between Baghdad and Ukbara, near the former, famed for its wines and taverns. Wine drinking is of course forbidden by Islam.

(3) A Maqamah of Hariri deals with this quality of glass.

Should silver claim it, golden wine
 Within would say : its hue is mine.
 With toasts it circulates, displayed
 Like bride for wedding day arrayed.
 Moonlike with glass for halo, and
 Bubbles for stars : its sky my hand.¹

85. He also recited to me the following fragment :

The nights of youth most joyful prove,
 And sweetest is the time of love.
 And among countries those excel,
 Where neighbours are most amiable.

86. I was told the following by a medical man. We were told it, he said, by Abu Mansur b. Marammah, clerk of Abu Muqatil Salih b. Mudrik al-Kilabi, governor of the Tigris.² (This Abu Mansur was one of the leading men of al-Sarat,³ who were proverbial for their multifarious attainments. He was a man of learning, whom I have myself met, though I did not hear this story from him.) He stated that he had heard it from a certain shaikh. One of our people, he said, suffered from dropsy, and despaired of his life. He was taken to Baghdad, where the physicians were consulted, who prescribed quantities of drugs ; presently, when they learned that he had taken them all without effect, they gave up the case, and told him that they had no cure for him, and he was doomed. The patient hearing this said to those who were with him : Let me now enjoy what I can and eat what I like, and do not kill me with attention before my time comes.—They told him to eat whatever he chose ; so he sat on a bench at the door of his dwelling in Baghdad, and he would buy and eat anything which came by in the street. One day there passed along a man who sold cooked locusts ; he bade the man sit down and bought of him ten *ratl*,⁴ all of which he consumed. A little while afterwards he had an attack of diarrhœa, which took effect more than three hundred times in the course of three days. This made him so weak that his life was despaired of. Then the diarrhœa stopped, and with it all the mischief that had been within him, his strength returned, and he was cured. On the fifth day he walked out on his feet to attend to his affairs. One of the physicians seeing him was astonished

(1) If the wine stands for the moon, it is not clear how the bubbles can serve for stars.

(2) This must mean of some of the districts watered by the river, or of the canals.

(3) One of the most important canals, described in Le Strange's *Baghdad*.

(4) About a pound.

and asked him what had happened, which he recounted.—The physician said : The locusts cannot have had this effect ; there must have been something special about the locusts which have produced this result. I should wish you to direct me to the vendor of these locusts.—They proceeded to search for the man, till he passed by the patient's door a second time. When the physician saw him, he asked him of whom he had bought the locusts.—The man replied : I did not buy them, I catch them myself, and when I have secured a number, I cook them from time to time, and then sell them.—The physician asked where he caught them, and the man named a village a few parasangs from Baghdad. The physician then offered the man money if he would leave his business and go with him to the place where he hunted the locusts. The man agreed, and the next day the two started. The next day the physician returned, bringing with him some locusts, and a plant. Asked what he had got, he said that he had found the locusts which the man hunted feeding in fields covered with a plant called *mesaraeum*, which is a remedy for dropsy ;¹ if a drachm of it be given to a patient, it produces diarrhœa, which puts an end to the dropsy ; however one cannot be sure that the diarrhœa will stop, and this may cause the patient's death, so that its employment as a remedy is very dangerous. It is indeed mentioned in the books, but physicians rarely prescribe it owing to the serious risk. In this case the locusts fell upon the plant, and it was digested in their stomachs, then the locusts themselves were cooked, and as the result of these two operations the strength of the plant was greatly reduced, so that by the time the patient swallowed it it was no stronger than was necessary to effect the cure, and did not induce ceaseless diarrhœa. Hence the cure.

87. I was told the following by Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Tutu of Wasit Abu'l-Husain, who had heard it from Abu 'Ali 'Umar b. Yahya al-'Alawi of Kufah. Once, he said, when I was on the Meccah road, on one of my pilgrimages, one of the Kufans with us had an attack of dropsy and was seriously ill. One of the camel-trains in the caravan was seized by the Bedouin, and the sick man was mounted on one of these camels. When the loss was perceived we despaired both of the patient and the camel-train. We were returning to Kufah, and after a time the patient arrived there cured. I asked him to tell me his story and the cause of his recovery. He said : When the

(1) According to Ibn Baitar it produces dropsy.

Bedouin seized the train, they drove it to their tents which were only a few parasangs from the highroad. They made me dismount and, seeing the state in which I was, flung me down in the hindmost tent of the tribe, and proceeded to divide between them the contents of the train. I had to crawl and beg for food from tent to tent, and desired death, which had no terrors for me, and which I implored God to grant me. One day when they had returned from their ride I noticed that they produced some snakes which they had caught, and which, after cutting off the heads and tails, they proceeded to roast and eat. I said to myself: These people can eat these snakes and suffer no harm owing to the habit which they have acquired. Perhaps if I were to eat a little thereof I should die and be released from my sufferings. So I asked one of them to give me one of the snakes to eat. He flung me one, containing some pounds of roast meat, all of which I ate scrupulously in my desire for death. I fell into a sound sleep, presently woke up perspiring violently, and had an attack of diarrhœa which operated more than two hundred times during the rest of the day and the following night. It did not stop when I fell down helpless, and saying to myself, This is the road to death, I began to recite the creed¹ and pray for forgiveness. When it was light I observed my stomach and found that it had contracted very much and the pain had ceased. I thought to myself: What use is this, since I am dying?—When it was forenoon the diarrhœa stopped, nor did I feel its recurrence till the time for the prayer of noon arrived, when I felt hungry, and started crawling as usual; I then found myself at ease and my strength sufficient, so I made the effort, rose up, walked and asked the Bedouin for food, which they gave me. This gave me strength, and that second night I was cured, and found nothing the matter with me. I remained there a few days till I felt confident that I could walk with safety. So I started on my way with some of them, till I got to the highroad, which I then traversed on foot from station to station till I reached Kufah.

88. I was told the following by Abu Ahmad al-Fadl b. Muhammad, daughter's son of al-Mufaddal b. Salamah of Basrah. I was, he said, once with Abu'l-Husain Muhammad b. 'Ubaid b. Nasrawaihi, when there entered a strange poet who had come from Basrah, named al-Mutarraf al-Himyari. This person recited a fine eulogy of Ibn Nasrawaihi, who ordered his slave to present the

(1) Uttered by the pious on their death-beds.

poet with a gift which he whispered to the slave. When the poet rose, accompanied by the slave, the latter gave him the present. Suddenly the poet came back from the vestibule, flung the paper (which contained three dirhems) into the lap of Ibn Nasrawaihi, and proceeded to abuse him in vile language, and recited three witty lines which he had improvised and wherein he lampooned Ibn Nasrawaihi mentioning his name and lineage. He then departed.—Ibn Nasrawaihi bade me follow him and bring him back. I was to mollify the man and offer him a hundred dirhems from him, on condition that he should not repeat any of his satire.—I ran after the man and overtook him, and tried to mollify him, ultimately offering him the hundred dirhems. But he said : No, never will I accept favours from a man whom I have clothed with shame. He went off, and I do not know whether the poem was his or someone else's.¹

89. The following was told by Abu'l-'Abbas al-Husain b. 'Ali b. al-Fadl b. Sulaiman of Wasit. I was sitting one day, he said, in the year 318 in Baghdad with a friend of mine at the Taq Gate,² and we were complaining to each other of our woes and cares, and the hardness of those times. (Had we those "hard times" now, we should regard them as the acme of comfort !)³. He said to me : Abu'l-'Abbas, console yourself. If a man were to stand up in this great thoroughfare and pointing with his hand to the Taq Gate were to cry out : O afflicted one !, there would not remain a single person in the whole street but would answer : Here I am !

90. When al-Ta'i assumed the Caliphate,⁴ he requested the qâdi Abu Muhammad 'Ubaidallah b. Ahmad b. Ma'ruf to undertake his vizierate. The qâdi declined, but offered to manage affairs and direct the State for him⁵ till

(1) The fee offered was certainly small, being about 1s. 8d. though those offered in our time (according to E. G. Browne in the IV volume of his *History of Persian Literature*) are not much better. Apparently the doubt refers to the eulogy recited by the poet. Such performances were often suspected of plagiarism, as the matter contained in the eulogies has often no special application.

(2) "The arched Gate called Bab at-Taḡ was at the eastern end of the Main Bridge of Baghdad, opening directly into the great market street of East Baghdad, from which the chief thoroughfares branched." Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 178.

(3) The troubles of the year 318 do not appear to have been very serious : both the preceding and the following years were more agitated politically. The author is probably thinking of the civil war which raged in his own time between members of the Buwaihîd family.

(4) A. H. 363 (A. D. 974).

(5) The Caliph's powers at this time were very limited.

the Caliph should appoint someone whom he thought suitable as his secretary. So the qadi came regularly, to give his personal assistance to the Caliph in the management of affairs, and often, when there was no clerk in the palace, he would write rescripts at the Caliph's dictation. The first day he had to discharge a vizier's function. Thus he had to draw up for the Caliph a rescript of which the following is a copy :

Let there be assigned in writing from the court to al-Husain b. Musa al-Musawil the examination of appeals, the marching of the pilgrims on the feast days, and the registrarship of the descendants of Abu Talib of the Hashimite family.² Written by Ubaidallah b. Ahmad month and day added).

91. I read a letter written by Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Hilal the Sabian clerk in Jumada I 365³ for Ibn Baqiyyah⁴ who at that time was vizier of 'Izz al-Daulah to Abu'l-Muzaffar Hamdan b. Nasir al-Daulah, who was in Halwan as governor of that place and of the Khurasan Road.⁵ He⁶ had left his family in the house of Abu'l-'Ala Sa'id in Baghdad, and the letter is a request to him to remove his family from it. Abu Ishaq wrote the letter in his (Ibn Baqiyyah's) name, and I have copied it from the autograph.

I am writing (God prolong the life of the Prince, my master, and perpetuate His help and favour) on the . . . th day of . . . , being in good health. The Prince (God maintain his power !) is aware of my practice of observing obligations, even when their sanctions are feeble, and their claimants weak : and, extreme as is my scrupulousness herein, that of the Prince is yet more strict, obligatory, speedy, and fundamental. The place which Abu'l-'Ala Sa'id b. Thabit occupies in my life is too well-known to the Prince for me to state it : he is a part of me which is indistinguishable, as inseparable as one of my members. No trouble or vicissitude which time may bring about can alter principles or invalidate accepted doctrine. Now the nature of the trouble which overtook him and entered his house with him made it necessary that permission should be accorded him (the Prince) to house his family there.⁷ Had any one but the Prince desired that of me, it would have been hard for him to obtain it; and I only granted him this, owing to my confidence that he (Abu'l-'Ala) would obey me, and was aware that the house is mine, for me to lend or reclaim, and dispose of like a proprietor. It is however improper for me to let Abu'l-'Ala, who is bound to me by so many ties and such a lengthy attachment, be kept out of his house, with his dependants removed from it, and I have sent many a message

(1-2) For the career of this very distinguished personage see Index to the *Eclipse*.

(3) Began January 6, 976. (4) For this person's career see Index to the *Eclipse*.

(5) The text has been corrected in accordance with what follows, and from the *Eclipse*.

(6) i.e. Abu'l-Muzaffar.

(7) This seems to be the sense, but the words are obscure and probably corrupt.

and many a letter on this subject. I am satisfied with their result, which is that her ladyship (the wife of Hamdan¹) whom God protect, regrets what has happened, recognizes what is just, thinks it best to move out of the house, and is unwilling that the present state of things should continue; and indeed many a substitute is offered. I request my lord the prince to confirm her view and recognize what she recognizes, and to respect me in the first place, and the rights of Abu'l-'Alain the second, and write to his representative to accept what he offers,² and move thither, handing over the house. Had it been (God forbid!) forcibly seized,³ I should have compelled him to relinquish possession, and should not have acquiesced in the owner being dispossessed; how much more when the house has been lent, which implies that it is to be returned. My lord the prince must use his judgment about this matter which is my special concern, and I hope it may not be necessary for me to say or write a word more about it, or venture on any further petition or iteration. I have sent with this letter a clerk (who will be introduced by Abu'l-Fath⁴ Qurrah b. Danha) to ask with reference to it what the prince will learn from him, please God.

The signature in the handwriting of the Vizier is as follows :

I beg that the prince (whose might God maintain) will give me this house, and say no more. Salutation.

92. The following was narrated by Abu'l-'Ala Sa'id b. Thabit. I paid, he said, frequent visits to his majesty 'Adud al-Daulah in Baghdad in the year 364,⁵ and when he saw me he used to ask me what made me so thin. When this question had to my mind been asked too often, I composed some verses which I recited to him :

Saith the lord of the earth unto me : Oh, how spare
Is thy frame ! I reply : That is compliment fair.
What more of a sword could admirer allege
Than thinness with brightness and sharpness of edge ?
Albeit my bones are so nude, they make shift
The burdens of state to uphold and to lift.
When matters grow crooked, I straighten the same
By tact and address, such as few dare to claim.
The look of my blade may the monarch displease :
Yet sword without dint he will not find with ease.
Full many a boon hast thou on me conferred
For which gratitude has no adequate word.
Full many a glance hast directed and look,
Wherein the good will could be read like a book.
Once let thy reliance on me stand confessed,
Then fate has no power to alarm or molest.

(1) Probably the daughter of Sa'id b. Hamdan, *Eclipse* v. 255.

(2) Probably what is meant is some other residence suggested by Abu'l-'Ala.

(3) These words are not in the original; they may have been omitted by the writer as being offensive, or by the scribe, who appears to have copied this letter carelessly.

(4) Evidently the son of that Danha whom we have seen to have been a confidential agent of Nasir al-daulah, §9.

(5) See *Eclipse* v. 370., foll.

93. I was told the following by the Christian clerk Ibrahim b. 'Isa b. Nasr al-Susi. My father, he said, told me that he had been harbouring a grudge for forty years against a man who had done him an ill turn, but had not requited him until he died.

94. *Story illustrating the liberality of Saif al-daulah. Unsuitable for translation.*

95. I was told the following by Abul-Qasim b. Ma'ruf.¹ I went, he said, to Halab to pay my respects to the clerk Abu Muhammad al-Salihi and Abu'l-Qasim al-Maghribi, who were lodged in one house owing to congestion. On alternate days the agent of the one or the other used to come in the morning and supply the needs of themselves and the needs and allowances of their staff. When I was comfortably seated there entered a blind man, who after saluting took a seat, and said : I have certain claims on the prince Saif al-daulah, among them those of a neighbour, dating from the time of his residence in Mausil, so I have come to him, bringing a petition ; perhaps you will be good enough to convey it to him.—He produced a document of portentous size ; when they saw it, they said to him : This is too big ; the prince will not care to peruse it. You had better alter and abridge it, and return at another time, when we will take it and convey it to him.—He said : What I want is that you should kindly present this petition.—They tried to dissuade him, and presently he rose like one despairing, dragging his feet dejectedly. I felt compassion for him, so I rode to Saif al-daulah's residence, where he was seated. It was his rule that no one should be admitted to his presence except through a paper written by his door-keeper containing the name of the visitor or visitors ; when the prince had read the name, if he chose he would summon him, if otherwise order him to be sent away. When I had seated myself, the door-keeper presented to him a paper containing the name—son of—of Mausil, the blind. The prince said : What, is this man alive ? Where is he ?—At the gate—was the reply. The prince said : Let him enter, for, from what I know of his reluctance to ask favours, he can only have come, in fancy, for some adequate reason.—So the man entered, and he proved to be the shaikh whom I had seen with al-Salihi and al-Maghribi. As he approached, the prince bade him come near, beamed on him, and said : My friend, had you not heard that we were on the earth, and did you not know our whereabouts ? Was it not possible for you

(1) Brother of the qadi of qadis.

to visit us, considering the strong ties which exist between us? You have wronged yourself and harboured a wrong opinion of us.—The man began to bless and thank the prince and make excuses, and the prince bade him sit down near himself. He sat for a time, and then rose and presented to the prince the identical petition which he had shown us. The prince took it and read it to the end, and then called for Yunus b. Baba who was his treasurer. When the treasurer appeared, the prince gave him certain orders, and then summoned the chief of the wardrobe, to whom he whispered something; then the master of the stable, to whom also he gave an order. They went away, and presently Ibn Baba returned and laid before him two enormous purses, containing over five hundred dinars, then came the chief of the wardrobe, bringing a quantity of clothing in good condition, suitable for summer and for winter, richly scented; also objects of metal-work, such as a casket, a mirror, and the like. Then there came the head of the furniture department, bringing carpets, rugs, satin spreads, linen goods from Saban,¹ and various sorts of coverings, to the value of thousands of dinars. The goods formed a small mountain in front of him. Saif al-daulah liked, when he ordered a present to be given to any one, that it should be brought into his presence where he could see it, and present it to the recipient. All these things were brought in, the blind man knowing nothing about it, and fancying that the prince was neglecting him, and treating him as an ordinary case.² The prince neither whispered nor said anything to the blind man; then came the master of the mounts, bringing a mule worth three thousand dirhems, with a heavy and handsome saddle. Then came the attendant and with him an attendant in new clothes, to whom the mule was given, which he stood in the open space below the dais whereon Saif al-daulah was seated. The prince then asked the attendant how much was his monthly wage. He replied: Twenty dinars.—The prince said: I make it thirty dinars a month, and I order you by way of service to me to attend on this shaikh, and see that you do your duty, show no dejection, and serve him well. Give him the wages for a whole year.—The money was paid the man at once. The prince said: Clear out a certain house for me.—The order to clear it was given.—

(1) Yaqut does not appear to know where this place was: the lexicographers say near Baghdad. Dozy suggests that this place is mythical, and that the word in the text is the Greek *sabanon*, which means some article of linen.

(2) This seems to be the meaning.

Then he ordered a boat to be brought from Tall Fafan¹ to the man's family in Mausil, containing two *kurr* of wheat and a *kurr* of barley, with a supply of Syrian vegetables and food-stuffs. These orders were all carried out, and then the prince summoned Abu Ishaq b. Shahram, generally known as Son of Zalum the singing-girl, who was his secretary and envoy to the Byzantine emperor,² whom he despatched on business great and small. The prince whispered something to him, and he (Abu Ishaq) took hold of the shaikh and began to address to him on behalf of Saif al-daulah a lengthy apology, saying : You have come to us at the very end of the year, when our funds have been divided between various claimants, visitors, and the army, and there are a number of chieftains standing at our gate, whom we have to satisfy. Were it not for this, we should have exceeded your hopes, but as it is we have ordered the following to be given you ;—Ibn Shahram proceeded to read out a list wherein all the presents were inscribed, clothing, furniture, etc.—I said to the prince Saif al-daulah : My lord, do not bring down this largesse on this shaikh all at once, so shortly after the despair which has befallen him, lest his gall burst.—When the shaikh had heard the whole of the statement, he burst into tears, and said : Prince, assuredly you have exceeded my hopes by many stages, and outdone my aspirations by many degrees ; you have more than discharged any obligations, and I am unable to thank you adequately. God however will see to it that you are thanked and rewarded on my account, and now grant me the favour of being allowed to kiss your hand, which is better than any gift.—Saif al-daulah gave him permission, and the shaikh approached him and kissed his hand many times. Saif al-daulah then drew the man to him and consulted him about something, at which the shaikh laughed, and said “Yea by Allah, prince”, twice. The prince then summoned the eunuch attached to his hareem, and whispered to him. The shaikh then departed to the house which had been taken for him, where the prince bade him stay till the prince had considered his affairs, when he would go off to his family.—I asked the eunuch of the prince's hareem what the prince had whis-

(1) “A place on the Tigris below Mayyafariqin wherethe Wardi al-Razm flows into the Tigris ” (Yaqut). “The hill known as Tall Fafan, with a town of this name at its foot, stood on the northern or left bank of the Tigris, some fifty miles east of Hisn Kaifa, where the river makes its great bend south ” (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 118).

(2) He was afterwards employed by ‘Adud al-daulah as envoy to the emperor Basil, doubtless owing to his knowledge of Greek.

pered to him. He said : He told me to fetch one of his sister's slave-girls of exceeding beauty and dressed in garments worth more than ten thousand dirhems and take her to the shaikh. This was done.—I rose up and said : Prince, such an act as this of yours was never heard of the Barmecides or any one else.—He said : None of that ! What was the meaning of what you said to Abu Ishaq b. Shahram. Do not bring this down on him so shortly after the despair lest his gall burst ?—I said : Oh, an hour ago I was with Abu Muhammad al-Salihi and Abu'l-Qasim al-Maghribi, when there happened— (I told him the story), and this shaikh went away in disgrace ; then he came personally, and was treated so nobly by your highness. I feared lest learning this suddenly his gall might burst.—He said: Bring hither at once al-Salihi and al-Maghribi.—One of the two came before the other, and took a seat, but was not addressed by the prince till the other appeared. He then accosted them and said : Come, tell me, have I not bestowed benefits and favours upon you, made you famous, given you handsome stipends and exalted posts, while making your service light, and doing my utmost to discharge my obligations to you ?—They began to express their gratitude. He said : I do not want that. Answer Yes or No.—They answered : Yes, assuredly, and more.—He said : Then do I deserve of you by way of thanks and compensation that you should make men despair of me, tell them to hope for nothing from me, or of my charity, and ascribe to me in their eyes annoyance at the petitions of applicants, and miserliness towards the deserving. What harm would it have done you to take the man's petition ? Then if God caused bounty to come through me, you would have had a share in bringing it about ; whereas if I had displayed annoyance, it would have been attributed to me, whereas you would have been guiltless, and would have done the man the service he solicited. As it is, you have neither done him a service, nor have you served God, who has enjoined on His servants the sacrifice of dignity, nor been mindful of my favours to you.—He went on objurgating them in the strongest language, you might have thought they had committed a terrible crime.—They tried to apologize, vowing that they had only designed to save him the trouble of perusing a lengthy petition, and had desired the man to abridge his petition so that it might be easier to read. This would, they thought, have facilitated the man's success, and they had not imagined that the man had gone off in despair and dejection ; had they known that, they would have gone

after him to get back his petition and present it.—The people present started invoking blessings on Saif al-daulah, vowing that this castigation, this benevolence, and determination to practise generosity were even finer than his dealings with the man, noble as they had been ; no one on earth, they said, but you, would act in this way.

96. We were told the following by Abu'l-Husain al-Harithi of Nahr Sabus.¹ I was told, he said, by one of our shaikhs that Abu 'Ja'far al-Shalmaghani² was extremely intimate with Hamid b. al-Abbas, who, when he became vizier, took him with him to Baghdad, would take his advice on important matters, and employ him as intermediary in great affairs. When Hamid issued his terrible decree concerning al-Muhassin b. al-Furat,³ the latter wrote to al-Shalmaghani, asking him to request Hamid to deal leniently with him and order the exactor to cease beating and humiliating him, and give him time to pay his fine. Al-Shalmaghani took up his case and approached Hamid to that effect ; Hamid refused ; al-Shalmaghani repeated the request in a crowded assembly, wherein each of them insisted, till ultimately Hamid said Bring Muhassin, son of the —,⁴ and bring the slaves and the scourges. Al-Shalmaghani kissed Hamid's hand, but the latter would not yield, and swore that he would without fail cuff and beat Muhassin in the presence of that assembly. The attendants went off to fetch Muhassin, and when they returned bringing him, before Muhassin came in al-Shalmaghani rose and departed. Hamid was furiously angry, and came near arresting al-Shalmaghani and doing him some mischief ; he contented himself, however, with a pious exclamation and gave vent to his wrath by administering to Muhassin that famous cuff which was the reason why Muhassin put him to death when Muhassin's father was vizier for the third time.⁵—Al-Shalmaghani proceeded to enter the office of Hamid's chamberlain, greatly depressed, and began to complain to the chamberlain of what he was enduring ; they complained to each other, and kept saying : This man means to slaughter us all after Muhassin, and leave no survivor. Ye

(1) A canal one day's journey above Wasit, whereon there are villages." (Yaquit).

(2) Better known as Ibn Abi'l-'Azaqir. See Index to the *Eclipse*.

(3) See *Eclipse* iv. 71, where the process of Muhassin is described.

(4) Specimens of this vizier's language were given in Part viii.

(5) The cuffing is described in *Eclipse* iv. 71 ; the victim's head was first shaven lest the hair should deaden the effect. On p. 114 foll. the terrible vengeance taken by Muhassin is recorded,

people, what can a man do with himself ?—While this was going on, Hamid having dismissed his assembly and sent Muhassin back to his prison, after what had taken place, summoned his chamberlain, and asked him where al-Shalmaghani was.—In my room, he replied.—And what has he been saying ?—He has said nothing.—Hamid paused as if ashamed, and then told the chamberlain to fetch Shalmaghani.—When he came, Hamid said to him : Abu Ja'far, is it due to the friendship which I have shown you that you should be so loyal to my enemies, and leave my room when you see that I am about to chastise them ? —He said : Does the vizier mean to judge justly or merely bid me approve ?—He said : I will hear and judge justly.—He said : Vizier, this is a man whose cause I pleaded with you. Suppose he had been a greengrocer, not the son of a vizier, whose rank you know, and must respect, it would have been improper for you to refuse my request on his behalf, and, if you did refuse, to force me to remain seated and witness the ill-treatment of a man for whom I had interceded. Further, you are aware that fortune changes, and this act of yours may have a consequence from which may God protect you ! Supposing that consequence comes about, what harm will accrue to you from my life being safe and my fortune secure from the mischief these men may do ? From their being unable to say presently : It was because you despised us and would not intercede for us ; had he (meaning me) acted like a friend, the vizier who was so intimate with him would not have refused him. He can only have remained seated to witness our cuffing in order to gratify his spite. What further could be better for you than that your staff and your chosen friends and associates should have good qualities and dislike of evil ascribed to them, so that people might say : Were he not a good man, he would not have chosen good men as his associates ; he must have been driven to this action by anger and need of money, but otherwise his nature is kindly and that is his dominant quality, rather than that they should say : Being a bad man he has gathered bad men around him.—You may be sure that when I left your assembly I had made up my mind that you would ruin me ; I was aware that I had committed a breach of etiquette, and was not sure but that you would ruin me at once. But I said to myself : I will follow the right and abide by sound reasoning and prudence, even if I am to suffer. If I escape, it will be by the favour of God ; if I perish, God will deliver me.—Hamid was abashed and apologized to him ; he then bade him go and take

Muhassin by the hand.—Shalmaghani acted as intermediary and got Muhassin's torture alleviated.¹

97. I found a letter in the handwriting of the vizier al-Muhallabi, addressed to Abu Salamah, which the latter presented to me, stating that it was from al-Muhallabi to himself, and it is in a handwriting which I know. It contains verses by the vizier :

Al-Fadl's scout, a letter, came
Full of queer kindness like his name :²
For which I thank, as thank the poor
Enriched from wealthy donor's store.
And which I guard, as captive might
The promise of his life hold tight.

I also found a letter in the handwriting of Abu Muhammad (al-Muhallabi) written by him to Abu'l-Qasim b. Bulbul when the former was in very humble circumstances, containing the lines :—

Your note to me has brought the dawn ;
When shall we meet, and see full morn ?
Life will be sweet when that's fulfilled,
Wings will be fledged, and cravings stilled.

The following verses were addressed by him to someone else :

By notes or messengers that please
At times from fortune's spite he frees.
His friendliness the more I prize
Knowing how he dislikes such ties.
The lavish donor may give more :
On miser's bounty I set store.

The following also are by him :

Could I, my brother, sharer of my heart,
Forget our covenant because we part ?
When we are severed consolation find,
Like someone more than kin and less than kind ?
I swear by our affection, surer vow
Than promise slaves with freedom to endow,
A false suspicion wouldst thou round me tie,
Whose ends thou canst not join : tis vain to try.

(1) This anecdote is an important addition to Miskawaihi's record. In *Eclipse* iv. 137 it is stated that when Muhassin came into power he employed Shalmaghani as his agent, and a friend of the latter, who was ready to shed blood, slaughtered men like sheep. Miskawaihi adds that Shalmaghani claimed divinity, a statement which is confirmed by Ya'qut in his biography of Ibn Abi 'Aun, who suffered martyrdom for his belief in Shalmaghani. Letters are there quoted wherein the attributes of divinity are ascribed to him.

(2) The name al-Fadl signifies "bounty".

The following also :

My life be ransom for a brother dear,
Whose notes are like good news when they appear.
Who, not content his fellowship to give,
Bestowing salutation bids me live.

The following also :

A letter has arrived, O welcome guest,
A fount of life conveying to my breast !
Pearls on a chain of gold I there discern,
Each paragraph a masterpiece in turn.

98. We were told the following by Abu Mansur al-Qushuri, who belonged to the home-born troops.¹ When I was a lad, he said, I served in the apartment of Nasr al-Qushuri², which was given up to the chamberlain in the palace of Muqtadir. One day Muqtadir went sailing unpreparedly, and crossed over to the Imperial gardens called Zubaidiyyah.³ I was witnessing this among a party of servants and retainers. The officers of the table and the cooks were busy carrying vessels and food, and packing them in baskets which were loaded ; Muqtadir clamoured for food ; he was told that it had not been brought yet. He bade them see what there was. The attendants went off abashed, not venturing to come again and say nothing had come, and began to consult with each other about what they should do. They were heard by Ja'far, skipper of Muqtadir's barge, and chief of the sailors in the employ of the palace, and he bade them produce what was on the barge. There was extracted from the bottom of the barge a handsome hamper of thin bamboo, containing a cold kid, a chilled stew, rissoles, condiments, a fine piece of choice salt fish,⁴ and some good loaves of wheaten bread. It was all clean, and this was a hamper which was made up for him every day in his house and brought to the barge for him to eat in his place there, so that he need not interrupt his duties. When the hamper was brought to Muqtadir, he was satisfied that it was clean, ate of the contents and was particularly pleased with the salt fish and the condiments, which he chiefly ate. Presently the viands arrived from his kitchen, but he said that on that day he would eat only of the food of the skipper Ja'far ; so he finished his repast from this, and

(1) i.e., sons of the mamluks or slaves who were trained to be the Caliph's guard.

(2) He was Muqtadir's chamberlain and figures on many important occasions. For his career see Index to *Eclipse*.

(3) See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 113 full. In 306 A.H. Muqtadir temporarily established his residence here, on the Western bank of the Tigris.

(4) This rendering is tentative.

ordered the other viands to be distributed among the company. He then said : Tell him to bring the sweets.—He said : We know nothing of sweets.—Muqtadir said : I had no idea that there was any one in the world who ate food not followed by sweets.—The skipper said : Our sweets are dates and squeezed olives. If the Caliph fancies them, I will have them fetched.—Muqtadir said : No, those are distasteful “ sweets”, I cannot endure them. So bring some of our own sweets.—Some dishes were brought, of which he ate, after which he started drinking. Then he said to his chef : You are to make up a hamper every day on which you are to spend between ten dinars and two hundred dirhems,¹ and hand it to the skipper Ja'far ; it is to be always part of the equipment of the barge. If I sail one day unpreparedly as I have been doing to-day, it will be ready ; if however by sunset I have not sailed, it shall be a perquisite of the skipper Ja'far.—This was done till Muqtadir was put to death. Ja'far used to take the hamper, but frequently he would reckon the days and take dirhems instead, as indeed Muqtadir never again sailed unpreparedly, nor had need of the hamper.²

Similar to this is a story which I have heard about Mu'tadid. One day he asked for a particular dish, and was told that it had not been made that day. He said : The kitchen ought to lack nothing, so that anything which is ordered can be produced at once.—So he gave orders to the bureau of expenditure that this dish should be regularly prepared until orders came to stop it. In consequence it was regularly prepared, at considerable cost, but was not brought to the table, as they waited for a demand when it would be brought as ordered. A year passed without his demanding it, then an account was brought him, as he used to examine his accounts himself, and seeing how much had been spent on that dish during the year he was horrified, and said : God forgive me ! To think that all this money belonging to the Muslims should have been spent on a dish which I have not eaten ! This is the essence of extravagance. Put a stop to its preparation, and let there be no recurrence of this procedure in the case of this or of anything else.—Some say that the dish was of camel's

(1) The latter would be normally equal to 13½ dinars.

(2) The point of this anecdote is to illustrate the wastefulness of this Caliph, which is further exemplified in Part I.

meat,¹ that the cook had had to slaughter a young camel everyday to provide it, and that this had caused the great expense. Some however say that it was veal, and that a calf had been slaughtered every day ; others that it was chicken with sour milk. I have heard all these accounts.

99. We were told the following by Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Ahmad b. Muhammad the Witness known as al-Tabari. We were told, he said, by the Malekite jurist Abu Bakr b. Salih al-Abhari, who survives till now, and is of high repute for integrity and learning, that he had seen in a dream a certain ascetic (whom he named). I seemed, he said, to be looking for him, and he came out from between some palm trees, having on him two wrappers, one for the lower and the other for the upper part of his body, like a man of Sind.² I said to him : Tell me something or give me some exhortation.—He said : Say : Lord, shorten my hope, beautify my acts, and rescue me from that desire.

100. He also told us the following. We were told, he said, by the Sufi Ja'far al-Khuldi that he had heard the following from the Sufi al-Khawas³. I sailed, he said, the sea with a party of Sufis, and when we had got far out, our vessel was wrecked, and we mounted planks belonging to the wreck, and some of us got safely to land on these. We landed on a shore about which we knew nothing, and we remained there some days, finding nothing to eat. We were facing death, and came to an agreement, saying to each other ; Come, let us make it binding on ourselves, if God should rescue us from this place, to give up something for Him.—So one of us said that he would never break his fast⁴, another that he would pray everyday so many inclinations, another that he would give up lying : when every member of the company had said something, they said to me And what do *you* say ?—I said : I will never eat elephant's meat.—They said : What means this frivolity at such a time ?—I said : I assure you I meant no frivolity ; from the time when you began I have been trying to think of something to give up for God, but cannot get myself to utter anything but that which I have said ; I have only said what I mean to perform.—They said : There may be something in this.—

(1) Miskawaihi records cases of camel's meat being eaten in emergencies, whence it would appear to have been unfashionable. See Index to *Eclipse*.

(2) At one period Sindian meant juggler, but this does not seem to explain what is meant here.

(3) Probably Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Isma'il, ob. 291 A.H.

(4) *i.e.*, during day-time.

After a time we separated and started scouring the country in search of something to eat, and presently we came upon a very fat elephant's cub. My companions took it and managed to slaughter and roast it, and bade me come and eat. I said : Only an hour ago I resigned this food for God Almighty's sake, and it may be that the words which fell from my tongue are to be the cause of my death, for I have eaten nothing for some days and have no desire for any other food ; but God shall not see me break my covenant with Him. So do you eat.—I then went away from them, and they ate their fill and were refreshed. Night came on and they went off to their several sleeping places while I myself retired to the root of a tree where I had been in the habit of passing the night. Little more than an hour passed when an elephant came out of the place whence we had secured the cub ; he was trumpeting and the whole country side was filled with the noise of that and of his tramping. He was searching for us, and we said to each other : Now our end is come. They gave themselves up for lost throwing themselves prone on the ground. The elephant came and started smelling each one all over his body, and when every part of the body had been smelt, lifted one of its feet and placed it on the man so as to dismember him, and when he perceived that the man was dead raised his foot, made for another man, and did with him as he had done with the first. This went on till no one was left but me ; I was sitting up, watching the proceedings, and uttering prayers for forgiveness. I had neither fled nor thrown myself on the ground. The elephant now made for me, and when he came near I flung myself on my back, and he came and smelt at all or most of my members, as he had done with the others, only he repeated the process with me two or three times, which he had not done with them. He then twined his trunk round me and lifted me into the air. I said : This is another mode of death wherewith he means to kill me.—He did not remove his trunk from me till he had set me on his back. I sat upright and looked after myself, thanking God that my death had been postponed, wondering one moment and expecting death another. The elephant rushed on at a great pace, till it dawned, when he stopped, raised his trunk to me, so that I thought my end had arrived, twined it round me, dropped me gently on the ground, and leaving me there ran off by the road on which he had come. I could scarcely believe my eyes, and when he got to such a distance that I could no longer see him, I started worshipping and praying. Examining the place I found that I

was on a high road, and having walked along this for some two parasangs, I came in view of a large town. Fort his I made, and when I entered it, I found that it was a great Indian city (he mentioned its name). The inhabitants marvelled at me, and asked me about my story which I told them, and they asserted that the elephant must have done several days' journey in that one night. I found means of getting away from them and travelling from town to town until I arrived safely in my own.¹

(1) This anecdote is to be found also in the author's *Deliverance after Stress*, whence it has got into the Arabian Nights as one of the adventures of Sindbad the Sailor.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(*To be continued*).

ROUND THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF PERSIAN ART

II

THE beginning of the fifteenth century finds the Persian miniature style completely formed, to be very soon stabilized ; it reached its acme about the end of the first quarter of that century and for a hundred years from then showed little development save for the greater vivacity which appeared in the latter part of that period and which is pre-eminently connected with the great name of Bihzâd, the " marvel of his age." It will not therefore be out of place to give now a short review of its distinctive qualities and an account of its position in the social life of a Muslim community.

The garden element is now strongly established ; flowers, strewn in tufts, an arrangement not unknown in the last part of the thirteenth century, began to fill the ground in a rather stylized manner, they become naturalistic, faithfully studied after the originals ; flowering trees and shrubs grow in favour and bare trees, carefully conceived, in the Chinese manner—from which they were evidently modelled—are often used as valuable elements of composition. Of line-work enough has been already said : of colour we may add that it is flat and solid, depending for effect largely on its pure mass, yet subordinate to the harmony of the whole ; it is ever vivid, with the brilliancy of gems, the materials being most carefully chosen and often very costly, such as lapis lazuli, not to mention the gold and silver which were lavishly employed : the lapis blue was not sufficiently vivid, in the eyes of these amateurs of brilliance, to convey the brightness of the sky, so they painted it often in pure gold and, similarly, sea, lakes and meadow-streams were usually painted in silver—with unhappy results for posterity, since the metal has oxidized, of course to a dull black.

The landscape is usually very rocky, a feature derived, perhaps, from the mountainous regions of Eastern Persia

where the art was chiefly nourished, though it may have been partly suggested by Chinese landscape drawings in which high, jagged rocks are a usual convention; the rocks are of a fantastic, piled-up kind, very brightly coloured—in some cases the whole palette-range of colours seems to have been spilt on them, each single one brilliant in its red, blue, purple or other high-keyed hue. A lofty screen of rocks frequently forms the backing of the scene and, in the later times, the upper parts of knights and horses are often shown peering over the top as if waiting for events below; banners and the tops of ensigns are sometimes depicted on the summits of the rocks or at their edges, a method—adopted doubtless from the Chinese—to denote a host hidden from view behind the rocks.

No longer, except in portraits—which are not common—do large figures fill the space, as in many of the Mesopotamian illustrations, but human beings are shown in their right proportions in the various scenes in which they are placed, natural or architectural; these scenes have gained their full share of importance in the pictorial composition.

In the fourteenth century the flame-halo and the cloud-scroll are directly copied from the Chinese; the former, as previously indicated, is now reserved for saints and prophets only, unlike the circular haloes of the preceding centuries which were bestowed with a totally indiscriminating profusion; the artists had learnt from China their true use and had adopted the characteristic Chinese form. The cloud-scroll, however, is introduced with little discrimination, especially in the earlier miniatures, where it is sometimes given a disconcerting prominence; its use was continued long and it found its way also into textiles, especially carpets.

The technique has acquired great virtuosity, an extraordinary power of delineating with the finest lines and in minute and accurate detail certain elements of the picture such as the ornate architectural work and the complicated patterns on tiles and stuffs, especially the carpets. The very direct and thorough study given by Persians to Chinese drawing is strikingly demonstrated in a MS. from Constantinople of the beginning of the fifteenth century, belonging to the Turkish Government and illustrated in pls. 80 and 81 of E. Kuhnel's "*Miniaturmalerei islamischen Orient*" (Cassirer, Berlin): the Persian artist has produced pages of line-drawing of highly stylized birds and flowers hardly distinguishable from Chinese, yet the

line is so vigorous and swift that there can be no doubt of the originality of the work ; the artist had impregnated himself thoroughly and intimately with Chinese feeling. (The Chinese on the other hand sometimes copied the Persians, as in a MS. of the early fifteenth century in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, illustrated by Kuhnel in pl. 39).

The pictures are proffered as illustrations of matters recorded in favourite poems or chronicles, but their illustrative value is not their chief virtue, their object being rather to enliven the leisure of the courtly amateur with a gay and harmonious presentment of knightly, or occasionally religious, society, fascinating in its brilliant technique and making but little call on the reflective faculty. The more popular character of the Mesopotamian illustration—never truly Persian—has been left out, and under the care of appreciative princes the art has assumed the shining garb of gaiety so concordant with the Persian genius of the time. How great was the share of princes and their ministers in this development and how conscious they were of it may be gathered from the remark of the emperor Bâber that the great Bihzâd owed his supremacy in painting to Mîr Ali Shîr, the gifted minister of the last of the Timurid rulers in Persia, Husain Mirza, and in other passages we find kings proclaiming the efficacy of their guidance to great artists. Shah Husain Mirza, who ruled at Herat (1487-1506), made of it a busy centre of literature and art and became the eager patron of Bihzâd. On the death of the Shah the city fell, after raids by the Uzbeks, to the new Persian dynasty of the Safavids, and its victorious founder, Ismail, not only put Bihzâd under his protection but gave him, in 1522, great powers as head of the Royal Library and absolute master of its staff, including copiers, painters, gilders, etc. ; the very warrant of appointment, drawn up in the strangely hyperbolic symbolism of the time (Arnold, "Painting in Islam", Appendix C), indicates the hold that the art of miniature had then gained on the minds of Persian kings and courts. Bâber, himself a Timurid, was a keen lover of the art and in this was followed by his successors on the throne of India who introduced it there, founding the Moghul school. In Persia at least one Safavid Shah, Tahmasp (1524-1576), is reported to have taken lessons with the brush, and royal patronage continued till the reign of Shah Abbas, who, however, seems to have taken a less active interest in painting than his predecessors.

This strictly courtly standing of the art explains largely its flourishing in a Muslim society. It was not general but confined to a small circle of amateurs of aristocratic status and mentality, little likely to be troubled by religious scruples in a matter which in fact impinged so little on real religiousness. The paintings were closed up in books, not accessible except at the owner's will; the enjoyment of them was for the elect alone. Frescoes were painted occasionally on palace walls, but here again they, too, were not open to the public gaze and it is significant that they were generally restricted to the bathing-rooms, the most private and remote of all. The whole matter has been dealt with learnedly by Sir Thomas Arnold in the first chapter of "Painting in Islam" where many interesting details are recorded and good reasons adduced for not giving too much importance to this infraction of an Islamic rule intended in its origin to prevent pagan idolatry, a sin which was in no way likely to be promoted by these works—yet he records instances of remorse on the part of some amateurs.

A common supposition is that the interdiction was not binding on the Shiah sect to which the Persians belonged, but Sir T. Arnold has corrected this, with chapter and verse, and it should be noted that the Shiah doctrine was not officially adopted in Persia till the early part of the sixteenth century, with the coming of the Safavid dynasty, anxious to accentuate the nationalism which they affected, for in the East the strongest distinctions between man and man are those of religion: in this they followed, all unwittingly, the same method as their Sasanian predecessors, with their return to strict Zoroastrianism.

Apart from these considerations, the most important factor in the matter was the Persian temperament; it has always been most susceptible to art and eager in its pursuit and in these harmless and stimulating paintings it found a most congenial outlet for its activities.

The most famous exponent of the art, Bihzâd, was born in the middle of the fourteenth century and died about the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth: much has been written about him, sometimes with an excess of zeal; his qualities may be well judged from a book by Sir T. Arnold, "Bihzâd and his paintings in the Zafar-nâmah MS." (Quaritch, London, 1930), which reproduces them in colour, with a good account of the artist: nearly all the work attributed to him has been questioned by one authority or another, and it becomes therefore difficult to say in

what respects he really excelled—it is certain, as Basil Gray points out (*"Persian Painting,"* pp. 55–6, with special reference to figures 5 and 6) that some of his contemporaries nearly, if not quite, reached his state of virtuosity, the perfection of which was the principal desideratum of the time. Colour had become more varied and even more brilliant, the line-work still finer and the detail more minute and accurate, but besides all that—which was really but a perfectioning of qualities already highly developed—we find great predilection for the depicting of movement, and especially of violent movement, the clash of arms, the rush of knights on horse or camel; the markedly static quality of the work in the early Timurid period has disappeared and the scene displays a greater liveliness. Sometimes, though rarely, attempts were made to represent states of mind, they are usually confined to some conventional pose, as when a finger to the lips represents wonder or admiration.

The virtuosity, in so difficult a technique, is indeed remarkable and it was probably Bihzâd's excelling in this respect that gave him his fame and caused the attribution to him of many pictures on the strength of their technical accomplishment. We may perhaps compare the art of this period to that of the twentieth century cosmopolitan ballet, fascinating with its marvellous technique, its glow and glitter, and as a Karsavina or Pavlovna, by her higher finish and, most of all, by her inspiring personality, conquers distinction from her brilliant contemporaries, so did Bihzâd, the superlative master of his technique.

This, however, was not all; a true sympathy in the observation and rendering of nature now appears, a human intimacy of feeling of quite a different category from mere brilliance of technique, for now we may observe, delicately rendered, the grace and vigour of animals, the slenderness of some, the mass of others—the beauty of trees, the varied tones in the mass of foliage of the plane, the sense of movement in its leaves—the smiling grace of flowering shrubs, the gem-like quality of blossoms, often wild, in the grass. Inspiration has perhaps been drawn from Chinese sources, but the rendering is Persian, with its own joy.

The art could not of course be maintained at this height but, like all others, Greek, for example, or Italian, carried in its very perfection the seeds of its decay. Greater wealth was expended on the work, of which a chief note now became its gorgeousness, a quality betraying something of the barbaric, a reaction, perhaps, against the

rough realities of life ; it flamed forth at its height, in the middle of the sixteenth century, in the wonderful large miniatures in the MS. of Nizami's Poems now in the British Museum (published by "The Studio," London, 1928), unequalled in its lavishness but in true beauty scarcely competing with the earlier masterpieces. At the same time the demand for paintings grew wider, painters increased in number and multiplied their output for the benefit of less exalted clients than the courtly ones hitherto purveyed for ; splendour became too often tawdriness and a decadence set in, very noticeable in the reign of Shah Abbas (1586-1628) who withdrew his official patronage from the art. In his time a convention in design, first noted about 1550, made great headway, reigning also in ceramics and textiles ; all are impressed with a kind of swirling willowiness in the figures, an over-gracefulness of pose which, becoming an exaggerated mannerism, ends by producing a sensation of drooping debility. Yet work of the older type was still produced, some of it really attractive, especially in the delineation of animal life : for example, the margins of MSS. were sometimes decorated with various animals, amidst trees and flowers, in gold on a cream or blue ground ; the best of these evince as much proficiency in their particular subject as the masterpieces of the early sixteenth century, with more variety ; their aim has been excellence in pure decoration and they have attained it. No movement seems too swift for them to grasp, no grace so subtle as to elude them ; the swirling effect is displayed in the foliage alone, in which it is natural. A fair example of this kind of work is shown by Blochet, in pl. CLI, illustrating a book-cover of the beginning of the seventeenth century (the margins of the Nizami MS. just noticed are decorated in this way, but are not of the best). A very fine example is illustrated by Kuhnelt in pls. 55 and 56 from a MS. in the Leipzig Museum of industrial art.

In the reign of Shah Abbas European paintings reached the country and had some little influence on native work—for example, in the bushy eyebrows which make an occasional appearance, unlike the thin curved type of earlier works, derived from the Chinese—but it was reserved for the youthful Abbas II (1641-1658) to fall openly under their attraction ; he sent one of his chief artists to Italy to learn its technique, thereby hastening the end of the true Persian manner. The eighteenth century saw an accentuation of the movement towards Europe ; prints and copies of pictures were obtained and taken as models

by serious painters; many a Persian picture has been painted from a Christian Holy Family, trees, rocks and all, in the eclectic style of Italy, with the faces and costumes translated to a Persian cast; the native style degenerates simultaneously and, clever artists as the Persians still are, the best work has of late consisted of pastiche—though one modern example in the exhibition seemed to show that modernist painting has effected its entrance and may possibly produce, with the native style, a mixture from which new charm, or at least humour, may spring—but it could not, and should not attempt to, emulate the old.

Before leaving this subject we must turn once again to the seventeenth century, to take notice of the work in pure line which then became fashionable and of which several good examples were shown at the exhibition. Some forerunners in previous centuries, and their connection with Chinese art, have already been discussed; the same fundamental characteristics are seen in both periods but in the later one the drawing does not show so patently the underlying Chinese influence, it has become freer and more at its ease. moving in an ambit that has now become truly native to it. This facility does not necessarily make for the highest excellence and the works of this age cannot be considered the equals of the drawings in the MS. of Sultan Ahmed Jalâyir's Poems previously referred to, except perhaps in one particular, their superb presentment of the grace and vigour of animal life which we have already noted in dealing with decorated margins. The more lively drawing of faces would lead us to expect good pencil portraiture, but this seems to have been rarely wanted in Persia and we must look for it in contemporary work in India, doubtless—at least at first—by Persian artists who have left wonderful portraits of the first Moghul emperors, almost equal to the finest European.

It is probable that the seventeenth century fashion for drawings in pure line, with no colour—or but little, and that not costly—was due to the wider demand from a public which could not afford the very expensive paintings of the previous century, and in fact these drawings were soon engulfed in the general decadence of the time, becoming heavy and even vulgar, in spite of the efforts at gracefulness of the willowy style, which only accentuated the essential weakness. In this criticism the much talked-of Riza Abbassi must have his share and the fact that he was so much praised by his contemporaries and had such a good conceit of himself only denotes the general

lowering of taste that had then set in (for convincing examples see Blochet, pls. CLVII and CLVIII, and Basil Gray, "Persian Painting," figures 14 and 15).

To end this sketch of Persian painting on a more cheerful note, even if on a minor theme, let us note that many artists since the middle of the seventeenth century have excelled in a naturalistic but somewhat formal rendering of flowers and birds, often illustrating the widespread theme of the Rose and the Nightingale; this phase of art, overlooked at the exhibition, is well illustrated by Blochet in pl. CLXVII, of a goldfinch on a stalk of narcissus in bloom, with butterflies and insects (dated 1653); though the origin of this phase is of course European, the delicacy of observation which it manifests is in full keeping with the Persian sympathy for nature. Less successful are the direct imitations of European work, well exemplified by Mohammed Zamân's painting of Bahram and the Dragon in the great Nizami MS. in the British Museum, previously referred to (Arnold, "Painting in Islam," p. 149 and pl. V); gay and dashing as this is, its chief success is that of curiosity, yet it is conceivable that some genius might fuse to a fresh and captivating whole the reflective impressionism of Europe with the Persian passion for splendour.

The main difficulty would probably be the matter of shadows, which has ever been an essential factor of division between the pictorial arts of West and East. The Persian miniature admits of no shadows whatever, all is a brilliant mosaic of light; if the art had owed its inspiration wholly, or mostly, to the Hellenistic school, it would surely have inherited the chiaroscuro effects which we know to have been strongly developed in that school, but the inspiration came with greater force from Central Asia, in fact Serindia, where Chinese culture strongly prevailed, and the Chinese convention of shadowlessness kept the field. There is possibly a philosophical foundation for this convention, to be explained perhaps from the parallel case of Ancient Egypt: there the representation of human beings on the walls of tombs and temples had a magico-religious import and it behoved the artist to display them in their very quiddity, as nearly as he could, and not merely according to the fleeting vision of the human eye; the same idea very likely underlies the Chinese convention, perhaps originally from similar motives but not in later times, when utilitarian Confucianism provided the working philosophy of the literates. In India there was no objection to shadows; the Ajanta paintings are conceived in

chiaroscuro, though the outlines, painted probably in pure fresco, have so often survived the inner painting, done on the dry wall with a medium (I have to thank Mr. K. de B. Codrington for technical advice), that they have sometimes been praised especially for their calligraphic virtues and certainly the line-work is usually very sure and swift. Similarly, on the introduction into India of the Persian miniature style, in the sixteenth century, it soon became tinged with the native feeling for chiaroscuro and when the popular Hindu style (sometimes termed Rajput) was developed, branching off from the Courtly Mogul, it adopted it consistently, though in a conventional manner, not strictly naturalistic—in this like the Ajanta paintings, compelled to speedy memory work from the nature of their medium ; both, too were essentially naturalistic, in spite of their method of using shadow.

The splendour which characterizes Persian miniatures is as remarkable in their textiles and to these we will now turn.

The woven stuffs of the early Islamic period followed faithfully the Sasanian tradition, with equal skill and sense of design ; few fragments have survived, guarded carefully in museums or private collections, and not many appeared in the exhibition ; a good idea of their qualities may be obtained from Korchlin and Migeon's "*Oriental Art*" (Albert Levy, Paris and Benn, London), pls. LX-LXII, followed by similar ones of Hispano-Moresque origin, all in the Sasanian tradition and hardly to be distinguished from the contemporary woven products of Egypt, Sicily or Syria.

With the advent of the Turko-Persian fashion of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, the figured stuffs underwent also a parallel development ; the patterns on the costumes represented in the miniatures of MSS. or painted on the pottery of Rey show usually large designs of true weaving type, savouring considerably of the Sasanian, often simplified, though we know from the remains of stuffs of the Seljuk period that a high degree of intricacy was then attained. But a new type of decoration also appears in the stuffs represented on the pottery of Rey, consisting of long vine-like floriations of a somewhat naturalistic kind more suitable for embroidery than for weaving ; they are clearly derived from Chinese originals, for this type of pattern was manufactured in China at least as early as the T'ang dynasty ; it may have originated there in embroidery, for which the Chinese were famous at all

times—in the days of Shah Abbas embroiderers were brought from there to Persia and the art was called “the Chinese,” just as painting had been in Bokhara. Quite possibly the patterns were in fact embroidered and this seems the more likely that miniatures of the fourteenth century show decoration on the shoulders only of the costumes, of very Chinese style, apparently embroidered: a specially notable example is the covering of a divan with its Chinese phoenix, and the decoration of tents in miniatures of a MS. apparently of the middle of that century, reproduced by Blochet (pls. LIX-LXI—some authorities consider it of the early part of the century). This decoration of the shoulders continues till towards the middle of the fifteenth century (Blochet, pl. LXXIX), but in the latter part of it a new type of pattern comes into view, the beginning of the true Persian style which flourished so exuberantly in the days of the Safavids. Its beginning is seen, in great delicacy on the saddle-cloth of a horse in a Herat MS. of 1499 (Blochet, pl. CVII), a refinement, it would seem, on the scrolls previously noted in the stuffs painted on the pots of Rey, while the coat of Bâber in his portrait painted about 1505 (Blochet, pl. CIX) is made of a stuff evidently, from its repeats, woven, decorated with the graceful plants and running deer characteristic of later Persian designs.

Thus we see that in textiles, as in painting, the older styles, Sasanian in one and Mesopotamian in the other, begin to yield, about the end of the twelfth century, to Chinese influence which gradually transformed them into quite different types, eventually stabilized in the characteristic forms of the sixteenth and following centuries. The sixteenth century saw the fine perfection of textile decoration, in knotted pile-carpets as in woven stuffs; the floriated scrolls, stiff in earlier times, became free and gracious, well balanced in composition as in colour, trending as nearly on the naturalistic as the technique of weaving will conveniently allow yet always with the sense of formality so needful to this medium. The colours used are unsurpassable, strong and deep, brilliant often yet always with a sense of rich reserve: the good dyer in Persia was a great craftsman, sincere and careful and proud of his secrets, often inherited, until the entry of anilines and chemical mordants, in the latter part of the last century, wrought havoc in the ancient craft and, though good dyers still probably exist, the beauty of the old colours will be sought for in vain.

As to the weaver, his mastery, conspicuous in the earlier fabrics that we have noticed, grew even greater in this period of perfection and has never been surpassed. The wonderful intricacy of the patterns, their delicacy and restraint, with the never failing harmony of colours, place the master at the very summit of his art. The examples to be seen at the exhibition were rich, plentiful and varied, a sheer delight for whoso loves beautiful and finished workmanship, and more satisfying, in these qualities, than the rather artificial beauties of the paintings, being nearer wedded to the real needs of humanity—for the paintings, with all their splendour, had no touch of the emotional or reflective qualities that have given fine art, as we call it, a higher place than craftsmanship in the Western mind, since the days of the Greeks. The designs were sometimes inconceivably intricate, beyond the Seljuk examples before referred to, so that a weaving purist might hold that they denote decadence in the art and that the skill of the craftsman had overcome his sense of fitness, leading him to attempt the painting of naturalistic pictures, in weaving, on his stuffs, rather than composing a true weaving design—in this, perhaps, the Seljuk weaver, following his older traditions, was the better artist. The representation in weaving of men and women, birds and animals, trees and landscapes began to be common at the end of the sixteenth century—we have seen an early and comparatively simple example in Bâber's portrait, about 1505—and in the first part of the seventeenth became most elaborate: noblemen might be seen at the court adorned with pictures of the naked distraught Majnûn and his quite unmoved Leila, among trees and ibexes, or of a horseman leading his captives through a dense wood or galloping after game with hawk and hound—evidently the painters had had too great a voice in the composing of textile patterns. It was perhaps their influence, also, that brought into these stuffs, in the early part of the seventeenth century, the quality of glitter that was so evident in the exhibition—the lavish use of gold—and silver-faced thread to mix with the colours of the design or form a background—brilliant indeed must have been the courts of those days, with their excessively “Persian trappings.”

In the seventeenth century, too, the weavers followed the painters in their latest mode of willowy slenderness; youths and maidens wilt among the waving trees and flowers, not, as one might infer, from the pangs of a Majnûn-like love, but because it was the moment's fashion; it is true, nevertheless, that such figures if simple

in themselves and without elaborate setting, make when repeated a satisfactory weaving design, just as knots of flowers will do—yet this simplicity was seldom observed.

The famous velvets and cut-velvets of the period must not be passed over; they seem to have been articles of exceptional luxury even in Persia and proportionately prized in Europe—Philip II of Spain's camp-stool for his gouty leg, preserved in his cell in the Escorial, is made with a piece of 'Shah Abbas' figured velvet. Their workmanship is on the high level of the smooth-woven stuffs of the period and the designs follow the same modes, but with more restraint, owing doubtless to the more complicated technique: gold and silver are sometimes used here also, to heighten the richness of the stuff.

Of all Persian textiles, the carpets are undoubtedly the most famous and the country has made for itself so great a reputation that it might well be thought that it was their original home, but of Persian specimens none have survived with a definite dating earlier than the first part of the sixteenth century, of which the best known example is the magnificent one from the Ardebil mosque, dated 1540, which is one of the great treasures of the Victoria and Albert Museum; a still earlier one, lent to the exhibition by the Poldi Pezzoli Museum of Milan, is dated 1523. These are both of the highest level of perfection in carpets, with very intricate designs, the former of purely floral nature and the latter floral with hunting scenes; they both bear the artist's signature and are evidently expressions of the most refined luxury of their luxurious age, the Safavid. The hanging lamps in the design of the former doubtless indicate that it was made for the mosque, probably by order of the Shah Tahmasp, for in the mosque, which was a famous centre for pilgrimages, was buried the saintly Sheikh Safi-ud-dîn, the ancestor of the Safavids, who took their name from him, and also Tahmasp's father, the victorious Ismail, founder of the dynasty; it would appear thus as a royal specimen and probably its predecessor may take equal rank.

The earliest surviving pile rugs, with a technique of knots tied on the warp threads of a web, are, in the opinion of experts, those in the mosque of 'Ala-uddîn, at Konia in Asia Minor, estimated to date from the early part of the thirteenth century (Victoria and Albert Museum "Guide to the collection of carpets", pp. 3 and 28), while fragments of similar textiles in silk were found by Sir Aurel Stein in tombs of Eastern Turkestan, dated by him to the

first century ; this dating is disputed by some authorities but in any case the fragments must be at least three or four hundred years earlier than the Konia rugs. From these circumstances and from the fact that nomad Turkomans are till our days among the most skilled weavers of pile stuffs made with knots, making of them not only rugs but saddle and tent-bags and appendages for their tents, often of velvet-like fineness, authorities have inferred that this class of textiles originated with Central Asian nomads and came to Asia Minor with the Turks, from whom the Persians adopted it. A further consideration is the angular, geometrical form of design characterizing most of the work of Asia Minor where it has not been invaded by the curved floriations of Persian patterns ; this feature would appear to be derived from woven designs, perhaps of the tapestry kind called Sumak ; the rugs depicted in European paintings of the fifteenth century and later have all got these geometrically planned designs and are evidently of Asia Minor origin ; it is not always clear, from the painting, if the rugs are pile-woven or smooth. The Turkish domestic rugs, woven in the house for family wear or for the daughters' dowries, are also of this character, but it is nowhere more marked than in the rugs of the Turcoman nomads of Central Asia known generally as 'Bokhara' in which the floral origins of the elements of the design are almost completely veiled by their extremely geometrical treatment ; the general conclusion is therefore warranted that this craft is indigenous to the Turcoman and his congener, the Turk. (It must of course be understood that Turkish designs are often much influenced, even swamped, by those of Persia, compelling in their grace and masterliness).

The perfection of the dated carpets discussed above makes it certain that there were predecessors in the art in Persia, but, owing to the perishableness of the material, none have yet been traced : a fragment in an American collection, illustrated by Koechlin and Migeon (pl. LXXXII), is estimated to be of the fourteenth century, in view of its archaic character ; it is bordered by an inscription or pseudo-inscription and a pair of confronted elephants, conspicuous on the tawny yellow ground, would seem to denote a Persian origin ; the design, formally conceived but not rectangular, is coarse and ill-defined and suggests the Mesopotamian school of art as a possible source, but, in our present lack of definite knowledge, this fragment yields scanty information.

There can be little doubt that the first impression on entering the exhibition was of magnificence derived from the great and noble carpets covering the walls, lent by museums, private owners and, a most noteworthy and exceptional grace, by the controllers of mosques in Persia : they formed a unique collection, delightful to the uninitiated as to the connoisseur while for the latter they presented an unparalleled opportunity for study, never to come again. The richness and purity of the colours, the balance in design, the intricacy of the delicate unending scrolls, the vigour of presentment, marked them indeed as superb manifestations of Persian luxurious art. All the main classes of design were well represented, the purely floriated, like that from Ardebil, the hunting or animal variety, the garden carpet with its wavy streams carried in soldierly straightness through the shrubs and flowers, and the 'vase' and 'dragon' variety, the former derived from vases holding flowers and the latter from conventional designs of Chinese origin or even birds or feline animals, highly stylized.

It is obvious that this was no unconscious art of simple weavers, with 'folk' basis, but the work of very practised artist-designers, controlling workshops in which every branch of the craft had reached high perfection. The designs are of the kind used on woven stuffs of the period but of course much expanded and developed, for the knotting technique allows of a freedom quite impossible for weaving ; the designer was quite likely to have worked for both classes and to have been versed in miniature painting, for the decorative scrolla and patterns are the same as those freely used in miniatures, and the animal and hunting scenes are worked with the vigour and keen observation of the best painters of the time ; it is difficult, in fact, not to conclude that the designs were prepared by them, especially since they were of a kind common not only to textiles of all kinds and miniatures, but to all the decorative work of the period such as the tiles which lined the walls of palaces and mosques and the architectural low-reliefs, largely in plaster. These were carpets for princely use, their purpose being to bring the floors of palaces to the luxurious level of the rest of their appurtenances, or, in mosques, to mark the taste and generous piety of royal or noble donors.

Smaller carpets, of similar designs, were of course more widely used, as we may gather from the miniatures, but have hardly survived, from their greater wear, except the

very gorgeous ones in silk heightened with gold and silver, generally known as 'Polish'; the latter found their way largely into the Eastern parts of Central Europe, whether as gifts or by trade, for the satisfaction of the semi-oriental taste in luxury of the noble of those regions; further examples of this taste were exhibited in the glittering Polish belts, copying Persian originals. The 'Polish' carpets, made mostly in the seventeenth century, denote once more the rising taste for gorgeousness which we have already observed in the woven stuffs and miniatures of that time; they have been carefully preserved in the foreign countries to which they were sent but that they were in common use by Persians of courtly standing is amply proved by the glints of gold enlivening smaller carpets in many a miniature.

These carpets, as depicted in the miniatures, were spread on the ground as seating places for princes and their attendants and for wealthy nobles, in gardens or on their travels, they covered thrones and divans, matching the splendid canopies spread overhead, enhancing the general note of courtly magnificence. They were designed with the same taste and ingenuity as the large ones, the patterns being adapted to suit the restricted areas without losing their character of richness. In this they differ much from similar rugs of recent make which copy designs from the larger ones of the Safavid period without proper adaptation; the result is mechanical and dull; they might as well be made by machinery—perhaps better, for they would at least display the one quality that good machinery can impart, clear crisp outline. It is to be regretted that a few such rugs found their way into the exhibition, detracting from its general high level, while another and older class, truly artistic and of great interest to the public was not represented.

These are the runners and small rugs known in the trade as 'antique,' but mostly dating from the early nineteenth century and a few still earlier—the 'Ferahans,' 'Joshagans' or 'Sarabands' and so on. The best of these display a very real art of their own which consists of reducing the sweeping floriations and scrolls of the larger carpets to smaller elements of design, of non-geometrical shape, and arranging them in regular repeating patterns so that they fit intimately into the whole and bring it to the semblance of weaving rather than an embroidering technique. The art displayed in this re-arrangement is of a high order, though veiled perhaps by its very success

and modest sobriety when compared with that of the larger products : moreover, this class of rugs is eagerly sought out by many art-lovers of moderate means to whom its absence was a considerable disappointment. At its best it was probably made by men in workshops, directed by an artist-designer, as in the royal factories, but with increasing demands from abroad, the factories multiplied and spread to many centres ; women undertook the work for a small wage and the designs gradually broke down to the low level of modern workmanship (For a description of the method see p. 25 of " Oriental Rugs," by J. K. Mumford, London, 1901—a book devoted to this class).

We may diverge here for a moment to a comparison with the industry as carried on in Turkish Asia. There, as we have seen, it is indigenous, each family making for its own needs, and the leaning to geometrical forms natural to weaving has been consequently maintained, though there are many exceptions, due to Persian influence which entered freely into the products of the best looms (but, as remarked before, the elements of the designs in the large Persian carpets are most visible in the renderings of floral subjects on the enamelled faïences of Anatolia). There were also workshops in the centres of best production, such as Ghiordes, to satisfy the demands of city clients and the export merchant, and some of them have maintained a high standard of craftsmanship till recent times. An interesting development took place in the Caucasus ; the designs there have always been of Persian inspiration but have been constricted to severely geometrical patterns, more formal than the Turkish ; the weaving was excellent and often remains so—in fact Caucasian rugs have suffered less degradation in every way than others, thanks, as some think, to the wise interest taken in the industry by the Russians.

Criticism was often directed against the manner of lighting the carpets on the walls, at least in the early part of the exhibition ; coloured lights were thrown on them worthy of a showman in a market-fair, hiding effectually one of their chief glories, their richness of colour, which only appeared on close examination : if artificial lighting were necessary, it should have been supplied by one of the systems devised for giving ' daylight ' effects.

Some attention is due to the embroideries. Very few were shown at the exhibition and in fact this method of decorating textiles does not appear to have been largely

followed in Persia, as a result, probably, of the great excellence of the figured weavings. It is interesting to note that the patterns of embroideries follow in nearly every case a weaving design, with repeats, and might well have been executed on the loom; it would seem that the stitching technique was adopted in private houses where the richer products of the professional loom would have been too costly but were taken as models by the embroiderers. The best known examples are the very fine and close embroideries made for women's trousers and called '*naqsha*,' most of which display in every way the high standard of Persian taste; (collectors' modesty used to describe them as 'waistcoats'). Embroidery was also used for small prayer-rugs, meant for domestic use, probably in the harem; white cotton stuff is sometimes used as a basis, stitched with white silk; the cotton threads are occasionally drawn in parts, to compose an open-work decoration, a method often adopted also for stuffs of other uses such as small mats or coverings. Domestic prayer-rugs, of stronger and larger make, were often decorated with Resht-work, so called from the town that made it famous; it consists of *applique* designs, cut out and sewn on the woven ground, which was usually of woollen stuff; the applied material may be of wool or silk of various colours, and often silver or gold threads were also used for additional brilliancy. The designs in this case do not follow those of weaving but are usually in the form of panels, with proper supports and finishings in a quasi-architectural style which does not prevent, however, the lavish use of floral elements, often in brilliant colours and occasionally supported by stitched embroidery. Beside prayer-rugs, saddle-housings were often made in this way, and quilts; in many parts of the Near East, and notably Cairo, tents and marquees are decorated internally with this work, with bright and gay effects, the Cairene examples, made with cotton, being often finely cut and the patterns, mostly geometrical, still retaining the real taste of older times—though dreadful degradation has recently ensued from the ignorant and inartistic use of foreign elements. This form of decoration is not recent; a most interesting and important example of it rests in the famous armoury in the royal palace at Madrid, being the great pavilion captured by Charles V from Francis I at Pavia, in the year 1525 A.D.; it may perhaps be of Turkish workmanship for this kind of work was much used in Turkey, perhaps more than in Persia, and may be, in

fact, of Turkish origin.* No example of Resht-work was shown at the Exhibition, a regrettable omission that might have easily been avoided, for the more brilliant specimens of it have long been coveted prizes for Continental collectors.

A somewhat analogous form of embroidery became popular in the eighteenth century, in the satin and velvet stuffs, usually of a tint of red, decorated with designs in heavy gold or silver thread and applied much to saddle-cloths, holsters, tomb-covers and so on : it was perhaps derived from Turkey, where it was much used, and often followed Turkish designs, refining on them on occasion. (In Turkey, as in the neighbouring countries of Europe, embroidery seems to have been much more widely spread than in Persia, being practised by the women of all classes ; the peasants used it to protect the parts of clothing most exposed to wear).

Other subjects for embroidery were the handsome, often gorgeous, coverings for trays used to bring in wedding and other ceremonial gifts, coverlets, quilts, bath-rugs, usually quilted, and other domestic articles ; all the usual stitches were practised, satin, cross and chain, couching and thread-drawing, always with the good Persian taste, except of course the garish modern objects tainted with European bad taste and the sometimes over-decorated tray-covers, made gaudy with metal spangles ; it is a pity that they were almost wholly omitted from the exhibition.

Returning to ceramics, which we left in the 13th to 14th centuries, we find a continuation of the styles of that period, with slight modifications, till the 15th century. Vessels for use still followed old models and designs, but Chinese influence was beginning to assert itself, in both form and colour, celadon, notably, or a colour approaching it, gaining special favour. Inscriptions formed often the sole or major element of decoration, executed in relief or strong colouring with great calligraphic skill, which is visible also in the various scrolls and figures enamelled on the glazed surfaces. Among the schemes of decoration clear-cut black figures or lettering on a green ground, or a blue one, were common ; a similar use of colour is found on Chinese porcelain vessels of even or somewhat later date ;

* This may be compared with two pieces of Persian work captured from the Turks by the Poles at the battle of Vienna 1683, which were shown at the exhibition : No. 95, a piece of cut-velvet representing Alexander killing a dragon with a rock, and No. 822, a beautiful carpet, much worn, of woollen pile.

and it is possible that in this particular those supreme potters, the Chinese, admiring Persian excellence, adopted their scheme, modifying it to suit their native taste. Reliefs began to appear on wall-tiles, though rarely, in the last part of the 13th century; they were very effective in the bold friezes of inscriptions, with the Kufic lettering in relief on a lusted ground, sometimes touched with blue, consisting of floral and other scrolls, the whole in good proportion and supplying often a magnificent architectural adornment: but this state of pure decoration did not continue long; reliance on reliefs for effect grew rapidly until it attained much prominence in the 17th and following centuries, eventually dominating that art and ending, with polychromatic accompaniments, in a complete disintegration of taste.

In the ages following the birth of the New Persian style the old manner of ceramic decoration had ceased to please and in the 16th century other fashions arose. The most noticeable was the craze for Chinese porcelain, now concentrated on the blue-and-white variety of the Ming period, of which imitations were made in the sixteenth century and became common in the seventeenth; a brilliant white background was produced by means of a highly levigated slip and the figures were painted in Chinese fashion, whether flowers, men or beasts, but usually with a controlling touch in Persian taste; absolutely direct imitations were not unknown but were rare. (The Chinese, naturally, did not neglect the market thus favourably open to them and poured out from King-te-chen numberless porcelain vessels in blue-and-white adapted to Persian use, a large proportion consisting of great rice-platters, also made in celadon). Blue-and-white was not used only for designs inspired by the Chinese but occasionally, and with great success, for floral designs in the best Persian manner; a pale orange-pink slip was sometimes added, rarely improving in effect; in another class of ware, known in Europe as "Gombroon," the walls of cups and bowls were pierced with small openings of rice-grain or lozenge shape, arranged in patterns, usually geometrical, these openings were filled with transparent glaze; the Chinese, in the early seventeenth century, perhaps a little earlier, practised this kind of decoration, with great refinement, and it probably passed from them to Persia.

The Caucasian polychrome faience known as "Kubadja" has already been mentioned; a similar ware was made

in Khorassan in the late sixteenth century, with colours resembling those of Anatolian faience, but paler; the human figure was commonly represented; the line-work was, at its best, strong and sure, equal to that of the miniatures, which had great influence, naturally, on the tile-painters. The Khorassan school does not seem to have fallen to the facile temptation of reliefs which, as we have seen, proved disastrous to other tile-decorators in Persia.

Metal-work was not well represented in the exhibition, which was strange considering that the collection of fine examples has long been carried on vigorously throughout Europe; probably interest has of late been more aroused in the comparatively recent discoveries of the old ceramics; but, beautiful as these are, they by no means eclipse the great merits of the decorated metal-work, unsurpassed in its kind.

The fine and spirited work of Mosul and Khorassan, which we have already noted, was widely valued and strongly influenced all Western Asia and Islamic countries where, as notably in Egypt, it took root. The style underwent all the influences that marked the painting and ceramics, losing gradually the almost hieratic quality of the early work and becoming somewhat looser and more occupied with purely decorative elements, principally of a floriated nature; the surfaces of candle-sticks, bowls and platters, even of dervishes' begging-bowls and axes, were often all covered with such elements, hardly different from those lavished on the architecture or on the splendid illuminations framing the first page of books or the openings of their chapters (*unwan*). Inlays in gold or silver were often added to heighten the effect, but the chiselled or engraved work alone was of great beauty; it reached Europe early and was imitated with great success in the sixteenth century at Venice, where Eastern artists, probably from Syria, had settled, as did Syrian glass-workers. Much art was expended on arms and armour, the former being often enriched with precious stones, especially jade and turquoise. Steel was elaborately damascened and chiselled, an art that grew so popular that it was easily degraded, especially with the use of acids for biting the metal in place of engraving it. All kinds of vessels were covered with intricate engravings, even the tinned cooking pots, to which, in order perhaps to bring them in line with vessels of more exalted use, verses of poetry were sometimes added, in praise of hospitality, but such utensils were

doubtless brought to the table from the kitchen, like the highly decorated bronze frying-pans of the ancient Romans, with their handles cast in exquisite models of animal-heads; the Persian examples likewise reach a high standard of decoration.

The metal-work designs followed the same development as those of ceramics, undergoing the same influences; the older tradition lasted, with the constant modifications due to these influences, till the Safavid period when foreign infiltrations, chiefly Chinese, brought the art to that freer state which is so noticeable in the later period of lustred ceramics; but the metal-workers avoided the willowy forms of over-tenuous grace that characterized the contemporary textiles and ceramics.

The later kind of intense decorativeness, specially in the arms, turning as it did to an almost barbaric gorgeousness, was well represented at the exhibition, especially in the striking display of the royal specimens, with their theatrical profusion of gold and precious gems. (We may be allowed here to note a curious mistake in the catalogue, in the description of the long thin scissors used for cutting off lengths of writing-paper from the rolls in which, as in China, it used to be sold; they are conjectured as being for "astrological use", whereas the Arabic words cut on the handle, "O Opener", the beginning of a well-known verse in the Koran, are obviously suggested by the use of the instrument).

It is perhaps in metal-work that the intensity of the Persian impulse towards decoration is best witnessed; the ingenuity shown in the best period in covering whole surfaces without a hint of excess, the variety of elements employed, all of an essentially homogeneous nature, the skill and ease of adaptation of these elements to all forms and contours, in short the mastery and control, place the Persian decorator in the highest rank of all time.

We may notice, as a feature characteristic of Persian decorative schemes, that the designs covering large surfaces are laid out almost precisely as in weaving, with multiple repeats of one or very few elements; in embroidery this has already been remarked, and there it is perhaps somewhat natural, as deriving from the earlier textile art of figured weaving, but it is equally observable in the designs on metal-work, such as the repetitions of the "broad-arrow" previously noted. In China also the same method was commonly followed, as, for example, by the repetition of the 'Thunder' symbol in the decoration of old bronzes

or, later, when in the Ming period porcelain began to be covered with figured designs, they were taken straight from woven or embroidered patterns, similar in this to a much earlier class of ceramic ware, from ancient Greece, in the "Phaleron" and "Corinthian" styles. Yet this repetitive mode is more widely found in Persia than elsewhere—it almost monopolizes the smaller rugs for middle-class use whose absence from the exhibition we have deplored, and in them will be found what is perhaps its most ingenious and artistic manifestation.

To the picture presented above of Persian excellence in decoration there must of course be an inevitable reverse, for such skill and ease must lead, the first fine period ended, to too great facility, to over-decoration and vulgarity and hence to negligence; all of which defects may be seen making their sure progress in the later ages of Persian art. An obvious instance is that of architecture; it could not, by its nature, be represented at the exhibition but there were a number of photographs displaying the decorative schemes and elements employed; they showed quite clearly how early over-decoration entered into the art, to the great injury of the noble forms engendered by the genius of the architects, especially under the Seljuks. The large lusted prayer-niche (*mihrab*) from Kashan, of the second half of the thirteenth century, splendid example though it is of ceramic excellence, lacks in dignity, with its over-elaborate ornamentation, while the model, one-third scale, of the "main doorway of" the great Isfahan mosque of the early seventeenth century, the *Mesjid-i-Shah*, made in painted plaster, with its sham water-tank in mirror-glass and cement, could hardly evoke any idea but that of triviality—but of course we cannot judge an architect by an imitation in the mode of Wembley. The fact seems to be that the Persian taste for decoration combined with their masterly skill in ceramics led to the application of that art to buildings with an indiscriminative profusion which often obscures the nobility of the actual construction; Captain Creswell has shown how high the architects of Persia must rank, with their inventions of true domical building by means of the squinch, the axial construction of mosques, so conducive to dignity, and the magnificence of the inner court (*sahn*) with its sides composed of lofty half-domed arches (*eivan*); the simple majesty of these features, without the mask of excessive ornament, may be best seen, perhaps, in the monuments of Syria and, especially, of Egypt, where ornament is exquisite indeed but applied in due proportion to the

surfaces which it covers—I need but refer to the Cairene mosque of Sultan Hassan; even the later period of increased decoration gives evidence of a controlling restraint, as we may see in the mosque of Kait Bey outside the walls of Cairo, built at the end of the fifteenth century. (An excellent introductory essay on Persian architecture by Captain Creswell is included in Luzac's very recommendable little handbook on "Persian Art" published for the occasion of the exhibition).

Here we conclude our summary sketch of the specimens of Persian art brought together at Burlington House; their great qualities and their fallings-off have been appraised as each development was examined and so there is no need to attempt a general summing up of their æsthetic qualities. With regard to the standing of the art in the world at large, we may say that on the decorative side there is no country in Europe or Asia, including even China—that other supreme mistress in decoration—that has not freely drawn from it; in Europe the debt is incalculable while in art the India of the Moghuls was practically a province of Persia, with the variations usual to provincial art. In the purely intellectual sphere which we call 'fine art,' represented by the miniatures, while we shall not find the spiritual qualities which we connect with that phrase, we can accord it a high place in our affection for its clear and shining gaiety, the very face of youth and spring, and the magnificence of its technique; these qualities indeed mark the whole of Persian decorative art at its best and make it for us one of the real gifts of creative mind.

Let us end with thanks to the initiators and contributors who carried to a successful end, with so few omissions and lapses in taste, the very heavy task of organizing the exhibition and thus made possible for us the exploration at first hand of these happy fields of art.

G. D. HORNBLOWER.

XVII

BOMBAY IN THE REIGN OF AURANGZEB.

THE DOCUMENTS—(contd.).

BOMBAY GENERALL—SENT ON THE ROYALL
JAMES AND MARY.

Dated London the 3d August 1687.

OUR GENERALL AND COUNCIL OF INDIA
RESIDING AT BOMBAY

Wee send you with this Pacquett Copy of our last and present letters to Fort St. George and Persia Ben-coolen and St. Helena, to the intent you should be rightly informed of all our Concernes, which is the more necessary, since we have conferr'd on our Generall, not only the title and authority of Generall of the North of India, which was his former stile, But Generall of all our Affaires and over all the English Nation in India, intending him the same Preheminence and authority which the Dutch confer upon their Generall at Batavia.

Have given our Generall
that title over all our
affairs in India.

The Invoices and Bills of loading will inform you what Stock & ca. We have sent you by this ship the *Royall James and Mary*, concerning the disposition hereof We can say no more now than what we wrote you in our former letters, and if it be not so much as you expected, You must impute that not to any want we have of mony at present, but to the superabundance of most sorts of Goods lying upon our hands, and the apprehensions We have of an approaching War with the Dutch, except they do restore Bantam in manner and form as of right they ought, which how likely they are to performe, you are best able to judge.

If we have not sent you so
much as expected im-
pute it not to want of
mony, but superabund-
ance of Goods on our
hands, &c.

Let no time be lost nor money spared in making Bombay as strong and defensible as you can, and to be fitted with all conveniencies and materialls for building and repairing of ships, according to our often repeated orders to that Purpose.

Spare not to make
Bombay as defensible as
you can.

Besides our Soldiers on board, of which you will have the certain number with the names of the officers, at the foot of this letter, Wee have sent you 13 Hospitall boyes for Apprentices entertain'd to serve Us 7 years in that Quality, who write good hands, and are forward in Arithmetick, unto which we would have you keep them strictly, and let them at fitting times as well as all our factors and writers be instructed in the exercise of Arms, according to our former orders to that purpose.

Besides Soldiers, we send
you 13 hospital youths.

Instruct them in the exer-
cise of Arms.

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The next Ship that comes to You will be the *Society*, Capt. Gayer, by whom We intend to send as many Soldiers as she can well carry, and hope to procure them to be all disciplined men, such as you had out of my Lord Worcesters Regiment by the *Cæsar*, and such are some of those that goe by this Ship, but we could not procure them to be all so at this season of the year.

Next ship to you will be the
Society, with as many
Soldiers as she can
carry.

And probably a new free
Ship of our Generall's,
with Soldiers.

With the *Society* may probably sail for your place a new free Ship of our Generall's, being a frigott of 20 Guns and 10 Pedreroese, galley fashion, being of 80 feet in length by the Keel, small depth in the hold and 23 foot broad by the Beam; which is intended to be as good a Sailer as the Builder can contrive. By her We shall send you as many Soldiers as she can carry, disciplined Men and we know not at present of any other Ship We shall send you from hence this year, except some other free Ship should desire licence upon the *Worcesters* termes.

No other Ship this year
except some new Ship.

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We are very sensible that in a time of War Englishmen and other Europeans are most essentiall under God to the Success of our Armes in India²⁶ and therefore, as we are very carefull to supply You with all we can from hence, So we

Use your best skill and
care to bring in English
Fugitives and other
Europeans to our ser-
vice.

would have you use all your Skill and care not only to compell the refractory but to invite the better natured English Fugitives and other Europeans into our service, wherein spare not for a little charge where you find it necessary, three men being cheaper bought in India than one can be sent from Europe. And when the time of

When his Majesty's Proclamation is out of time, try Deserters by a Court Martial &c.

His Majesty's Proclamation is out, we would have you try Deserters that offend contrary to that law (for such is his Majesty's Proclamation in the East Indies) and execute some of the Principall Offenders that shall be convicted by a Court Martiall in terror and Example to others.

We hope the Commanders Officers and Seamen of the free Ships We have permitted to sail in India will behave themselves orderly, and not doe any hurt or damage

We hope the free Ships will behave themselves orderly : if not &c.

to our friends, nor violate any of our rules or orders which concerne them, or the good Government of our Island of Bombay. If any of them should act otherwise, or misbehave themselves in contempt of our Authority derived from his Majesty, Let them know that though they are not now under Charterparty with Us, they and all other Englishmen in India, are subject to our Laws and Jurisdiction, and such temporary laws as you shall find needfull to make for the better Government of all his Majesty's

When need requires, try and adjudge them indifferently with others.

Subjects in those Eastern parts of the world, and when need shall require, that you will try and adjudge all such offenders indifferently with others, according to his Majesty's late Charter by Martiall law, as the Dutch and all other European Nations do in India, and this is our Express order and injunction to you.

We send you with this, Copyes of Captain Bowers and his Officers Affidavitt by which you will see what care and cost the Dutch are at to entice our Seamen from Us, and if it

Send you copies of C. Bowers &c., Affidavits, touching the Dutch enticements of our men.

should come to a War, We hope you will be so wise as not to be behind hand with them in that kind of Pollicy, you having infinitely the advantage of them at that Weapon.

1st Because You know their service and their Tyranny is hated by most that serve them, and by all the Natives of India.

2. Their People are not Native Dutch, but a mixture of Scotch, Danes, Sweeds and all Nations.

3. Our Service is much more easy and beneficial, and our Pay, if we are rightly informed, three times as much as theirs.

4. We admit free trade to all that serve us in India. They to none.

We may add likewise that if it should come to a Predatory Warr they are a broader mark
In case it comes to a Predatory warr, they are a broader mark than we. to hitt than we are, they having in all Parts of India, by the best Calculation We can make, about 170

Forts, whereof 140 of them can scarce make resistance against one or 2 ships of War 12 hours, having in most of them but 6, 8, or 10 white men, who having fair quarter and good Entertainment in our Service, would be glad to yield and come over to us, whereas We have but very few Forts to defend, which are competently strong. But we would be at the charge to make them stronger, and as much as humane prudence can contrive invincibly against any Power in India.

After we have said all this, We unfeignedly seek and desire peace, but most certainly the
After all this we unfeignedly desire peace. only way to obtain and conserve peace is to be in a strong Posture of War and rightly fixed under Martiall law and strict military discipline, which our Nation in India long [*sic ? has*] too long [*been*] unaccustomed to, which made us at all times so easy a Prey to the Dutch and them to-slight and contemn Us.

If the present misunderstandings between the two Nations should ferment to an open war, it would be thought by the
In case of a warr, it wilbe for the Dominion of the British as well as the Indian Seas. Vulgar but a war for Pepper, which they think to be a slight thing, because each family spends but a little of it. But at the bottom it will prove a Warr for the Dominion of the Brittish, as well as the Indian Seas, Because if ever they come to be sole Masters of that Commodity, as they are already of Nutmegs, Mace, Cloves, and Cinamon, The sole Profit of that one Commodity Pepper being of generall use, wilbe more to them than all the rest, and in probability sufficient to defray the constant charge of a great Navy in Europe.

Now we have mentioned Pepper, and the importance of it, We must again recommend to
Let not our Pepper trade on the Mallabar Coast be lost for want of a Fort. you by all means the conservation and increase of our Pepper Trade on the Mallabar Coast. Let it not be lost

for want of a small Fort, where a Fort will do us real Service, and since we have writt you to make Bombay so strong and secure, We would have you keep alwayes in store by you there 1,000. or 1,500 tons of that Commodity (though you abate of our Investments in other Commodities lately writt for), that you may be ready at any time on a sudden to send Us home a Ship or Ships with advices while Your Warrs continue, and all our Shipping, when your War is at an end and you have no further occasion for them in the Country.

Keep always in store at
Bombay 1000 tons of
Pepper.

Notwithstanding the care, We have taken and propounded to make you strong and numerous in Europe Soldiers, You must alwayes keep a good force of Canoreens and other Native Soldiers about you, and get them into good discipline and order, before you have a necessity to make use of them, which will serve for a Counterballance to your Topasses, which We observe are the greatest Numbers in all your Companies.

Keep always a good force
of Canoreens &c., about
you.

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We have said before We will not have you loose any Part of the Pepper trade on the Mallabar Coast for want of a small Fort, and that is our true meaning ; but you are nicely to distinguish in such cases considering well 1st that our case differes altogether from the Dutch, They would hinder all Nations but themselves, and of themselves all but the Company from that trade, Whereas we desire only to preserve our own Share of it, and not to hinder any body else, which makes it their interest to have 20 Forts for one that we need to have.

Touching the Mallabar
Pepper-- we desire only
to preserve Our own
share of it.

Considerations to be had
about the building of
Forts.

2^{dy}. Consider that any Place that the Natives can, and you have confidence that they will, defend us in our Trade without the aid or charge of a Fort, There it is needless to be at any such charge.

3^{dy}. Where the Natives are so weak, that they cannot in a time of War, with the help of a small Fort of ours, preserve us against the Dutch, there a great one is necessary

to us or none at all. But the truth is, since our Settlements on the West Coast are so weak, and the Dutch Forts likewise by reason of the excessive unhealthfulness on that Coast, that neither of us in a time of War can defend our Selves any considerable time from each others force, It seems the more necessary that we should make ourselves, at some one place on the Coast of Malabar, as strong as the Dutch are at Cochin, and upon as thriving a foundation in point of revenue and Subjects as that is, which foundation was first laid by the Portugueez and since refined and improved by the better policy of the Dutch, And that we should be upon the like Settlement and Strength at some place in the South Seas as the Dutch are at Batavia. The first of these is matter for your Consideration while our Generall remains with you, and whether it be convenient to our aforesaid purposes to enlarge and strengthen our Fort at Carwar, and get from Sumbajee a Phirmand for a further extent of Territory about that Fort into the Country and all that point of Land between the Fort and the Sea, Or whether it may be best for you in a convenient time, to think of some fitter place We must leave to your Serious thoughts.

Put all your Militia of the Island in a posture of Defence and replenish your Stores for the belly, according to former Orders, before your danger appears, And we doubt not, but when all our Trade and shipping are as well fixed to Bombay as the Dutch Trade and Shipping is to Batavia, which is our unalterable resolution, the number of our Inhabitants upon that Island, and consequently our Revenue, with your prudent management will soon double to what it is now.

You must provide for the Dyet of the Soldiery by a Sutler within our Fort, after the manner we have directed at St. Helena, and not suffer them to wander abroad in that licentious manner they have formerly done to be debauched and poisoned in the Black Portugueez houses.

Tho' we have given Lycence by Charterparty to severall free Ships in India to sail, Trade and Traffique within the limits of our Charters there, yet our Resolution is, they shall all pay our dues of Powder and Anchorage every Voyage they make and our Customs & ca. and take your

Put your Militia in a posture of defence and replenish with stores for the belly.

Provide diet for the Soldiery per Sutler as at St. Helena.

All free Ships shall pay our dues of Powder &c. every voyage.

particular Licence every Voyage, which licence they shall have from You, without any Charge to them, save the accustomed small fee to the Secretary. Yet we do require all such free Ships; when they are not upon Voyages, to ride in our Roads of Bombay as our own Ships do, for the Countenance of our Island and the greater appearance of the English power there. And if any of them shall have the weakness, or the pride to disobey us or you in this matter in times of peace or war, Let them have no favour or furtherance in their busyness from you, and invent other wayes to make them repent of their folly and their ill natured or unnationall honour as we may call it.

And to ride in our Bombay roads.

In case they disobey, lett them have no favour or furtherance.

Our Mint of all Sorts of Indian Coines, you must forthwith proceed upon by vertue of that authority given us by his Majesty in his last Charter and not delay it in expectations of Stamps or Moneys from hence, but proceed upon it after the Indian manner with such Stamps as are made there, most like to the Mogols, and with the Sherofs of that Country. For the truth is, till your Mint is going, you are lame of one foot, and not an intire Sovereign State, as the Dutch Company call themselves, and are in the East Indies, and as his Majesty hath compleated and confirmed Us to be by his last Charter, which we shall assume to be, and manage to do with the most honour and advantage we can possibly invent or contrive during his Majesty's Royall Will and pleasure, and his royall Countenance and Protection of the Continuance whereof we have not the least cause to doubt, while we pursue with all our might the publick utility of this King dome and posterity more than we doe our own present or private Interest.

Delay not to proceed with our Mint for all sorts of Indian coins.

We shall assume to be a Sovereign State in India according to his Majesty's Royal Charter.

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We send you with this the Copy printed in Dutch and French of the Memoriall lately presented to the States Generall by the Marquess of Aubeville, his Majesty's Envoy in Holland concerning the affair of Bantam; and also copy of an Address we since presented to his Majesty, Upon which

We send copy of the Memorial presented to the States Generall about the Bantam affairs.

we have reason to believe another Memorrial will be given in by his Majesty's said Envoy touching those matters now complained of And we have seen Letters from a French Merchant at Havre de Grace to Mr. Herne, importing that 6 great Ships and 2 Frigatts arrived in that Road from Brest, and stayed there a day or two in expectation of orders from the Court of France, which soon came to them and they immediately sailed away to the Nor'ward, as the French Merchant supposed to intercept the Dutch East India Ships, upon which all Goods of bulk began to rise there.

There is yet no news of the Interloper *Bear*, tho' he have been now above Eleven months from Mocha, which gives us hopes that our outward bound Ships mett with him and carryed him back to Bombay. Our Generall did thriftily order the keeping our Companies to the number of three only, while you had no War. But if you should be Masters of Salset and be engaged in any War, We conceive it will be necessary that our Garison of Bombay and Salset should be alwayes a compleat Regiment of ten Companies, mixt English and Topasses as they now are, besides the Canoreens and other Natives which you entertain for light armed Auxiliaries, hoping you will raise a Revenue npon both those Islands sufficient alwayes to maintain such a force.

During these presages of War, it will be prudence, if you can presently make a peace with Mogol on good termes, at least, for that side of India. But on the other side We shall never adventure to trust our Estates agen in the Bay, unless the Nabob will allow us a fortified place to secure our Persons and estates from the violence of his unjust Slavish Governors. And if we be so fortunate as to be possessed of Chittagam, we will not part with it while we have strength to keep it.

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We have said before, that we will stick at no charge to make that Island strong and well fitted with Wayes, a good Dock for our biggest Ships, and a good Hulk to careene by. and all other Conven-

Shall stick at no charge to, make that Island strong with a good Dock.

iences for building and repair of Ships. But these things may be done in an expensive way. But doe it in a thrifty or a thrifty way. The latter we alwayes choose and so must all men that hope to do any great things in the world. Thrift being a Cardinall vertue and leading to good Events, as well in War as in peace. But we would have nothing abated in Strength and substantiality of the works, hoping they may be in being to the benefitt of this Kingdome when we are in our Graves. But in the mean time, let those that make use of them to their immense advantage and the safety of their Ships and of their lives, pay us well for our cost and great charges as we wrote you in former Letters.

We send you herewith Second Copies of two Commissions under our Scal, which went by the *Bengall* [Merchant], One for establishing of Sir John Child Captain Generall, Admirall and Directore Generall over all our forces by Sea and land, And over all our Factories and all his Majestys Subjects in India, The other for establishing our Council of Fort St. George.

* * * *

It being a time of warr, We require our Generall (all excuses set apart) to encrease his Lifeguard of Grenadiers forthwith to the number of fifty, and that Capt. Shaxton have the command of them at Lieutenants pay.

* * * *

We have thought fit that our Council of India shall take their degree as followeth, Vizt.

Our Council of India to be ranked in this order	Sir John Child Borronet,	
	Generall ..	11
	per annum	500
	Charles Zinzan Esq. 2d while the Generall is present at	120
	And in our Generalls absence he shalbe President and Governor of Bombay ..	300
	Sir John Wyborne, Knt. 3d in degree and Deputy Govr. and the pay of a Captain	120

Bartholomew Harris 4th while he is upon Bombay . .	70
And if our Generall thinks it for our Service to make him Chief of Surrat, then	120
John Shaxton 5th of our Council, and Captain of our Generall's Lifeguard, alwayse to attend upon his Person, and do the Duty of a Military Officer	50
And the Pay of a Lieutenant	
John Gladman 6th of our Council	60
James King 7th of our Council	60
John Vaux 8th of our Council	60
Richard Stanley 9th of our Council . .	50
Captain Clifton 10th of our Council And the pay of a Captain	30

* * * *

And now we have advanced your Salaries and given
vertue and truth its due reward, We
hope you will make it your busyness
to advance our Revenue and interest
and make yourselves to be duly
obeyed by all under you, or to punish
with Severity by the Methods We have proposed to all
our inferior Chiefs, Factors and Servants that shalbe
found disobedient, negligent or un-
faithfull. We leave it to you who to
appoint Secretary of this Council,
And to provide well for Mr. Allyn,
if you make Mr. Annesley Secretary,
and such others below our Council as deserved best of us in
the worst times.

We leave it intirely to our Generall, Sir John Child,
with or without the advice and con-
sent of our Council or any of them to
appoint how many Companies to
keep in constant Pay upon our Island
Bombay; and what Officers and Soldiers English, or of
the severall Casts of that Country, shall serve in each
Company, or apart by themselves, and to place and
displace at his discretion All Military Officers, In which
we will not have our Generall
controullled by any of our Council,
Confidence in him being an effect that

Advance our Revenue and
Interest and punish the
Negligent.

Leave it to you to appoint
the Secretary of our
Council and provide well
for Mr. Allyn in case you
make Mr. Annesley Sec-
retary.

We leave it intirely to our
Generall to appoint how
many companies to keep
in constant pay.

And to place and displace
Officers at his discretion.

arises in us from length of time and experience, which length of time may peradventure work in us the same relyance upon others that in due time may deserve to succeed our Generall in that most honble. Imployment. And when we can have such Confidence in our Chief grounded upon such long experience it is our constant opinion that in matters of war things are likelyest to succeed best where the entire Command of Military Power is trusted in one Person,

The entire command of the Military power in one person most effectual and successful.

which most effectually prevents the first approaches of Faction, Sedition or distraction of Councill. Notwithstanding, we think it may be best for

our Generall in all cases, wherein he foresees no detriment to our Service, to take the advice and opinion of our Council in most Military affaires, As we would have

yet may be best to advise what our Council.

him alwayes to do in our Mercantile affaires, except in those things, which in this and our former letter, we have referred to our sole appointment, *vizt.* the settling of all our Chiefs, Councils and Officers of all kinds at his discretion, before

Have left it to him to settle all our Chiefs, Councils and Officers at his discretion.

he leaves Bombay to visitt the Coast of Choromandell, in such manner as they shall abide and remain after his departure untill they shalbe altered by

us or himself in writing under our own or his hands. And this is our positive order, which we require all of you to observe now and hereafter.

* * * *

Delay not the making a good dry Dock at Bombay, and drayning the drown'd lands, if our

Delay not a dry Dock at Bombay and drayning the drow[n]ed lands

Generall be satisfyed it can be done at any charge that wilbe repaid us in Revenue within 7 or 8 years time, as

we hope it may in a shorter time, since land in that place will certainly be worth double what it is now when our whole trade and Shipping is entirely fix'd to that place, and it be made defensible against any Enemy as we would have it, whatever it cost.

* * * *

Your very loving Friends

JOSIA CHILD Govr.

BENJA. BATHURST Depty.

&c., &c., &c.

XVIII.

Extracts of a General Letter to Bombay dated London
28th September 1687.

OUR GENERALL AND
COUNCIL OF INDIA

* * * *

We have too long known our worthy Generall, and have had such abundant experience of his virtue and truth to us in all respects to suffer any person in our service to control or dispute his authority in any kind, well knowing that unity in our Councils and entire obedience to Superiors can onely settle the English affayrs in India upon a firm foundation of policy power and Justice. And therefore we have concluded it for our service totally to dismiss Mr. Zinzan from being our President or holding any employment under Us in the East Indies, from and after the receipt of this letter. And we have accordingly, by our Commission sent you herewith, dismissed him and placed in his stead Mr. Thomas Mitchel, whom you are forthwith to send for from the Coast of Mallabar to hold his place of President next below our Generall Sir John Child, and to be Second of our Council of India. And in the absence of our Generall to be Governor of our Island of Bombay. And we hereby require our Deputy Governor and all our Captains Officers Seamen and Soldiers upon our said Island of Bombay to yield him the said Captn. Thomas Mitchel obedience accordingly as their Governor in case of the death or absence of our Generall Sir John Child, Desiring our said Generall to give unto the said Capt. Tho : Mitchel a Commission to command as Captn. such one of our Companies of European foot Soldiers as he shall think most proper for him.

Letter Book
Vol. 8,
pp. 393,
394, 395,
396, 397.

* * * *

Being resolved by God's assistance, now we are engaged in warr in India, not to lay down our Arms until we are Righted of all those who have done us notorious injuries, We must again incul-

Being resolved to Right
our Selves, make Bom-
bay as strong as art and
mony can.

cate to you this making Bombay as strong as Art and Mony can make it. For we look upon that place as the key of India, Not doubting (with God's blessing) if we can preserve that and Madrass, to vindicate the honour of this Nation against any Enemy we have or can have in India, European or Native. And it's necessary for us and you to be allways provided against the worst that can happen. But you must resolve to exercise that sovereign power his

You must resolve to exercise that sovereign power intrusted with us by his Majesty without sending Offenders to Us.

Majesty hath instructed us and we have empowered you with in the limits of our Charter as the Dutch doe, that is, in raising a competent Revenue upon the Inhabitants, Coyning all sorts of Indian mony, and punishing all Neglects and abuses there, without sending Offenders to trouble Us here, where we are under another Law, and have no leisure to solicit causes in Chancery.

We send you enclosed, a list of what goods we would have you provide and send us the ensuing year, of which we would have you take particular notice and keep yourselves as near thereunto as well you can. But we have that confidence in you that we dare and doe hereby trust you with a liberty to send us any other sorts of Goods that you know are very good in their kind and cheap bought, except Cassia lignum and Turmerick, of which we have enough for many years.

A list of goods to be provided for the ensuing year, now sent.

We trust your judgments to send any other, except Cassia lignum and Turmerick.

* * * *

Supposing you are now settled upon Bombay and under better orders than that place hath been formerly governed, We would have you read over deliberately all our letters for two or 3 years last past concerning the improvement of that Island, and put everything in execution tending to that purpose that is within your power.

Read over deliberately all our letters for 2 or 3 years past, concerning the improvement of Bombay.

* * * *

All free Ships, and others as well as our own, must pay the 5 per cent. Sea Custom for all goods landed out of them ; But if the same goods be Ship'd off agen, no further Custom is to be paid outwards for the same goods that paid Custom inwards.

All ships must pay 5 per Cent. Sea-Custom.

It will import us much that you put resolute and faithful Officers into the care of our Customs and other receipts of our Revenue. And we think it is necessary that one or two of your Council should be always Commissioners of our Customs, and have a particular inspection over all inferior Officers intrusted with the collection of that Duty, which we have reason to hope with your care will rise in a few years to be considerable, now we have brought all our trade and Shipping thither, and give permission to so many free Ships to trade in India.

Tho' we are not in hast to make a peace with the Mogol, nor ever intended to make a mean base peace with him, without satisfaction for damages and charges for this warr, yet wee think it may be convenient you should see the demands of our Agent and Council in the Bay, as they are reduc'd into a Systeme fram'd by Agent Charnock into Rupees, as you will find in the copy of his letter of the [blank] December last sent you herewith By which you will be the better able to argue and exaggerate the injuries we have sustain'd, in discourse with any of the Mogols, Buxies or Messengers.

Our Warr with the Mogol, neither on your side of India nor in Bengal will hinder the Banyans of Surratt from trading to Bengall with their own Ships and Stocks. For which purpose (during the War) We give you permission to licence any one, two or three Ships in a Year to trade between Surratt and Bengall, and to give them a firm and honourable Security, that they shall not only be safe from all the Company's Men of War and all commissioned by us or our Servants in India, but that they shalbe free to ride and refresh in our Roads of Bombay or Fort St. George, or where else We shall have power to protect them. And this we say you may do during the Continuance and heat of the publick War, upon Condition that the Banyans or others interested therein do give you assurance that they would bring and sell to you, at the return, upon reasonable termes, some or all those sorts of Bay Goods which are contained in a List for the purpose sent you herewith. This is no new invention to cover a Trade in time of war, but has been practiced by many Merchants in Europe with the Dutch and French, and sometimes with

Fit Officers of the Customs
of great importance to
us.

In reference to a peace
with the Mogol, we send
you our Agents demands
in the Bay. 27.

Notwithstanding the warr,
your Surratt Banyans
may trade to Bengal.

And what terms you may
give them,

Spanish Merchants when we have had open war with those Countryes. And the same (for ought we know) may be effected with good Success and equal Contrivance in India either by Confederacy with some private Banyans as aforesaid or with some particular French, Dutch or Portuguese Merchants. But pray be carefull not to part with any of the Company's mony aforehand and such a projection nor untill you receive Bay Goods in exchange for our Woollen Manufacture or our ready mony. And be carefull that no Bay Goods be put upon us at exorbitant prices, as the President and Council at Fort St. George not long since shamefully served us with their own China Goods upon a such like liberty given them, which since we have not dared to trust them with, altho' We can you with entire Confidence.

That you may the better understand the prices of Bay Goods, We have sent you some Invoices enclosed, and have marked in the Margin those Commodities that turn us best to account for your Information. And altho' by reason of the diverse degrees of better and worse in all sorts of Goods, these Invoices can be no certain guide to you, yet some light you may gather from them. The aforesaid method proposed (if you can prudently hit upon it), besides the keeping on in every part of our Trade (and hereby easing this Kingdoms sensible feeling, any want by the War), will much encrease our Customes at Bombay, and the growth and trade of that place. While your peace continue with the Persians, peradventure you may better effect what is designed by the foregoing Paragraphs with some Persians or Armenians, or else with some Merchants Subjects of Mallabar Princes in Amity with us. We name all Sorts to you to give scope to your invention, and better contrivance of expedience to bring this matter about, which we think to be of inestimable benefitt to the Company if you can bring it to good effect.

That you know the price of Bay goods, we send copies of Invoices.

This method will encrease our Customes, and the trade of that place ; (viz : Bombay),

Perhaps it may better be effected with some Persians &c.,

If you hit this mark, it's improbable that ever we shalbe weary of the war, or that the Mogol (as great as he is) can long forbear complying with the extent of our demands, whatever it cost them, You holding Bombay as aforesaid with a strong hand.

If you allow the priviledged Traders to Bengall 25
 You may allow them 25 Per Cent. above our Sea Custom.
 Per Cent Proffitt for their adventure on such Bay Commodities as we have noted to you to be in esteem here, over and above our Sea Custome and charges on such Bengall Goods at Bombay, the account here will very well bear that charge.

We have ordered Capt. Deerow to stop at Callicut, and take in Mr. Mitchel and bring him to Bombay to enter upon the imployment we have now assigned him.....
 Capt. Deerow to bring Mr. Mitchel from Callicut to Bombay.

We have heard of a preposterous Custome of long time used for our Council to sit on one side of the Table, and our Commanders of Ships on the other, as if they were coordinate in power, or equal in degree in our Service with our Council, which they neither are, nor shalbe, and therefore it is our express order hercafter that every one of our Council of India or our Council of Fort St. George shall in all times and places, have place and degree before any of our Commanders, except such of them only as we shall appoint to be of our Council during their Stay there, and in such case we shall appoint what place and degree they shall have in any of our Councils.
 All of our Council shall take place before any of our Commanders.
 except whom we appoint of Council during their stay.

We have great cause to complain of those that pack't your Cotton wool last year, particularly the 19 bales by the *Sampson*. We formerly used to gain a little by the weight, but lost considerably in weight by that, at least 20 hundred weight in that parcel. Pray enquire who the negligent or unfaithfull person was that put it up, and let him know ours and your resentments of it. As also touching that of the *Barnardiston*, there being in the 94 Bales 69 hundred weightt lost.
 Loss by the ill package of the Cotton wool last year.

The King of Maldives must now make you Satisfaction for the Demorage of the *Bengall* and the *East India Merchant*, and thankfully admitt you to a Trade with him, or else his people will want Rice to eat, while our War continues with the Mogol, from whose Subjects his greatest supply came formerly.
 The K : of Maldives must now comply with you.

What Sloopes you want, we would have you build there, which being armed with 6 or Eight Guns, may in some cases during this War be of as good use to you as ships of greater charge.

What Sloops you want, build there : they may be of great use.

You know we have contracted with most of our free Ships that they shall not come for Europe, untill they are freighted for that purpose by our Generall and Council &ca. But as we have promised no time certain nor that ever we will freight any of them, So we desire you will never freight any of them for Europe, while we have Ships of our own sufficient in India to bring home our own Goods, but rather keep our Goods some time by you, untill our own Ships abroad in India returne into your own road and are in Condition to receive Goods for England, except you should have an extraordinary occasion to send some advice to England, in which case, send only the least free ship you have in readyness, and loaden only with Pepper and Goods of the smallest value.

Freight none of our free Ships for Europe, whiles sufficient of our own.

We are
Your Loving Friends
JOSIA CHILD Governor
EDWARD DES BOUVERIE
&ca. &ca. &ca. &ca.

XIX.

Extracts of a General Letter to Bombay
dated London the 6th January

1687/8.

OUR GENERALL AND COUNCIL OF INDIA
RESIDING AT BOMBAY

* * * *

Book, Now you are at Bombay and our Trade Settled there, we know the Banians must and will follow your money as naturally as Crowes resort to carrion, and the place must grow exceeding populous, which we hope you will improve to the doubling of our

, PP.
500, Now the trade is settled at Bombay We hope you will double our Revenue.

Revenue in a very short time, which is as absolutely and indispensably necessary to support the English dominion in India, as Armes, Powder and Shott.

* * * *

A Dock and all conveniencies for building and repair of shipping you must provide at Bombay out of hand, and if some of the Juncks you surprize will not serve for fetching of Paddy, Rice and other provisions from the Main, you must build two or three large Fly-boats, that sail with small charge, after the Dutch fashion for that very purpose. And when your Island is so populous we doubt not but you may make a very gainfull Trade for the Company in Rice at that place as our President and Council might have long since done at Madras, if they had as seriously intended the Company's interest as you have done, and as we hope they will do hereafter.

Build a Dock &c., at Bombay instantly : convert some prize Juncks into Fly boats to fetch Rice &c.

that sail with small charge, after the Dutch fashion for that very purpose.

which may be improv'd to our advantage.

* * * *

We have lately caused a reply to be printed and published to a Treatise of the Dutch East India Companies printed at Amsterdam in French, Dutch and English, as we intend our reply shall be, which as soon as printed Shall be sent you. In the mean time we have enclosed in this a copy of a supplimentall paragraph which we have added at the end of our reply, and do hasten this single paragraph the sooner to you to the intent you may, if you think good, make and publish a solemn Proclamation to the same effect, and deliver out abundance of written copies thereof, in all the known languages of India, and send them abroad unto all nations within the Limitts of our Charter, which will be a good employment for your writers at leisure times and a means to keep them out of idleness, and to mend their hands.

We have caused a Reply to be made to the Dutch Treatise, which when printed shall be sent you : in the mean time have sent you Copy of the Supplementall Paragraph.

What use you are to make of it.

* * * *

We send you enclosed the Terriffe made at Fort St. George for settling the Quota of Port charges to be paid by all Ships and boats which Anchor in that Road in lieu of Powder and Anchorage, which we think may be a very good rule for your place, and would have you make and collect the same there in Rupees fully to the same vallue of the Pagodas at the Fort, and force all Vessells whatsoever to pay it tho' you present Sumbajee a Piscash for his consenting thereunto, for and on the behalf of his own Subjects, and for suffering all species of money that Shall be coined at Bombay to pass currently in all his dominions.

We shall hereafter call our Island of Bombay a Regency as the Dutch Style Battavia and Columbo, but it will be a pittifull Regency, where such a principall part of Sovereigne Power is not exercised, *viz*: The coining of money and therefore you must immediately make it one of your chieftest and first cares to get Sheroffs from the Main and set presently your Mint on work in coining all Sorts of current mony in those parts of India without expecting stamps or tools or monyers from hence, but make use of the same that are used in the Mints of India.

Such a proclamation as is agreeable with the supplementall paragraph sent you with this Letter as aforesaid, you may, if you think fit, publish presently while your peace continues with the Dutch, but if they commence war against you. You must then publish a particular Proclamation against them inviting all in their service to come in to your assistance according to the substance of the paragraphs for that purpose in our generall Letter to the Fort per Captain Heath.

We are
Your loving Friends
JOSIA CHILD Governor
&ca. &ca. &ca.

XX

Extracts of a General Letter to Bombay
dated 11th April 1688.

OUR GENERALL AND COUNCILL OF
INDIA RESIDING AT BOMBAY.

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Here was lately a generall fear of a present Dutch warr¹
in Europe, but that fear Seems
The fear of a Dutch War
tho' at present Seems
vanished yet keep in
Strong Posture of de-
fence.
And now we have brought (as we alwaies resolve to keep)
our Trade to it, you can scarce ima-
how advantagious Bom-
bay rightly mannaged
may prove.
gine tho' you are on the place how
greatly it will increase in Inhabitants,
if you pursue the orders we have given you for its improve-
ment, and the raising of a revenue to maintain a strong
force upon it.

We Send you with this Packett thirty printed Bookes
containing the State of all contro-
Send you 30 Books of the
State of Controversyes
between Us and the
Dutch.
versies between us and the Dutch,
which we desire our Generall to distri-
bute one to each of his Councill,
and one to the first and second of every Factory under the
Regency of Bombay : But when any
how to dispose of them
of the persons so quallified as afore-
said die or be removed, the Bookes are to remain to their
Successours in the same places, which may Serve in some
measure to open the understandings of ingenious men
wanting experience of the affairs of India, and teach others
how to make and answer Protests &ca.

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We can give you no certain rule as to the time or termes
of making Peace with the Mogull,
but in generall the best time of make-
ing Peace is when your enemies
most desires it, and your enemies
Directions for making
Peace with the Mogull.

will most desire it when he is hardest prest with a warr and for the termes as we have formerly told you, untill he allowes us a fortified Settlement to Secure our Shipping estates and Servants in Bengall, and that being granted we shall leave the rest to our Generalls prudence, not doubting but he will gaine us some competent satisfaction for our dammages and charges on good termes for the future, according to the Severall advices we have formerly given him upon this subject.

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Wethink whenever the time comes of makeing an agree-
ment with the Mogull you may insist among other articles
for our Rupees and other Species of
money coined at Bombay to pass
current in all his Dominions, at least
for so much Commodities as yourselves
Shall buy in any of his Territories.

articles with the Mogull for
our Coins to pass in his
Dominions.

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By this Indulgence we hope to encrease the Trade of
your place, and in consequence our own revenue, and the
numbers of our Subjects under his Majestie, for which
reason and many others to the like
consequence we could heartily wish
you had three good rich Jewes houses
settled with you at Bombay, as we
have now to the Company's great
advantage at Fort St. George, and
we should be glad if you could invent such encourageing
invitations to the Armenians that some good rich houses
of them might Settle with you att Bombay and bring all
their Silke this way according to
what was formerly writ you on this
Subject, towards the effecting where-
of we know the principle inducement
must be that they shall have libertie to transport their
returnes back in Cloth upon the termes of our present
Indulgence to these men ; and if you promise them any-
thing else they shall find here most punctuall performance.

Use your Endeavours to
get Jews among you
at Bombay and rich
Armenians.

and to bring their Silk this
way.

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Use your best witts to procure and retain as many Europeans of other Nations in our service as you can, because one Seasoned man in India we reckon as good as two fresh men sent from hence, besides which we very Sensibly feel the burden of the charge of Sending such great numbers of Souldiers from hence.

Get all Europeans you can
into our Service.

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Captain Andrews writes to some of his Owners that he had taken the men out of the Streights Merchant Interloper at Mocha, but that then when he wrote his Letter the Towne of Mocha protected the Ship and the Cargo; But that notwithstanding he intended when he left that place to carry her off with him, which if he did was well: If he did not, make the Towns of Mocha Debtor for our whole loss by detaining that Ship and goods from us which we cannot compute at less than 15 or 16000 *li* Sterling, and fail not to take the first good and Seasonable opportunity you can to force the Towne of Mocha to make us satisfaction for that loss, and the charge of recovering it back from them, for now you are armed is the only time to right the Company for the injuries which were done them while they were unarmed; and if you can be so prudent as to raise competent Revenues to support our Armes, we never intend to be less armed then we are in India hereafter whether it be in time of Peace or in Warr.

If Mocha protect the
Streights Merchants
Goods Debit the Town
for the Value.

And recover Satisfaction
when you can, if can,
but raise Revenue to
support our Armes shall
never be less arm'd.

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Wee remaine

Your loveing Friends

JOSIA CHILD Governour

BENJA : BATHURST Depty.

etca.,

etca.,

etca.

XXI

Bomboy Generall—ent Via Marseilles and Legorne
London 26th July 1688.

OUR GENERALL OF INDIA AND OUR
PRESIDENT AND COUNCILL AT BOMBAY

Besides advising you of the arrivall of the *Success* the 21st Instant, for which God be praised, the most materiall thing we have is to acquaint you with a Contract we have made with the Armenians (copies whereof you will have inclosed), and by our Ships which depart in September we shall further explain them to you and the publick advantage we hope to acquire to this Kingdom and the Company by this Agreement. In the mean time, before goods rise too much and since you have Stock enough, we would have you proceed to buy all the usual sorts of Callicoes, as well white as coloured, concluding you may now have them 20 per Cent. cheaper then before the war begun with the Mogull, which war we now conclude is honourably and hapily ended. Your main care must be in sorting well, for although you should agree upon very cheap terms, if your sorters do not discharge their duty justly and faithfully, we shall find little fruit of your carefull and prudent contractions for us.

Our Deputy Governour hath writt very largely to our Generall, which will come to some of your hands, though he should be gone for Fort St. George, and we doubt not but our President left at Bombay in his absence will take due observance thereof, and in the steps of his most worthy Predecessor.

We are peremptorily resolved that Bombay shall be the constant residence of our President and Council, and that we will allwaies keep our ships when not on voyages rideing in that Road, and not at Swally or else where, neither will we have any of our re- turning ships loaden in whole or in part at any other place save in Bombay Road; and though our war be over at present with the Mogull, we know not how soon we

Have made a Contract with the Armenians, copies whereof send enclosed.

Buy all the Callicoes you can this cheap season—taking care of sorting

the Deputy Govr. having wrote largely to the General, if that come to your hands, observe it accordingly.

Bombay to be the constant residence of our President and Council and ships.

turning ships loaden

All returning ships to be loaden there

may have other Enemies or Emulators of our great Success,
 and therefore we would have you go
 on vigorously to performe those works
 which you have propounded in your
 generall Letter by the *Success*, and
 keep all your Souldiers under strict military Discipline,
 as well for their healths as the regularity and safety of
 that place. The rest we shall informe you by the
Kempthorne and another small ship that may go with her.

We no way doubt but our Generall will use all possible
 circumspection to secure his own
 person by having a sufficient guard
 when he goes ashore at Surrat from
 an Ambushment or ill that may be
 designed against him.

We are

Your very loving Friends

JOSIA CHILD Deputy

JOSIA CHILD Junr.

&ca. &ca.

XXII

Extracts of a Generall Letter to Bombay
 dated London 27th August 1688.

OUR GENERAL OF INDIA AND PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF BOMBAY.

* * * *

You must indispensibly make dry Dock and Hulk at
 that Place for the reasons that have of been inculcated to
 our General and yourselves, and for
 that purpose that all ships that careen
 in Bombay Road shall make use of it,
 and not careen one by another. We
 make and constitute for a Standing
 Law to be entered in your Law Books and for publick good
 that any Ship that careens in that Road by another Ship
 shall forfeit to the Company Toties Quoties one Dollar
 per Ton, and the Ship she careens by shall forfeit to the
 Company half a Dollar or a Rupee per Ton of the Burthen
 of any Such Ship or Ships, and if the Commanders or

Must make a Dry Dock
 and Hulk, and all ships
 in Bombay road careen
 at it, for which shall pay
 a Dollar per ton each
 time.

Letter
 Bol.
 544,
 546,
 548,
 550,
 552,
 556.

Owners of any Such offending Ship or Ships Shall neglect or refuse to pay immediately for such their respective Offences as aforesaid, the said offending Ship or Ships Shall not be permitted to depart the Road of Bombay, or to Ship or Land any goods or provisions untill Satisfaction made, and our, attorney Generall by information against the Captain Shall have Judgment in our Court of Admiralty for the Company.

how to proceed against offenders.

We think likewise it may be fit for you to make some convenient ways upon the ground for Ships to do their work with greater ease than on the bare ground, and that you impose such Tax for each Ships comeing upon the Company's ways as may fully defray the charge of making and maintaining them in constant good repair, and impose a competent penalty by the Ton upon all Such irregular and narrow Sou'd men as shall bring their Ships on ground in any other place to the discouragement and prejudice of Such public and national accommodations.

make convenient ways for such Ships Use, imposing such tax as may defray that charge.

punishing all that refuse to Use them.

You do well to encourage distilling and Knitting on our Island, and we hope in our Generalls absence you will pursue his good example in fulfilling all our former orders for the improvement of that place and our Renew to arise thereby.

well done to encourage distilling and Knitting.

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Wee seldome differ in Judgment from our good Generall, but in that Article of Consulage we are quite of a different opinion from you and peremptorily resolve that all English that live not in our fortified Towns shall pay us that Duty of Consulage according to our former order, which we require you accordingly to levy. Our meaning, wherein is to make a difference between English house-keepers that live within our Garrison, who are and shall allwaies be as free as the Company's own Servants or our Governor, Deputy Governour or Committees here themselves if they were in India, and Such English as live for their private advantage in other Princes Dominions, where neither their persons nor their

All English not living in our fortify'd towns shall pay Us Consulage

estates are of any use for the countenance or defence of English Garrisons.

* * * *

We do and Shall allwaies injoin and command that none of our Ships Shall for ever hereafter be loaden from your Coast at any other place than Bombay. which Island now it is put in a right posture is a Jewell that we will allwaies endeavour to make as Strong and Secure as money and art can provide, and will allwaies use it in the Same manner as the Dutch do Battavia and if you do your parts, we hope it may in a few years be of much more value to England than Battavia is to the 7 Provinces. Keep that strong and impregnable and fitted for building and repairing Shipping, and our Ships allwaies rideing (at their spare times) in that Road, and you keep all India at Peace with you, preserve all our priviledges intirely in the Mogulls Dominions, and make the Natives affraid of offending you either on that or the other Side of India.

We approve of the establishment you have made of receiveng onc Rupee per Ton for Passes to be paid the Company for each Ship yearly, and doubt not but our Generall will force obedience to that order on the other Side of India, or make Prize of the Refusers as wee did of the *Blessing*.

* * * *

The French and Dutch Protests we value not, We will take our enemies, whatsoever colours they wear, or whose Passes soever they have, and justify all those that act under us or by our Commission and command in that matter ; and if in Such a case any Nation fall upon you, or for any other such like cause, we would have you take the first and best opportunity you can to right us and yourselves on them without expecting further orders from England, for (God be praised) we are now in Such a posture in India that we need to *sic* ? not] Sneak or put up palpable injuries from any Nation whatsoever in India

All Ships to be loaden only from Bombay.
Wee will make it strong like Battavia.
our ships at spare times to ride there.
Approve of your receiving a Rupee a Ton for Passes.
We will take enemy's ships under Friends colours or Passes, who, if they fall on you, right yourselves without expecting fresh orders hence.

and with Gods assistance we hope allwaies to keep ourselves in such a formidable posture of defence ; but we would have you do no manner of wrong or violence to any in amity with us ; we would not wrong a worm : JUST AND STOUT is the Motto wee hope to merit and wear, but in all manner of civil respects we would have you abate nothing that is due to all or any of our Friends in India especially to the French nation.

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And thus havcing answered all your advices we proceed to new matter.

Copies of our contracts with the Armenians we Send you Enclosed and desire and strictly enjoin you to perform every part and Article thereof, that they may have no cause to complain of the least discountenance or discouragement from you in any respect.

It may be if we had not been in a war when we made that agreement we should have made it somewhat more Streight, and a little harder upon them in a few particulars. But since it is done, we

Should have made them harder had We not a War, but being done keep them.

would inviolably keep our faith and promise to them, and hereafter when your wars are quite over, and Peace and our Trade not only restored but well Setled, and also this new course of their Trade for Europe &ca., we may with their own consent make some alterations for the better, or at least restrain part of the Bengall Trade wholly to the Company, But

may restrain somewhat hereafter.

for the present, and until you have other orders from us, we would have you deprive them of nothing they can fairly claim by our Contracts, but on the contrary, cherish and countenance them all that possibly you can, for we Shall esteem those who are kindest to them to be our best Servants because undoubtedly, if they be not discouraged, this foundation which we have happily laid may grow to a famous superstructure and much augment the English Navigation, as well as his Majesties Customs, and discover a multitude of new goods that

the advantages may accrue thereby.

will turn to great advantage. And thereafter we may oblige that whole Nation to load no goods in India &ca. but upon English shipping. They are an innocent, harmless people that will not be apt to contend or plead Law

with us, and are certainly Sober frugall and very wise in all the Commodities and places of India; and when they cohabit with you and you are well acquainted with them, you may make great use of them for the Company and for yourselves in some places where wee have no Factories.

Let them allwaies have Tonnage for their goods on our homeward bound Ships on the terms we have agreed and give a strict charge to all Commanders to use them kindly in their passages for

let them have Tonnage for Goods and order Commanders to use them kindly.

Europe or elsewhere, and allwaies know of them, as soon as you can, what Tonnage each year they designe for Europe, that you may appoint Such a proportionable number of Ships to return as may be Sufficient to bring home yearly ail their goods as well as our own.

We have considered of the fruitless charge of employing a paultry inconsiderable Vakeel at the Mogulls Court, who Spent us more money then would have obliged the Mufty or high Priest and five or

the fruitless charge of a Vacqueel at the Mogulls' Court.

six Potent Courtiers that allwaies attend near the Mogulls person where ever he is, which we understand is allwaies the Armenians way of doing their business at Court with Small expence, and much more effect than hyring a poor

how to do business there hereafter.

Vakeel that dares not speak to Such great men as you may correspond with by Letters and in them write what you think and Send your Letters by Armenians or your own Peons, concerning which we desire you to confer with Coja Panous Kalendar when he arrives with you or with his son in the mean time, and with some others of the most susbtantiall knowing and experienced of the Armenian Nation.

But the main thing that must secure all our own rights in Bengall and all other the Mogulls Dominions is keeping Bombay in the Strong posture which we prescribed that that Island may be a perpetuall

Bombays Security the Greatest thing to secure the English Priviledges in India.

check upon the Moors, and in condition presently to revenge any injury they Shall offer us, by which you will keep them honest for fear of us, which is the surer and much Stronger Passion than Love.

If you find this designed imbarcation of the Armenians for Europe should prove bulky and considerable, there will be a necessity you Should build more convenient Ware-

houses for containing their goods in security, as well before they are Shipped for England as for such as shall be landed from England before they are taken away or shipped for any other place; and for such Warehouse room you must impose some duty by the Bale or Ton lyeing in our Warehouses by the week, as will in a few years reimburse us our charge of building them and the charge of collecting the money, we haveing, as you will observe in our contracts, made no provision concerning this duty, because we could not compute what it might amount unto.

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You must likewise impose upon all houses in our Town at Bombay, as well English as Natives a small quit rent of 2s. 6d. per annum for a great house, one Shilling Six Pence for a midling house and twelve Pence for the Smallest house, as we do receive at the Fort, and line out all your Streets regularly as they are, that some of your guns as near as may be may lye handsomely to clear the Streets, and if any have already built irregularly you must compell them to reform their houses, according to Such order as you Shall draw you[r] lines, and stake out the ground for your better government, wherein we shall Send you with this a ground Plot of the Christian Town at the Fort. And you must in doing this work Set out convenient places for Buzars, levying Such a Small duty upon the Market people that make use of the markets, as may pay Something towards the ground occupied for that purpose, as is done at the Fort in London and in all parts of England and elsewhere where there is any Politicall Government.

But for the ground that is yet void and unbuilt that will happen to Front any of the Streets as you Shall lay them out, we hope you will dispose of that at better rate than are before mentioned for that hereafter when our trade is settled there one foot of ground in your Town will come to be of the vallue of 100 feet now.

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We likewise require you to erect a Post Office for all Letters to be brought to and delivered at [Bombay], Setting Such rate upon each Single letter and so proportionably upon double or treble letters as may in a few years bring insensibly a vast Revenew to the Company, and a much greater conveniency to Merchants and Trade in Generall then ever they yet had or understood, for which purpose you order fitting Stages and passage boats to go off and return at certain days and proper Stages by Land to Surrat and other places to convey letters with great Security and speed. And you must make it highly criminall to Send letters to any place where you have established a Post Office by any other conveyance than by the Office erected for that purpose, and it may be convenient at first to farm out that Office to some discreet and powerfull man upon the Island, who is to be at the charge of the Office runners, Stage Boats &ca., and we think may do that and pay the Company clear profit per Annum four or five hundred Pounds Starling; but as to the manner, take your own methods. Time will improve that revenew exceedingly as it hath done in England from 1000 *li.* per Annum to 50; or 6000 *li.* per Annum clear profit to his Majestie, and yet with great ease and content to Merchants and Traders.

If this Point of raising Revenews were not indispensably necessary for the good of your fatherland, we Should not labour it so much and so often, but most certain it is that until the English in India become as wise and ingenious in this sort of science as the Dutch are, we shall never be able to fortifie our Garrisons, and keep them and men of war to defend our Collonies and Trade Sufficiently in a Dutch War, which we ought yearly to expect and provide for untill they forsake their old encroaching humour in India, restore us Bantam, or we See a better correspondence then as yet appears to us between his Majestie and them, Besides that, our maintaining our Nation in Such a strong posture of defence in India will for ever secure us from Affronts from the Mogulls Subjects and all other Nations in India; and who ever thinks all this can be done without raising considerable Revenews in India (as the Dutch do) deserves not the name of a man, much less of a wise and good Englishman.

Erect a Post Office at
Bombay.

how to mannage the said
Office.

The Reason for and necessity of raising Revenues in the Company's Garrisons.

If you can make our dry Dock tight with stone and Chinam, it's certainly the very best way ; though it cost the more it will continue the longer and we shall not grudge the charge, and we Say again, let it be no longer delayed.

* * * *

It requires no wit to see the Moors Courtship at Surrat is to bring our Trade and Ships back to Swally, and for that no doubt they would not only abate their new imposed Customes and other ineroachments upon us, but let us be custome free even at Surrat itself if we would be drawn again into that fools paradise of sojourning at ease in their Countrey with the best part of our estate and our servants in their possession, which were but as so many hostages given them to abuse us at their pleasure ; But God be thanked, our Nation is happily delivered out of that Bondage and we will never return to it again upon any hopes of advantage or profit whatsoever, and therefore we do absolutely again and again injoin you to keep allwaies the best part of our Estates and all our Shipping to load at Bombay, as we have often inculcated to you. and drive your Trade in peace from Surrat and Swally to Bombay by Yachts and small Vessells, of which if you have not Suffi-
cient, you may build more.

The Moors Courtship was to bring back the trade to Swally—

But being deliver'd from that Bondage—

Keep most of our estates and all ships at Bombay, driving our Trade to Surrat by Small Vessells, which build more of if have not enough—

* * * *

There is no doubt but many of the Banians and other Traders will follow you, and our money to Bombay ; and if they do it not so fully at first they will do it effectually hercafter, when they see us steadily to persevere in our Resolutions to make that Island the Staple of our Trade, which we will never depart from, whatever comes of it.

Banians will follow trade to Bombay.

* * * *

We wish you had taken more hold of that cheap opportunity of buying goods during the war, but Since you did it not then, pray take it for a constant Rule hereafter never to omit buying any

Wish you had bought Goods in the cheap time of the Warr, which omit not again.

Commodity that is extraordinarily cheap and good in its kind, though we do not particularly write for it, if we have not totally forbidden it, as we have your course Cassia Lignum and Cuttanees and all kind of Turmerick at present.

We shall be glad to hear you have taken in our drowned Land at Bombay in the manner formerly enordered, hoping it may make the place more healthfull and yield us a Revenue to answer the charge.

* * * *

With your Generall advices, fail not once in every year at least, to Send us an exact List of all Sorts and quantities of Europe goods you have lying by you at Bombay and all Subordinate factories to that Presidency, But keep Bombay always our Magazine and trust as little of our estate as you can at Surrat, Swally, or any other Subordinate Factories, which is the Surest way to preserve our Estates and yourselves from the affronts of those Governours.

* * * *

You will by the sudden apprehension of a Dutch war see what reason we had to write you so often to keep that usefull Island in a constant strong posture of defence and to make convenient Docks &ca. for the building and repairing of our biggest Ships, which presumeing you have allready done, we do further order and require the Commanders of all our Ships homeward bound from Bombay, before they take in their ladings, to make clean the bottoms of their Ships to the Keil, and Stiffen on their Sheathings by driveing a Sufficient quantity of new long Sheathing Nails which will Render their passages home more expeditious by a months time, and tend very much to the preservation of the Ships, Goods and mens lives, besides saving the Owners Six times the charge of doing that work abroad.

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we remaine

Your very loving Friends

B. BATHURST Governor

J. CHILD Depty.

&ca., &ca.

XXIII

BOMBAY GENERALL

Sent on the *Kemphorne*.

OUR GENERALL OF INDIA
AND PRESIDENT AND COUNCILL OF BOMBAY.

London the 11th September 1688.

Upon perusall of your Consultation Bookes, we find in severall places that you pay money out of the Companys Stock for relieving of some poor English and other charitable uses, which is more than we can justly or dare do ourselves, we being not intrusted with the Adventurers Stock as the Governours of Hospitalls or to dispose of it for charitable uses, but to trade with it, and to fortifie and defend our Trade &ca. by Treaties or arms. Yet since there will in all Colonies be a necessity sometimes to relieve distressed poor, we have a Bank given at pays by Seamen and left by charitable persons at their deaths for relief of necessitous people that have served the Company, out of which we do as we see cause relieve such persons; and we would have you pursue the like method to raise a fund or Stock for that purpose, which you may intrust in the hands of two or three of your Council, and two or three of the best, most charitable and ablest of your Inhabitants, whom you may Commission by themselves or their proper Officer to ask and receive upon all Pay days and every Lords day, or once a month at the Church what shall be freely contributed towards the relief of the poor, and you entitle those so commissioned by the name or Style of Fathers of the poor, as the Dutch call them Fathers or Masters of the Weet-houses, and for the most part as well in the Citties of Holland as in Batavia, Malacca, Amboyna and others of their Colonies abroad, men of the best quality and estates are desirous, and account it an honour to have that title and be thereby capacitated to do the more good in their generation, and have so mannaged that affair in Batavia and with that candour and justice, that by the liberal contributions of the Inhabitants and the free gifts of dyeing persons the poor Stock in that city is become of the value of 30000 *li*. Sterling. The Fathers of the poor being impowered by the Generall and Council as the Stock increases to purchase lands and revenues for a yearly income and constant Supply to answer all necessities of

that kind. This method we would recommend to you, or a better, if you can find out by discourse or otherwise the Dutch pattern in this case, and exactly imitate it, They being a Nation confessedly by the whole world the most considerate, prudent and foreseeing of any people in Europe in affairs of this kind.

In all the receipts of our Revenues of any kind, your are never to make any difference of distinction between the Company's Servants, English or Forreigners, for we will have all men pay alike in all our Garrisons.

We are
Your very loving Friends
J. CHILD Depty.
&ca. &ca.

XXIV.

Bombay Generall

Sent Overland via Marseilles.

OUR GENERALL AND COUNCILL OF INDIA

London the 8th October 1688.

The Dutch Fleet exceeding strong, with about 300 Victuallers and Tenders, and a land Army already shipt on board them, are daily expected to invade this Island. Their Pretences are said to be to secure the Prince of Orange's Succession to this Crown, and the Establishment of the Protestant Religion, and other plausible and popular Pretences, too many to be inserted in this short Letter.

Letter B
Vol. 8
592.

The States Generall of the Seaven Provinces pretend They will inviolably keep peace with his Majesty and his Kingdoms, And that this Invasion is only done by the Prince of Orange and at his single Charge.

How ever it is, and what may be the event, God only knows. But at present it causes such a violent Press into the River of Thames that no Seamen will go on board any Ship, insomuch that the *Chandos*, which was at Gravesend, is left by the Seamen and the Owners have caused her to be brought back to Eriff. So that, if there be not a sudden Pacification, We know not when We shalbe able to send

you out any more Ships for India, Being very glad you have so many there already that you will not want Tonnage homeward for Europe and to defend our Interest in the Country.

But we must upon this occasion tell you that we think It's very necessary The Moors and Armenians should pay you double Freight in the Country, because we find the ordinary Freights do not defray the charge of our Demorage.

We hope this great Alarm may have more of noise than reality in it, or that it will end in a fair and quiet Agreement between his Majesty and the Prince who are so nearly related to each other and to these Kingdoms.

Concluding you have made a Peace with the Mogol, we think this the fittest time You can ever hope for to pursue vigorously his Majesty's former order touching Sallsett, because you can never hope for a greater English force on that side of India, and 'tis good to take time by the forelock, especially if you can do it with the same Courage, Prudence and Conduct as our Generall managed the late war against the Mogol, and you need not doubt But if it please God to give success to your just Arms, We shalbe able with Gods Blessing to preserve your Conquest.

We are
Your very loving Friends
JOSIA CHILD Depty.
JOHN GOODERE

XXV.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay
dated 29th January 1688/9.

OUR GENERAL AND COUNCIL OF
INDIA RESIDING AT BOMBAY.

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Letter Book
Vol. 9, p. 1.

We understand by Captain Pines, who came from Goa 4 days after the departure of the *Successe*, that Your Design succeeded well in taking that great Moors ship, for which You sent the *Bengall*, Ton-

By Capt. Pines who came from Goa understand you took the *Nezame*.

queen and Hunter ; And We have had from Captain Pines a Generall Account of what Goods were on board of her, whereof altho' some Sorts were not sold what goods were aboard her some of which tho' not bought for Europe. bought for Europe usually Vizt. Superfine Bafts, Chassaes, Silk Girdles with Gold and Silver Fringe, Allejeas striped with Gold and Silver, and other such like fine Goods. Yet coming to Us as they did We shall be glad to hear That, after Valuation for the better keeping your Accompts with the Seamen &ca., and repacking of them, You have sent them all home for Us to Europe, Not doubting but the Novelty of some kinds of those Goods may induce Buyers to lay out their Money upon them.

XXVI.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay
dated 15th of February 1688/9.

OUR GENERALL OF INDIA

&ca. &ca.

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3. Your resolution to build a Dry Dock at Bombay is most acceptable to us, who do not think ourselves borne meerly for enriching of ourselves or the Company singly, tho' that be a nationall interest, but more largely for the good of posterity, and the Nation in generall, It being great pity that this kingdom hath been so long deprived of the use of such a place of their own as Bombay is. And of such a conveniency therein as a Dry Dock, whereby to repair Securely and grave their Ships and fasten their Sheathing by driveing of new Sheathing nails where they are wanting before their last departure for Europe upon so long a Voyage, as is from Bombay hither; for which purpose we have sent you a large quantity of Sheathing nails by the *Benjamin*, and shall send you some rod iron and other sorts of Iron by the *Herbert*.

To have a dry lock built is acceptable.

We designing the Good of Posterity.

What use and Advantage We shall make of our dry Dock.

Letter Book,
Vol. 9, p.
71.

p. 18.

4. And to the intent our Said Dock shall be necessarily and constantly made use of, without which it would be an irrecoverable charge to the Company and fall by time into

According to the Order of Court enclos'd, have enjoyn'd All Ships to make use of it and our Wayes.

decay, We have by an order of Court, Sent you herewith, enjoyned all our Ships to make use of it, and to pay for the Company's use, Such rates for that and for the use of our Hulk or our wayes to lay small Ships dry upon, as you in your Judgments, according to our former Instructions, for the use of each of the said conveniencies shall think fit rateably to impose, Such as may bear the full charge of repairing, preserving, and attending those conveniencies, and that may in some number of years fully reimburse us our first charge in making of them, which is our most reasonable expectation.

5. And Since tho' with many difficulties and excessive charged [*sic*] it hath pleased God so to bless our Arms and our affairs on your side of India in the accomplishment of that most necessary work of the transcision of the principall part of our Trade, Officers and Shipping, And the Seat and head of the English government in India from Surrat to our own Island of Bombay, which alone was worth to this Kingdom more than all the cost of the war, and which would never have been done, but it would have procured a war from the Mogull or at least a seizure of our Effects

We enjoyn Our President and all the Council never to reside at Swally Surratt eca. save only at Bombay,

in his Country. Wee doe therefore now, with greater evidence of reason than was obvious to all mens Sight at first, confirm our former orders and injunctions, that neither our President nor any of our Council of India Shall ever hereafter reside at Surrat or Swally nor go to, or inhabit upon the main Land of India, other than such as shall be Sent by the President and the rest of our Council to be Chief, or Chiefs of some Subordinate Factory, as Mr. Shaxton

except such as shall be sent as Chiefs.

was sent to be Agent of Persia, and as Mr. Harris was left to be Agent at Surrat, and Mr. Gladman sent to China.

And we do further confirm and order that no returning Ship for Europe shall ever load in Swally, or at Surrat River; but only intirely and constantly at Bombay, except Such as you Shall to fill up

No ships to be loaded home except from Bombay, or with Pepper from the Coast of Mallabar.

with Pepper at the Coast of Mallabar &ca.

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10 Now you have Peace with the Moors, the next thing is to preserve it, and that cannot better be done than by keeping Bombay in a Strong posture of defence and keeping your Garrison in a sobre order under Strict military discipline, and governing all your affairs with wisdom, vertue and justice, discountenancing all kind of Vice, profaneness and debauchery. Such a Steady Serious government will alwaies be esteemed, revered and feared by neighbour Nations.

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16. Our Generall hath done exceeding well in Setting our Mint at work in coining Rupees ; 'tis a worthy work, and we would have our Succeeding President and Council pursue it with all imaginable contrivance and diligence, that we may in time Supply Bengall with Rupees from Bombay ; or if that cannot be accomplished, that puting off your Rupees coined at Bombay in the Countreys adjacent to Bombay, you may get some competent number of Surrat Rupees to send by way of Madrass, or directly to Bengall, when you have occasion to Send any good Ship to either place. But we think it is not safe to Send any quantity of money by your weak Small Countrey Ships, and we know not how you can Send any great Ship from Bombay to the Fort, to earn her Demorage, except at a time when Rice and Arrack is very scarce at Madrass, as it was when you Sent the *Bengall*. And therefore, tho' we have mentioned this, we must leave it to your consideration, with the aforesaid cautions ; as also whether it be fit for us to coin Gold Mohurs at Bombay, since you have, we hope, a good quantity of Gold by you. We hope likewise you do not omit to coin small money for the use of the Island, and that in all you do, calculate to make some reasonable profit to the Company as all governments in the world do, which may lawfully exercise that Royall Prerogative of Coinage which is granted us by this Majesties Charter, as well as by the Mogulls Phirmaund and Husball Hookum.

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p. 24.

83. We have told you before we aimed by our dry Dock &ca., only to save our Ships and keep them in good plight, to answer the good ends we propose by Such conveniencies, But [it] is [for] the variety of Vessells using your Port, that we must leave you to establish the Rates or Tarriff that all ships or Vessells shall pay us for any of Such our conveniencies as they Shall make use off. And for those that neglect or refractorily refuse to comply with Such Laws as you shall establish for this purpose, by laying their Ships on Shoar to be repaired at other places of our Island than you shall appoint and prepare for that purpose, we think they ought to be fined double the rates they Should pay the Company if they did make use of their conveniencies. And for our Charterparty Ships hereafter we Shall by Charterparty oblige all 3 Deck Ships to comply with our order of Court for this purpose in the penalty of 100 *li.* and 2 Deck Ships in the penalty of 50 *li.* beginning with Captain Burton whose Charterparty is next to be Sealed. In the mean time as soon as your Dock is finished, wee would have you, before you begin to load any Ship for Europe, Shew the Commander this paragraph of our Letter, and require him accordingly to cleanse, grave and stiffen on the Sheathing boards of his Ship within our Said dry Dock, altho' he be not expressly bound thereunto by Charterparty. And if he be so unworthy as to neglect taking such course for the Security of his Ship and Ships Company, Protest against him and let him not have much of your favour, as he Shall be Sure to have little of ours at his return, not only as we are of the Committee, but as we are ourselves the greatest Owners of Ships that Sail for India.

Establish a Terriffe for all
Ships using the Dry
Dock.

(fine all Offenders double)

Our Ships Shall be obliged
thereto by Charterparty.

require all Ships loading
for Europe to cleanse
Stiffen &ca.

if they refuse, protest
against them.

* * * *

Wee remaine

Your very loving Friends

B. BATHURST Governour

J. CHILD Depty.

&ca. &ca.

NOTES.

(26) *Company's war with the Great Moghull*--In accordance with Shah Shuja's Farman of 1656, the English gained the privilege of trading with Bengal without payment of Customs.¹ Factories were established at Hugli, Cossimbazar and Patna and the Company's trade in Bengal was soon in a flourishing condition. But Shah Shuja's flight and his tragic end during the struggle for the throne of Delhi threw the affairs of the Company into gloom: they were soon involved in a bitter conflict with Mir Jumla who was appeased only when the Agent at Hugli submitted to pay three thousand rupees annually for their trade privileges.²

Doc. 17.

Mir Jumla died on 30th March 1663 and was succeeded by Shayasta Khan in the viceroyalty of Bengal. He confirmed in 1672 all the privileges of the Company in return for the annual subsidy exacted during his predecessor's administration. He ordered that "whatsoever goods the said Company shall import.....or shall export, let them pass Custom free....."

But the East India Company was not satisfied with such privileges. They found it very expensive and troublesome to procure a fresh order for trade concessions from every succeeding governor. They desired to make their position more secure by securing the sanction of the highest authority in the land, and thus to settle the matter for ever.

In this attempt they were keenly disappointed. The Farman which was issued by Aurangzeb in 1680 recognised their right to trade with Bengal as with other places, and defined the duties payable by them to the Imperial Exchequer. It proclaimed ".....it is agreed of the English nation besides their usual Custom of two per cent. for their goods, more one and a half per cent. Jezyah, or poll money, shall be taken. Wherefore thatthree and a half per cent. of all their goods.....be taken for the future. And at all other places, upon this account, let no one molest them for Custom, etc." But there arose severe disputes in the interpretation of this document owing to uncertain punctuation. The English read it as given above, with a full stop after 'future' which meant that the Emperor demanded three and a half per cent. on account of Custom and poll tax only at Surat, while in all other places he exempted them from the usual duties. On the other hand the Government Officials saw no exemptions and their version of the document was as if the full-stop was placed after the words 'and at all other places'. This meant that the English should pay a tax of 3½ per cent. at all other places as at Surat. The factors were powerless to resist the demand of the Imperial officers, and gradually came to the conclusion that force was the only remedy and for this it was essential to establish at or near the mouth of the Ganges a fortified settlement similar to those at Madras and Bombay. The home authorities readily fell in with this view and despatched a fleet of ten ships to carry out their designs as to the trade exemptions and fortified settlement.

Sir John Child was vested with powers of Director-General of all their settlements in India to carry on these operations. In April 1686 Job Charnock assumed the chief direction of the Company's affairs in Bengal, and was apprised of the Company's decision to wage war against the Moghul Emperor. In July a royal proclamation⁵ was issued requiring

(1) See Appendix to Sir William Foster's *English Factories 1655-60*.

(2) Bruce : *Annals* I, 560-61 ; C. Stewart : *The History of Bengal* p. 816.

(3) Streygham Master's *Diary*, 1675, 1676, No. 120, pp. 348-49.

(4) See Stewart : *Early History of Bengal*, App. No. V.

(5) See India Office, Record Depts. Misc. Letter Books, 8-9.

all the British subjects to withdraw from the service of the Indian rulers within six months. By the end of the year half of the English forces reached Bengal, and the arrival of the remaining was daily expected.

These preparations did not fail to attract the notice of the Moghul officers and the Conflict became inevitable. In point of fact a rupture was forced by the Moghul Governor of Hugli, who in October, 1686 made an attack upon the factory there.¹ The warlike operations of the Company were nipped in the bud and their attack on Chittagong hopelessly miscarried, in spite of the reinforcements sent under Capt. Heath. The English in Bengal were compelled to take refuge in Madras. The operations on the West Coast did not meet with any better fortune. When the English at Surat were imprisoned and Bombay was occupied by the imperial forces led by the Sidi of Janjira, Sir John Child sued for peace, which was readily granted by Aurangzeb in December 1689 on very humiliating terms. According to the terms of the treaty² the East India Company was compelled to pay a fine of 150,000 rupees, to restore the property of the merchants seized during the war to their rightful owners, to observe the Customs of the port and to expel Mr. Child 'who did the disgrace.'³

Dec. 16. "In reference to a peace with the Mogol we send You our *"Agents Demands in the Bay"*.

When the hostilities broke out between the Company and the Moghul Emperor, Charnock overestimating the strength of his position demanded a sufficient area of land to build a fort on, the permission to erect a mint of their own, and to trade custom free. These along with other concessions were formulated into twelve articles, and were sent to the Nawab for confirmation. (See Hedges, Diary II, pp. 60-65).

(1) C. R. Wilson : Intro. to Early annals of the Eng. in Bengal.

(2) Bruce : Annals II p. 639.

SHAFAT AHMED KHAN.

(To be continued.)

Since we received this instalment of his translation the sad news of the death of Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh, whose service to Islam in making known the criticism and research of Western Orientalists is known to every one, reached us.

انا لله وانا اليه راجعون

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM

17. LITERATURE.

2. POETRY.

(Continued from "Islamic Culture" Vol. V. No. 3, pp. 461).

THE great towns of Mesopotamia were the centres of the new school of poetry. Bashshâr b. Burd of Basra (d. 168/784) was regarded as its founder¹. He was the son of a digger. He was stone-blind but tall and well-built, and his listeners burst into laughter when, in a love-poem, he referred to himself as one so worn out by love's woes, as to be blown away by a breath of wind². Before reciting, he clapped his hands, cleared his throat, spat right and left, and then began³.

Then, at Basra, every lad and every girl in love sang Bashshâr's songs; every wailing woman and every songstress made money thereby; every man of importance feared

(1) (Ibn Khall., vol. 1, 254; Nicholson, *Lit. Hist. of the Arabs* (1st Ed.) p. 373 Tr.). Mirzubani (d. 378) wrote a lengthy history of the modern poets. He placed Bashshâr first and Ibn al-Mu'tazz last on the list (see Prof. Margoliouth's *Arab Historians*, p. 79 Tr.). *Fihrist*, 182. Ibn Khallâd sings: 'The moderns whom Bashshâr leads' (*Yatimah*, III, 235). He calls him 'father of the moderns' (Hamzah el-Isfahâni in the *Diwan* of Abû Nuwâs, p. 10; Al-Husri, *Margin of 'Iqd*, p. 21).

(2) *Aghani*, III, 22, 65. 'Some one found him, resting in the passage of his house, like a buffalo.' *Ibid*, 56.

(3) *Aghani*, III, 22. The poet Buhturi also behaved very disgustingly at the recitation of his poems. He walked up and down the room, backwards and forwards, shook his head and shoulders, stretched out his arm and shouted: 'Beautiful, by God!' and attacked his audience, calling out to them: 'Why do you not applaud?' (*Yâqût*, *Irshad*, VI, 404). In the 4th/10th century there were poets even in the provinces who simulated the ecstatic emotions of the poets of former times. One such appeared at Mûsul with his face smeared with red earth, dressed in a red felt mantle, with a red turban, a red staff in his hand, red shoes (Shabushti, *Kit. ed-diyarat*, Berlin, fol. 96 b). For the life of Buhturi see Ibn Khall., Vol. III, 657, 74).

and dreaded his tongue (*Aghani*, III, 26). Even to Baghdad he went and declaimed *Qasidahs* before the Caliph Al-Mahdi. He is said to have composed 12,000 *Qasidahs*. Like the ancient poets he sang in purest Arabic. To the Bedouins of the tribe of Qais Ailân, then encamping at Basra, he recited his poems. He was so conversant with the intricacies of the language that philologists cited him as an authority (*Aghani*, III, 52). Bashshâr was over sixty or seventy years of age and had the misfortune of losing all his friends before his death. "Only people remained who knew not what language was." On account of a venomous verse he was beaten to death by order of the Caliph, and his body thrown into the Tigris. The body was eventually recovered, and his bier was accompanied to the grave only by his black slave-girl crying ' *Wa Sayyida ! Wa Sayyida !* ' (O my master! O my master!).

But all this was old style. They found no new forms, scarcely even fresh materials. What they did do was to introduce into poetry flowers of trimmed gardens instead of heather blossoms¹. Instead of the wild ass they sang of the goat, as did Qâsim, brother of the famous Kâtib ibn Yûsuf². Or of the domestic cat, as did Ibn al-Allâf (d. 318/930)³.

But if nothing else, one thing certainly was new—the ingenuity which now characterises Arab poetry. (The word 'Tayyib' now comes into fashion and is a favourite word of Jâhiz. Van Vloten : *Livre des Avars*, p. 111). It was the manifest result of a decadent culture, inevitable consequence of the lead taken by the heterogeneous population of the great towns. And precisely the same happened in prose. The passion for things new and interesting destroyed once and for all the taste for bardic lay. Jâhiz is praised as the creator of this new style in prose because he alternated between moods gay and serious. In Bashshâr, father of the new poetry, what delighted the philologist Abû Zaid more than anything else was his mastery

(1) Ibn Râshiq, 'Umdah, 150.

(2) *Aghani*, XX, 56.

(3) Damiri, II, 821. That famous poem is a long elegy on a cat. Some took it to be an elegy on his royal friend and poet, the slain Ibn al-Mu'tazz for whom, from sheer fear, the poet substituted a cat. Others would have it that a slave of the poet who fell in love with a slave-girl of the wazîr was meant by it. They were both killed. By the cat crawling into the dove-cot the slave was meant. (Abû'l Fidâ, *Annales*, year 818). Ibn al-Amîd later wrote a poem on the cat in which he emulated the glory of Allâf (*Yatimah*, III, 28).

over things both serious and gay; whereas in the old masters naught but one mood, gay or serious, manifested itself¹.

Similarly Asma'î applauded the versatility of Bashshâr²; whereas Ishâq al-Mausilî, fanatical admirer of the old style, thought little of him. He found fault with Bashshâr for great disparity in his writings: notes lofty and notes trivial subsisting side by side. The poet once compared the bones of Sulaima to sugar-cane, adding that if an onion were brought near them its odour would be overpowered by that of the musk³.

The older poets regarded witticism as a false note in poetry. Now, however, it gains ground. In poetry the shibboleth of the 3rd/9th century was 'originality' or 'innovation' (*bida'*), something unlike others⁴. One of the outstanding poets of the age, Ibn al-Mu'tazz, actually wrote a book on this subject⁵.

As in all "ingenious" poetry thought preponderates; so what they wanted was expressiveness and all sorts of allusions in the verse. And thus the ideas (*ma'âni*) to which Bashshâr and his followers now gave currency were ideas which had never found a place in the Pagan or even the Islamic poets of earlier times⁶. And in this sphere Bashshâr was supreme for "he not only accepted what nature and talent offered him but searched for the very root of ideas, the mines of truths, and niceties of comparisons and used them with a powerful mind."

As a typical specimen of modernity were regarded the blind poet's verses addressed to the voice of one of the women who talked with him:—

"You people, my ear loves one of the tribe,

"And often in love the ear takes precedence of the eye.

"They say: Foolishly you rave of her whom you have
not seen.

"To them I reply: To the heart the ear speaks as effectively as the eye".

(1) *Aghani*, III, 25.

(2) *Aghani*, III, 24.

(3) *Aghani*, III, 28.

(4) Etymologically allied to the words for 'to be alone' and 'to begin.'

(5) This book (*Kit. al-Badi'*) was an anthology of bacchanalian pieces, the first important work on poetics. Nicholson, *Lit. Hist. of the Arabs*, p. 325 (1st Edn.). (Tr.).

(6) *'Umdah* of Ibn Râshiq, Cairo, II, 185.

And this very idea is simplified and intensified in another passage :—

“How foolishly you talk ? You have never seen her !

“To them I say : The heart sees what the eye sees not¹”.

Ordinarily they spoke of rosy cheeks, but now one is enraptured to hear the roses likened to “cheeks closely pressing each other”². The witty poem of Ibn Rûmî³. (d. 280/893), addressed to one who had his hair cropped, “his face grows at the expense of his head like the summer day at the expense of the night”, secured the warmest applause; the night and the day referring respectively to the black hair and the shining skin of the head⁴. Extreme in his views, Ibn Rûmî (*i.e.*, son of a Greek) declared Bashshâr to be the greatest poet of all times⁵—a statement which staggered the philologists of his age. And yet 200 years later the critic Ibn Râshiq (d. 463/1071) proclaimed Bashshâr the most brilliant of modern poets. ‘He made beautiful what he wanted’, said Ibn Râshiq referring to the poem quoted above⁶. Bashshâr’s example gave a lively impetus to gifted poets to develop their own powers of observation and expression, and to keep off the beaten track.

To this new vein we owe that effortless sweetness which marks Bashshâr’s elegy on his little girl :—

“O daughter of him who had wished for no daughter,

“Only five or six were you

“When eternal leave you took of me,

“Shattering my heart to pieces for love of you.

“Fain would I have had you a boy,

“Drinking at dawn, flirting at eventide”⁷.

And again in the poem on the girl bidding farewell :—

“Lo ! She suppressed a sob and white were her tears

“On her cheeks and yellow were they on her neck⁸”.

And to this vein again we owe such forcible images as the

(1) ‘*Umdah* 188. A third variant in *Aghani* III, 67. The popular style : “I said—they said—” ‘Omar ibn Abi Rabi’ah developed.

(2) *Shabushti*, MS., Berlin, fol. 5 b.

(3) *Ibn Khall*, II, 29. Tr.).

(4) *Umdah*, II, 187.

(5) Hamza al-Isfahâni in the *Diwan* of Abû Nuwâs.

(6) ‘*Umdah*, 188, 194.

(7) *Aghani*, III, 68.

(8) *Heibet el-Kumait* 191.

one in Abû Nuwâs (d. circa 195/810), recalling our own popular songs to mind¹ :—

“Love plays with my heart not unlike a cat with a mouse²”.

Or the imposing metaphor in Ibn al-Mu‘tazz (d. 296/909) :—

“A thunder-roll in the distance, like the Amîr’s speech from the hill-top to the people³”.

And again :

“I have committed my soul to God’s keeping and there it rests like a sword in the scabbard⁴”.

And once again in a song of the spring which begins :—

“Behold ! the spring approaches, not unlike the fair ones, decked out for their lovers !”

The verse :

“The cupping-glass of the yellow truffle shows itself, and all over is the carnival of life⁵”.

Or :

“He visited me in absolute darkness when the Pleiads, like a bunch of grapes, hung in the west⁶”.

Or :

“Against my will I tarried helpless like one in an old woman’s embrace⁷”.

Not infrequently do these great poets become much too original. Thus Abû Nuwâs on a jilted girl :—

“And a tear adorned her. And out of her tears a cheek grew on her cheeks and a neck on her neck⁸”.

Or :

“The new moon is like a silver crescent moving the Narcissus, the flowers of darkness⁹”.

Or of the rainbow :

“The hands of the cloud have flung a grey veil on the earth,

“And the rainbow has adorned it with colours, yellow, red, green and white.

(1) He grew up at Basra and had taken Bashshâr as his model Hamza al-Isfahani in the *Diwan* of Abû Nuwâs. Jâhiz regarded him as the most important poet after Bashshâr and so did Ibn Rûmî (Intr. to the Cairene Ed. of the *Diwan* of Abû Nuwâs, 91). (2) *Diwan*, Vienna MS., fol. 176b. (3) *Diwan*, Cairo, I, 15. Abû Tammâm, *Diwan*, 870. (4) Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, I, 16. (5) Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, II, 84. (6) *Ibid*, II, 110. (7) *Ibid*, II, 122. (8) *Diwan* Cairo, p. 8. (9) Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, *Diwan*, II, 122.

“It resembles the train of a fair one who comes in coloured mantles, one shorter than the other” (Ibn al-Rûmî in Ibn Râshiq, *Umdah*, II, 184).

Striving after uncommon metaphors and similes marks the entire poetry of the 4th/10th century. It powerfully stimulated the tendency to penetrate into the most hidden secrets of things and to see the oddest peculiarities in them. Above everything else we note the function of plastic art assigned to poetry. Much of it is pure word-painting. Sheer visual pleasure now gained the upper hand, bringing in its train the desire to see things artistically and to express them clearly. This the genuine Arab had never known. But the fashion set by them placed the reed-pen instead of the brush in the hands of a people of very different temperament. And these now become the exponents of the new style. The *Sifat*—descriptions, which Abû Tamnâm, in the VIIth Chapter of his Anthology of the Arab poets, disposes of in a few lines, have immensely developed. Very cursorily indeed did the Arab poets deal with landscapes. They dealt, instead, as was their practice from time immemorial, with wine, with the description of the dull, rainy day when drink was particularly delightful¹. Even later poets have given us the subtlest comparisons in this sphere. Ibn Rûmî :

“The overcast heaven was like the darkest silk,
“And the earth like the greenest damask”².

And the Wazîr Muhallabi fondly sings :—

“The heaven looked like a dark stallion”.

In the older days they preferred their carouses at night or the earliest dawn : “when the cock crows, hand the morning draught”³.

(1) Ibn al-Mutazz, *Diwan*, II, 122.

وتقصير يوم الدجن والدجن معجب بهانة تحت الجباء المعبد
we find these as constant themes in Eastern poetry,

تند پر شود سیه مست ز کمر آرد می کنان مژده که ابر آمد و بسیار آمد

And our Indian Poets :

ہانی برس کے کھل جائے باغ جانے کا تب منزہ آئے
(Tr.

توبہ کر زاہد کروں میں توبہ ایسے وقت میں

یہ بہار آئی ہوئی ایسی گھٹا چھائی ہوئی

(2) *Yatimah*, II, 21.

(3) Ibn al-Mu'tazz, II, 36.

In the few passages where the drinking-songs of Abû Nuwâs give details we invariably find :

“ The morning has rent the veil of darkness ”, or some such thing¹.

A hundred years later, Ibn al-Mu‘tazz gives most variants on this subject :—

“ Arise, carousing boon companions, let us take the morning draught in darkness for the dawn is well-nigh on us ! ”

Or :

“ In the heaven I see the Pleiades like a bare foot emerging from a mourning dress² ”.

And again :

“ Above the crescent of the new moon the whole zodiac is visible like the head of a negro with a grey beard³ ”.

But just about the time of Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, this remarkable carousing hour was getting out of fashion. The poet ridicules it as unsuitable : “ When the shivering wind blows, the saliva freezes in the mouth, the servant curses, and cares capture the heart ”⁴.

In Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, love for natural scenery begins to assert its claim in drinking-songs. The wine-bibber begins now to enjoy, with his drink, the green of the garden, the trees, the roses, the narcissus, the singing birds, and in the spring ‘ the feast of life ’. (*Diwan*, II 34, 51, 110).

And in the first half of the 4th/10th century two Syrian poets, both friends, developed the poetry of the garden and its myriad charms and carried it to its highest point.

Mohammed Ibn Ahmad⁵ Abû Bakr, born in Antioch,

(1) *Diwan* 349. The first two verses of the poem are quite modest : “ The time is happy, the trees are green, the winter is over, and March has come ”. The talk of green gardens and singing birds does not exactly fit in with what follows. They are obviously subsequent interpolations. And such also is the case with the ‘ Battle of Flowers ’ which Mas‘ûdi (VIII, 407) ascribes to Abu Nuwâs. It is not to be found in his *Diwan* and comes from a later time.

(2) *Diwan*, II, 87.

(3) Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, II, 110.

(4) *Diwan*, II, 110 ff. (The wine-bibbers in the East have never really given up the early morning-draught, which they consider the best of all drinks).

(5) This according to *Fihrist*, 168. According to Abû‘l Mahâsin (II, 312) : Ahmed ibn Mohammed ibn al-Hasan al-Dabbi. According to Yaqut (II, 311) : Moh. ibn al-Hasan b. Marrar. According to Kutubi (I, 61) : Ahmed ibn Mohammed.

was the Librarian of Saif-ud-Daulah¹. His surname As-Sanaubari suggests that either he or his father was a cutter of pine-wood². He was also called 'Skittle' on account of his figure (*Mafatih el-'Ulum*, ed. Van Vloten, 207). The second surname Al-Sînî, the Chinese, does not necessarily imply that he was personally in China. In Kûfa a merchant who traded with China was so called (Yâqût, III, 444). . He died in 334/945, being at least fifty years of age (Abû'l Mahâsin, II, 312; Yâqût, II, 664). Of his life we only know that he was friendly with the poet Kushajim to whom he was a stream of boundless beneficence (*Diwan* of Kushajim (Beyrût, 1213) p. 116); that Kushajim married one of his daughters (*Diwan* 74 f.) and comforted him at the death of another who died unmarried (*Diwan* 71). He sang chiefly of Aleppo and Raqqah, the two capitals of Saif-ud-Daulah. But he also resided at Edessa, where, at the house of a book-dealer, he used to meet a circle of Syrian, Egyptian and Mesopotamian literati. (Yâqût, *Irshad*, II, 23). At Aleppo he owned a garden with a summer-house full of plants and trees, flowers and oranges. (*Diwan* of Kushajim, 74). For this he was called Al-Halabi. Too young for the *Aghani* and too old for the *Yatimah*, his *Dîwân*, which was once alphabetically arranged in 200 folios by Sûlî, has been split up into fragments and does not exist except in small selections. The fragments had therefore to be collected from all quarters.

On a bed of blood-red anemones fringed by pale red roses :—

“Roses encompass the anemones in your beautiful garden, not unlike human faces gazing at a conflagration³.”

“When the red anemones wave up and down, they resemble hyacinth banners tied to emerald shafts⁴”.

And again Spring in the garden :—

“Rise and gaze, O Gazelles, the flower-beds reveal their miracles !

“The spring has rent the veil which had wrapped their faces divine.

(1) *Guruli Matali el-Budur*, II 176.

(2) At Hisn et-Tinat, by the sea near Alexandria, many pine-forests were cut down and pines shipped to Syria and Egypt (Ibn Haukal, 221). Also there was a pine-forest, 12 square miles, south of Beyrût along Lebanon,—Idrisi, 28.

(3) Shabushti, MS., Berlin, fol. 96.

(4) Khafaji, *Raihanat el-alibba*, 256.

“Roses like checks, narcissus like eyes, which greet
the loved ones.

“Anemones, like silver mantles, with blank legends;
cypresses like singing-girls tucked up to the knee;
one looks like a gentle maiden playing with her
companions at midnight. The gentle breeze has
made the brook tremble and filled it with leaves.
Had I the power to guard the garden—no mean
soul would ever tread its soil¹”.

Sanaubarî regards the narcissus as the “Queen of flowers”,—“camphor eye-lids fringe the saffron eyes”². And indeed, narcissus is the chief flower of Syria which not infrequently completely whitens its meadows³. Even of a ‘Battle of Flowers’ he has sung in which the rose, the self-satisfied lily, the anemone ‘whose cheeks bear the scar of warfare,’ the violet in mourning attire and the carnation as war-crier march in the cover of the whirling dust against the narcissus,—until the poet, anxious for his favourite, unites them all peacefully in a salon where ‘birds and harps sing’⁴.

In the previous century Buhturi (Ibn Khall., Vol. III. 657) had sung of a lake in the Caliph’s palace :

“The envoys of water discharge therein hastening
from the starting line.

“’Tis as if white silver flowing out of ingots were running in its channels. When the wind passes over it, it produces billows like cuirasses with polished edges.

“At night when the stars are reflected therein—we might take it for the starry heaven : only fishes, instead of birds, fly therein” (*Diwan*, I, 17, Mez has mistaken the sense of these lines. Prof. Margoliouth, Tr.)

But as a poet of gardens he adds :

“And the flowers shine like stars—now in clusters,
now single and apart” (*Iqd.* I, 183).

(1) Al-Kutubi, I, 61 and Tha’alibi, *Kit. man Gaba.* 25 (For his life see Ibn Khall., Vol. II, p. 129, Tr.).

(2) Kutubi, *Fawat el-Wafayat*, (Cairo, 1299,) I, 61.

(3) Nasir Khusru, ed. Schefer. Tr. 39; Schefer reminds us of the Narcissus-island of the Syrian Tripoli.

(4) Kutubi in Mas’ûdi VIII, 407; a ‘Battle of flowers’ is ascribed to Abû Nawâs in which red flowers (Rose, Pomegranate and Apple-bloom) oppose the yellow ones (Narcissus, Camelia, Citron). For internal reasons this cannot be accepted as correct. The poem, moreover, is not to be found in the Beyrût edition of the *Diwan*. Nor can the poem be ascribed to Sanaubarî for the Mesopotamian vineyard of Baturunga plays a role therein and the rose is preferred to narcissus.

The first landscape poet of Arabic literature is equally a passionate lover of the sky, of light and air, with an eye for their sweet secrets.

A song of the spring :

“When there is fruit in the summer, the earth is aglow
and the air shimmers with light.

“When in autumn the palm trees shed their leaves,
naked is the earth, stark the air.

“And when in winter rain comes in endless torrent, the
earth seems besieged and the air a captive.

“The only time is the time of the radiant spring, for
it brings flowers and joy.

“Then the earth is a hyacinth, the air a pearl, the
plants turquoises, and water crystal”.

He was the first to sing of snow :—

“Gild the cup with wine, lad, for it is a silvery day.

“Veiled in white is the air, bedecked in pearls, as
though in bridal display.

“Do you take it for snow ? No, it is a rose trembling
on the bough,

“Coloured is the rose of spring, white the rose of
December¹”.

Sanaubarî has left his mark on Arabic literature. There is, to begin with, his countryman Kushajim², who followed in the footsteps of his more renowned friend—namely, the path of visual delights. Kushajim was attached to Sanaubarî like water and wine. Sworn friends in sunshine and gloom ; comrades of joys, sober and riotous ; to be seen in the heaven of fine arts like sun and moon in harmony like lute and flute³. Thus sings Kushajim :

“In a blue garment she came, that blue which we call
“running water”

“A full moon is she, and in the colour of heaven resplendently she shines⁴”.

He calls a girl in violet-mourning dress ‘a rose in violet’, and of a mourning youth he thus sings :—He rent his cheeks until its roses veiled themselves in violets⁵.

(1) Tha‘labi, *Nasr en-nazm* (Damascus, 1300 ; p. 137).

(2) He was a Kâtib. And in addition astrologer and master of the kitchen of Saif-ud-Daulah, *Yatimah*, IV, 157.

(3) *Diwan* of Kushajim (Beyrut, 1818) p. 74.

(4) *Diwan*, p. 6.

(5) *Diwan*. pp. 21. 22.

He sings of the Quwaiq, the river of Aleppo, flowing in its emerald meadows, through red anemones and lilies like a loosened string of pearls, flashing like an Indian sword, now bare and now in the sheath. He likens the lotus of the meadows to a hanging lamp, now alight and now extinguished by the wind¹.

When the Nile rises in Egypt, shattering the dams, it encloses the villages, like the sky whose stars are the far m-houses².

Also songs of snow he has penned. One of them begins thus :

“Is it snow or is it silver that comes pouring down ?”

In this poem he has the bad taste to say :

“White is the land as though everywhere white teeth were smiling³”.

He had a large circle of admirers, one of whom sang :—

“Woe to the luckless who enjoys not a cup of wine, the letters of Sabi, and the poems of Kushajim⁴”.

In the middle of the 4th/10th century Kushajim was the ‘flower of the cultured’ at Mōsul. The Khâlidi brothers and Sari poets of this town, however much they might wage war with each other, followed whole-heartedly in the footsteps of their Syrian master. They not only plagiarised each other’s verses, but Sari inserted the best poems of his opponents in Kushajim’s ‘Book of Poems’ with a view, at once, to charge more for the transcript and to annoy Khâlidi⁵.

Once at Mōsul the poets were sitting together when it began to hail, covering the ground with hail-stones. Khâlidi threw an orange at them and invited the company to describe the picture. Sulami (d. 394/1004) began straightway : ‘Khâlidi has placed a cheek on the teeth’ (*Yatimah*, II, 158).

(1) *Diwan*, p. 48.

(2) Shabushtî, *Kit. ad-diyyarat*, Berlin, fol. 115 a.

(3) *Diwan*, p. 140.

(4) *Yatimah*, II, 24.

(5) *Yatimah*, I, 450. In the letters of Sabi (Leiden) there is one in which he defends himself against the suspicion of the Mōsul poets, that he sided with Sari ; on the contrary he asserts that, when Sari begged him to be allowed to compose a panegyric on him, he was permitted to do so provided he said nothing offensive about Khâlidi in it.

One of the Khâlidis sings thus of the dawn :

“The stars in the firmament stand like lilies in violet
meadows.

“Orion staggers in the dark like a drunken man.

“Veiled in a light, white cloud,

“She now conceals herself behind it.

“Like the breathing of a fair damsel on a mirror, when
her charms are perfect and she is unwedded¹”.

And again : “Hand me, from a white hand, yellow wine in
a goblet blue—

“Beverage is the Sun, froth the moon, hand the axis
of the earth, vessel the sky²”.

Himself more than a poet of moderate attainments and founder of a distinguished literary line, the Wazîr Muhallabi popularised in Baghdad Sanaubarî's gleeful poetry of nature and of wine. He used especially to recite, as the Sâhib³ states, in the diary of his Journey to Baghdad, a great many poems of Sanaubarî and of his school⁴. He even imitated the poem of his master on snow, which is a miracle in Baghdad :—

“Like Confetti falls the snow. Come, let us enjoy the
pure, virgin daughter of the vine.”

The inspiration is from the school of Sanaubarî, too, when the Qâdi et-Tanûkhi, belonging to the circle of Muhallabi, sings of a girl in a fire-red garment :—

“She coyly covered her face with her sleeves, like the
setting sun in the evening glow⁵”.

And again :

“I have not forgotten the Tigris. The darkness descended and the full moon went under. A carpet of blue was the river with golden embroidery⁶”.

When Saif-ud-Daulah, the Prince of Aleppo, likens the crimson-blushes of a virgin, wrapped in a grey veil, to glowing embers, he sees her with the eyes of Sanaubarî. And such also is the case when Wâthiqi in Turkistan sings of the incipient charcoal fire :

“Jet in red-gold in between blue lotus⁷”.

(1) The name of this constellation is feminine in Arabic. See Pliny's *Natural History*, VII, § 64 for the explanation of this. I am indebted to Prof. Margoliouth for this note. Tr.

(2) *Yatimah*, I, 519.

(3) Ibn Khall, Vol. I, 214 Tr.

(4) *Yatimah*, II, 12.

(5) *Yâqût. Irshad*, V, 838.

(6) *Yatimah*, II, 109 : *Irshad*, V, 835.

(7) *Yatimah*, IV, 118.

When, at the end of the century, Ibn 'Abbâd sang in Khorasân of the winter :—

“ Do you not see how December scatters its roses and the world seems like a piece of camphor ” ?—

Khwarezmi discerned at once that all this was traceable to Sanuabari¹.

About the year 400/1000 'Uqaili in Egypt represented the style of Sanaubari. “ He had summer-houses in the Island of Old Cairo, took no service of princes, eulogised no one ”².

The following is a specimen of his verse :—

“ On the brook the hand of the wind has flung fiery anemones, beneath whose red, the water looks like a swordblade, sprinkled with blood ”³.

Little attention is paid to the sensations of sound.

Sulami (d. 394/1001) describes the mighty dam of Shîrâz but there is not a word in his description about the rushing of water⁴. The only thing of the kind that I have found is in a verse of the Buwayyid 'Izz-ud-Daulah relating to a banquet on the bank of the Tigris :

“ And the water babbled between the branches like female singers dancing round the flautist ”⁵.

Towards the end of the century most heterogeneous things were put together for the pleasure of the ingenious, for the eaves and one's own reflection in a mirror⁶. Mai-mûni in Bukhâra describes the entire pantry : cheese, olives, roast fish, mustard sauce, scrambled eggs⁷. Another sings of a candle in the centre of a fish-pond, and compares a fountain with an apple floating in it to a blow-pipe of fine glass, whereby a ball of agate is made to revolve.⁸

The Egyptian 'Abdul Wahhâb ibn al-Hâjib (d. 387/997) thus speaks of the two great pyramids :—

“ 'Tis as though the country, parched with thirst, had

(1) *Yatimah*, III, 95.

(2) Ibn Sa'id, ed. Tallquist, p. 52.

(3) Ibn Sa'id, 78.

(4) *Yatimah*, II, 179.

(5) *Yatimah*, II, 5. (It is doubtful whether this rendering is correct. For “ babbling ” we should probably render “ flowing ”. Prof. Margoliouth, Tr.)

(6) The Qassâr, known as Sari ed-Dila (d. 410) : *Tatimmat al-yatimah*, Vienna, fol. 28 b.

(7) *Yatimah*, IV, 94, ff.

(8) *Yatimah*, IV, 316.

bared her two towering breasts, invoking God's help, like a woman bereft of her child.

"And then the Almighty made her a gift of the Nile which supplies a copious draught to her¹".

Only in the 4th/10th century—and it is very significant—do tramps find a place in Arabic Poetry :

"Theirs is Khorasan and Qashan unto India,

"Theirs (the country), up to the Roman frontier, up to the land of the negroes, up to the territory of the Bulgarians, and Sind.

"When the warriors and travellers find the road insecure for fear of the Bedouins and Kurds,

"We spring across without sword: nay, even without a sheath²".

With these tramps there is ushered in light and lively songs—indeed lyrics, which make no pretence of ingenuity. Al-Ahnaf of Ukbara in Mesopotamia was their chief bard. His drinking-songs take no note of the joys afforded by nature :—

"I caroused in a tavern to the accompaniment of tambourine and zither :

"The drum sounded 'Kurdumta'—the flute 'tiliri'.

"We sat hard pressed as in a baking-oven, so hot was the room, and from the blows which rained we were like the blind and one-eyed.

"I felt seedy in the morning³—Oh, how seedy ! "

He sang of the miseries of the tramps too.

"Despite feebleness the spider spins a web to rest therein,

"I have no home.

"The dung-beetles find support among their kind, but neither love nor support have I⁴ ".

No artifice ! no epigrams here ! It is the style which characterises French literature from Villon to Verlaine. To this circle belongs Mohammed ibn 'Abdul Azîz, of Sûs,

(1) Maqrîzi, I, 121.

(2) *Yatimah*, II 286. (*Chevaliers d'industrie* called in Arabic *Banu sasan*. Prof. Margoliouth. Tr.)

(3) *Yatimah*, II, 287. The Caliph al-Mutamîd had already sung : "The Amîr is on the march and the drum is sounding :

Kurdum, Kurdum ! " Shabushtî, Berlin, fol. 42 b.

(4) *Yatimah*, II, 286. Tha'libî, *Kûl. al-'Ijaz*, 236 : Tha'libî, *Book of Supports* DMG VIII, 501. I have not discovered the Arabic name of this work. Tr.

who in a poem of more than 400 verses described his changes in religion, sect, and employment. It begins:—"No luck have I, no clothes in my trunk"¹. Alongside of him stand the popular poets of the great Mesopotamian towns such as Ibn Lankak at Basra, 'whose poems rarely go beyond two or three verses and who is rarely felicitous in Qasidahs²'; Ibn Sukkarah³ who is said to have composed over 50,000 verses, of which 10,000 are addressed to his black singing-girl Khamrah, and finally, one who surpasses them all, Ibn al-Hâjjâj in Baghdad (d. 391/1001)⁴.

He was slim and slender:—

"Fear not for me because of my narrow chest,

"Men are not measured by the bushel⁵".

And once, defending himself for running away from his creditors, he sang:—

"Many say: The wretch has fled,—were he a man he would have stayed behind.

"Reville him not! Reville him not for running away!

"Even the Prophet made his escape to the cave⁶".

To this unhappy time probably belong the proud verses:—

"When I praised them in the morning, they thanked me not,

"And when I reviled them in the evening, they ignored it.

"I hew my rhymes out of their quarry,

"Whether the blockheads hear or heed them, is no concern of mine".

(1) *Yatimah*, III, 237.

(2) Ibn Lankak has collected the short love-poems of the Basran 'rice-baker' (d. 330/941) in front of whose shop people assembled to listen to him. (Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 70 b). These poems were mostly pederastic. The youths of Basra felt proud of being referred to by him. They appreciated his language for its clarity and intelligibility (*Yatimah*, II, 132). After his death he became popular at Baghdad. Also Mas'ûdi writes in 333/994 (Mas'ûdi VIII, 374) that his songs were sung most frequently.

(3) *Yatimah*, II, 188.

(4) Abû 'Abdullah al-Hasan Ibn Ahmad died at Nil in Mesopotamia on Tuesday the 27th (according to *Wuz.* p. 430, on the 22nd) Jumâda I of the year 391. As a zealous Shi'ite he was buried by the grave of Mûsa ibn Ja'far es-Sâdiq. He chose the inscription for his grave: 'And at the threshold lies the dog with paws outstretched'. *Sûrah* 18.17 (Al-Ḥamadâni, Paris, fol. 340 b). He resided in Sûq-Yahya, of which he sang a great deal.

(5) *Yâqût*, II, 242.

(6) *Yatimah*, II, 228.

Rich and influential alike dreaded his evil tongue. 'Filth procures me money and honour', he himself says¹. He became tax farmer and later even Inspector of Industries (Muhtasib) in the capital, for which his less successful contemporary Ibn Sukkarah envied him most².

In his poems he loves to use the language of the tramps and charlatans³. In him and his companions the disgusting obscenity of Oriental towns reveals itself,—a thing kept in check in literature by the influence of sober and continent Bedouins⁴.

Like one freed from some unwelcome restraint, Ibn al-Hajjāj rejoices in and boasts of his license. Indeed his licentious boast is but a reaction against the maudlin sentimentality of others. He says:—

" Necessary too is the levity of my songs, for are we
not ingenuous and shameless ?

" Can one live in a house without a privy ?

" When silent I am laden with fragrance but when I sing
the bad odour exhales.

" Cleaner of a privy am I and my song is naught but a
sewer⁵".

It was precisely for this reason that in a later police-manual the work of this poet is banned to boys⁶, but its filth never worried the contemporaries. The highest dignitary of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate—the Registrar of the 'Alids—al-Ridâ, was an ardent admirer of Ibn al-Hajjāj and edited a selection of his poems⁷. He even mourned his death in an elegy. The Fatimid Caliph in Cairo purchased for 1,000 dinârs his works in which he was praised⁸. His *Diwan* not infrequently fetched 50 to 70 dinârs⁹. Al-Haukari, court-poet of Saif-ud-Daulah in Aleppo, begged the Mesopotamian poet for a song which he might recite before his master (*Yatimah*, II, 226).

(1) *Diwan*, 10, Baghdad Marghanah, my copy, p. 258.

(2) *Diwan*, Baghdad, 240 : *Wuz*, 430, *Yatimah*, II, 219.

(3) *Yatimah*, II, 211.

(4) When one examines the descent of the more famous representatives of this literature of filth one finds it in most cases like the descent of Rawandi (d. 298-911) : Son of a Jewish magian or heathen convert (Abû'l Mahâs.n, II, 184).

(5) *Yatimah*, II, 24.

(6) *Mashriq*, X, p. 1085.

(7) Ibn. Khall., Vol. III, p. 418 Tr.

(8) *Diwan* X, 287 : *Wuz*, 480.

(9) *Yatimah*, II, 215.

Ibn Hajjâj says himself :—

“ If my song were to strike a serious vein, the stars of the night you would see resplendent therein.

“ But generally it is jocular and redolent of the trivial round of things¹”.

And he achieves his purpose with effortless ease. He calls everything by its right name, defies the laws of metre and of rhyme. And thus his *Diwan* brings together a whole heap of expressions from the colloquial language of the Baghdad of the 4th/10th century². For him the traditional poetic model exists only to be parodied, as for instance on the death of Subuktigin :

“ May always the privy in which he is buried.

“ Be watered by the rain of the stomach³”.

And through the mist of filth shine here and there the stars of the night which manifestly made his contemporaries regard this utterer of obscenities as a poet of great distinction.

Of Mesopotamian origin but of Syrian training, Mutanabbi⁴, in contrast to these poets, staunchly adheres to the Arab tradition⁵. While they, being realists, sang of their experiences, Mutanabbi is the academician to whom the universal appeals. Invited once to join a hunting party which possessed a remarkably intelligent dog that brought to bag a gazelle, without a hawk—the poet sang praises of him. But he thought that that could be done without reference to the hunting-party, and therefore, simply sang of the dog in the customary fashion (Mutanabbi, *Diwan*, Beyrût, 1882 p. 128). Ibn al-Mu‘tazz was

(1) *Yatimah*, II, 213.

(2) Unfortunately these are explained only partially in the British Museum copy. No other explanation exists elsewhere.

(3) *Diwan*, Baghdad, 80.

(4) Ibn Khall. Vol. I, p. 102 Tr.

(5) Abû Tammâm (d. circa 230/845 and al-Buhturi (d. 284/897)—also Syrian poets—were conservatives and followed in the wake of their Damascene predecessors al-Akhtal, Jarîr, and Farazdaq. But Buhturi had poetic sense to prefer the more modern style of Abû Nûwas to that of the conservative band. He met the objection of the philologists with the retort : Yours is only the science, but not the making of poetry. Only those understand the making of it who have passed through the toil of poetic composition (Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur Arabischen Philologie*, p. 164, note (4) In Syria also there was a notable representative of Ibn al-Hajjâj's style : Ahmad ibn Mohd. al-Antaqi, known as Abû'l Raqamaq (d. 859) who, however, succeeded in composing only a few lively verses (*Yatimah*, I, 238-261). For further particulars about him—*Ma'âlim al-Talkhis*, Berlin, fol. 156b.

the only modern poet of whom he approved. (*Yatimah*, I, p. 98). The Mesopotamians were unfriendly to him. Both Ibn Sukkarah and Ibn Lankak (*Yatimah*, I, 86, II, 116) and Ibn al-Hajjâj (*Diwan*, Baghdad, 270) satirized him, and there is extant a malicious account of the meeting of the Syrian Court-poet with the literati of Baghdad. He is made to appear supercilious, and, despite intense heat, he wears seven coloured robes, one over another, to increase his proportions, but before a Baghdadian critic he has to trim his sails. (Yâqût, *Irshad*, VI, 506; *Tiraz el-Murwashsha*, Cairo, 1894, II, 65 ff; *Yatimah*, I, 85). In 400/1009 the Syrian poet Abû'l 'Ala left Baghdad on account of a quarrel with the influential supporters of Ibn al-Hajjâj. He sided with his countryman Mutanabbi as against them.

(Letters, ed. by Prof. Margoliouth, p. XXVIII. Abu'l 'Ala also wrote a copious commentary on the poems of Mutanabbi, (Von Kremer on the philosophical poems of Alul 'Ala, SWA, 117, p. 89). There is a copy of this in the British Museum. Tr.).

Even the Syrian Abû Firâs (d. 357/968) distinctly pursues the old path. But the most remarkable thing about him is that he very sparingly alludes in his poems to the wild warfare on the western frontier of the empire. A cousin of the Hamdânid Prince Saif-ud-Daulah, he must have been mixed up a great deal with those events and yet the larger portion of his glorification is naught but poetical fiction. And one who is not conversant with the facts will find it impossible to make out from his poems that Syrians and Greeks, Muslims and Christians fought in such large numbers and with the most perfect military equipment of their age. They might equally well be dealing with the petty warfare of two Bedouin tribes. Even the poems relating to his Greek captivity appear to me mere rhymed prose.¹ And when writers like the Sâhib² and Tha'libi³ praise it extravagantly it offers but one more proof that faint then was the line between the writer and the poet.

The Sherif Ar-Ridâ⁴, born at Baghdad in 361/970, was only thirty when Ibn al-Hajjâj died. Himself a poet, he made a selection of Hajjâj's poems⁵. But he was too

(1) Few will agree with this. Tr.

(2) Ibn Khall. Vol. I, 214, Tr.

(3) Ibn Khall. Vol. II, p. 129, (d. 429/1047-8) Tr.

(4) Prof. Margoliouth, *Arab Historians*, p. 90: Ibn Khall., Vol. III, p. 418. Tr.

(5) *Diwan*, Cairo, 1807, p. 1.

great a gentleman with too distinguished a pedigree to descend, like Hajjâj, against all conventions, into the seamy side of life. His father had been Registrar of the descendants of 'Ali. On his death in 400/1009 he succeeded to all his honours and official preferments, although a younger son. He lived in great style; established a private academy where savants studied and were entertained at his cost; and boasted of having never accepted a present even from a Wazîr. Proud was he of being a judge over his 'Alid kinsmen.

An 'Alid woman once complained to him against her husband of gambling away his fortune instead of providing for wife and child. When witnesses confirmed her statement the Sherîf summoned him, ordered him to lie face downward, and had him flogged. The woman thought that they would stop beating, but when they exceeded 100 strokes she cried out: How would it fare with us if he died, and my children became orphans? Upon this the Sherîf called out: 'Did you imagine that you were complaining to a school-master'? He was the first 'Alid aristocrat who publicly abandoned resistance to authority, who exchanged the white dress, which his father had worn with as much pride as grief, for the black uniform of the 'Abbâsid courtier and official¹. He traces his reserve and shrinking to his melancholy temperament:

"I might justify myself before men from whom I keep aloof. I am more hostile to myself than all men put together.

"They say: Comfort thyself, for life is but a sleep; when it ends, care, the nightly wanderer, vanishes too. Were it a peaceful sleep, I would welcome it but it is a disquieting, dreadful sleep²".

Never does one common, ugly expression escape from the mouth of this genuine aristocrat, such as we find in the state-secretary Ibrâhîm es-Sabi, the Wazîr Muhallabi and Ibn 'Abbâd. Even in satires where the poets have allowed themselves a free rein the following is the strongest that we have found in this poet:—

"When he makes his appearance the eyes blink and the ears vomit at his song.

(1) *Diwan*, pp. 1 and 929.

(2) *Diwan*, 503, ff. Before the Sultan Bahâ-ud-Daulah he declined to recite: I do that only before the Caliph (p. 934). Regarding his melancholy it is to be observed that he was born when his father was already 65.

"We would rather listen to the roar of contending lions than to thy song¹".

That such an one should be at pains to make Selections of the few decent verses in the works of Ibn al-Hajjâj and even compose a panegyric on him, is a fact creditable to both.²

Moreover Ridâ is more on the side of Mutanabbi, whose commentator, Ibn Jinni, was his teacher. Through the entire programme of the old school of poets Ridâ goes : congratulatory poems on the new year, Easter, Ramadân, the end of the month of Fast, Mihrajân, birth of a son or daughter, panegyrics on Caliphs, Sultans, Wazîrs, elegies on death of men prominent or closely allied to him, and, above all, poems on the anniversary of the death of Husain, the *Ashura* Day. Nor does he forget to glorify his house and its nobility and to complain of the world and of old age. And this he does, according to convention, from youth onward. Luckily, in his twentieth year, in consequence of a vow which necessitated the cropping the front part of his head, he discovered grey hair,—a discovery which gave him a right to speak of old age³. In literary history Ridâ stands out as a master of elegy⁴. He is a stern stylist and is very sparing of personal details in individual cases. In 392/1002 he lost his friend and teacher Ibn Jinni. The elegy opens with a lament on the poet :—

"Little chips are we, borne by the torrent, rolling between the hillock and the sandfield".

Then a long Ubi sunt—

"Where are the Kings of Yore ? "

Then the reference to the special gifts of the dead :—

"Who will now undertake to lead the refractory camel of speech to drink ? Who will now fling words like piercing darts ? When he summoned words they came with bent necks as camels come to their driver. He led them to graze, with glossy backs, as though they were chargers of the blood of Wajeh or Lahik. The marks of his branding sank deeper into their pasterns than the brand-marks of camels. Who is there now to deal with

(1) *Diwan*, 504.

(2) *Diwan*, 864.

(3) This very story is to be found in the work of the Syrian prince and poet Abû Firâs. The Arab collector there observes that the expression comes from Abû Nuwâs (Dvorak, *Abu Firâs*, p. 141).

(4) *Yatimah*, II, 308.

poetical conceits which were flung in sacks before him ? Who would unlock the secret of such conceits ? He would ascend their highest peak, never stumbling ; he would traverse their most slippery places and never slide."

And all personal references end here. The rest may be applied to any one. Though a resident of the capital and a peaceful man of letters, he ignores town-life and loves to dwell upon war, camels, noble horses and the desert. Many a poem is doubtless the fruit of personal experience, deeply felt and characteristically expressed ; betraying the pupil of Ibn al-Hajjāj behind the rolling verse. Splendid was the *Qasidah* which he declaimed at a solemn audience where the Caliph received the Khorasanian pilgrims. The opening lines express in powerful language the dangers of pilgrimage and the woeful fate of those that are left behind :—

" Whose are the *howdahs*, tossed about by the camels,
and the Caravan which now floats, now sinks in
the mirage ? "

They are crossing the sides of Al-Aqīq :

"One goes to Syria, whose fancy drives his mounts
that way ; another to 'Irāq.

"They have left behind a prisoner (*i.e.*, the poet
himself) not to be redeemed of his passion and a
seeker who never attains his goal¹.

One of his most charming poems describes a beautiful woman in a nocturnal caravan :—

"She looked out—when night was all embracing,
trailing its long garments—from the chinks of
the *howdahs*, while the driver's notes were
sounding across a wide valley,

"And the necks of the travellers were bending from
the remains of the drunkenness of sleeplessness.

"At sight of her they raised themselves erect in their
saddles, their gaze following the light (of her
countenance).

"We were in doubt ; presently I said to them :
this is not the rising of the moon²".

(1) *Diwan*, 541.

(2) *Diwan*, 894. "Mez seems to have mistaken", says Prof. Margoliouth, "the sense of these lines, which are an ordinary erotic prologue in which the poet sees his lady-love in a howdah emigrating with her tribe". Tr.

Thus in the 4th/10th century Sanaubari and Mutanabbi, Ibn al-Hajjâj and Ar-Ridâ stand side by side—each at the very height in his own sphere, gazing from on high, at the unfolding centuries of Arabic Literature.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

WESTERNISING PERSIA.*

WE have never read a better analytical description of the process which every Eastern land has undergone, or is at present undergoing, than that contained in this well-written book. The great Muslim Empires, Turkey and Persia, were slow to abandon the attitude of contempt for all things European which was justifiable in the Middle Ages but had ceased to be justifiable long before it disappeared at the beginning of the twentieth century, to be succeeded by a blind enthusiasm for every good or bad phenomenon of Western life. It was long before the authorities of those empires, would admit that they had lost their old superiority, still longer before their peoples could be brought to realise that races they had always treated as comparative barbarians had gained the leadership by force of science. The superiority of those Empires had been real. Europe had recognised it. The Turkish victories in Central Europe, the long occupation of Hungary, the siege of Vienna were still recent memories when in the first half of the eighteenth century Wortley Montague lectured before the Royal Society in London on certain novelties which he had come across in Turkey, including the practice of inoculation against small-pox. The Turkish bath and the use of mineral springs for healing purposes came to us from Turkey also in the eighteenth century, and every student of literature knows the high idea of Eastern splendour, Eastern wisdom, Eastern power cherished at the time by Europeans of intelligence. The more remote the country, the more wonderful the idea. Persia, being almost as remote as China, was of high repute. We nowadays are apt to think of that imputed pomp and splendour, not to speak of wisdom, as imaginary ; the point is that it really did

* *La Perse Au Contact De L'Occident, Etude Historique et Sociale* par Ali Akbar Siassi Docteur es Lettres, Professor au Darol-Fonoun de Téhéran.

exist, and the memory of it, lasting to our own time, sufficed to keep a majority of the nations around whom it clung proud even in financial ruin and political humiliation—too proud to regard the civilisation which had thrown them in the shadow of despair as anything but evil and accursed, too proud to recognise its votaries as equals, till their very life was threatened. Thus they laid themselves open to the charge of fanaticism. It was Gobineau who wrote of Persia in the nineteenth century : “ The real cause of the hatred of the foreigner must be sought less in religion than in the material power which his machines confer upon the European, the inevitable effect of these being the poverty and hunger of the Asiatic.” The peoples of Asia were said to be incapable of modern progress merely because they did not want to touch it.

Only a few years ago, well within the memory of the present writer, it was customary to speak of “ The Unchanging East ”. Before the Great War there were movements for reform on modern lines, showing that some leaders of the people saw that the danger menacing their country from the side of Europe could only be repelled by European methods ; but it was not until after the Great War that the people as a whole came in behind such leaders. Since the Great War, in Persia and in Turkey, there has been an earnest effort, blessed by Moscow, to eliminate every national characteristic differing from the European, even such national characteristics as formerly were deemed religious. And who could speak of the “ Unchanging East ” to-day? It is now the boast of the Persian, as of the Turk, that he has become indistinguishable from the European. He claims equality with the European in all respects. He has come to the position which the English-educated Indian reached about the time the Indian National Congress was first founded. He has yet to undergo the reaction which the Indian Nationalist has undergone, and which appears inevitable. For the Persian is a Nationalist from of old. Doctor Ali Akbar Siassi, in the work before us, tells us how Shî‘aism was imposed upon the Persians by their rulers to separate them from the great Islamic brotherhood and preserve their Nationalism. And Nationalism when triumphant easily becomes Imperialism. The aggressive Nationalism of Europe has been added to the old Persian Nationalism. It seems certain that the present claim of equality with Europeans will give place shortly to the old claim of superiority which is in the Persian blood.

Dr. Siassi traces the history of the contact of the Western Powers with Persia from the 13th Christian century onward. He shows how Persian Nationalism was deliberately fostered despite the supernational ideal of Islam. The history of the Portugese invasion and part occupation of the Persian Gulf, succeeded in that region by the predomination of the British, who pursued a policy of peaceful penetration always with an eye to India, and the long eventful tale of Anglo-Russian rivalry, with Persia as a mat between the wrestlers, are told succinctly, but with highly interesting details.

The author shows the indignation felt by every Persian when the Anglo-Russian agreement dividing Persia into "spheres of influence" was published in 1907, the year following the Persian Revolution. He continues, "To the indignation succeeded a boundless dread. Conscious of the fact that her political existence was partly due to Anglo-Russian rivalry, Persia could not observe without terror the disappearance of that rivalry. Thenceforth, peace reigning between the former opponents, she would have to struggle against both, weak as she was. That is what she did for a period of ten years from the signing of the Agreement till the Russian Revolution of 1917". The Russian Revolution saved Persia, as it saved Turkey; and gratitude for that salvation, with the need to keep in touch with Moscow, has given to Persian, as to Turkish, progress a bent which many Muslims view with grave misgiving—Muslims who have not suffered what the Turks and Persians suffered. The influence of the Mujtahids has gone, and with it many old traditional observances. The author with a strange complacency assures his readers that the majority of Persians are now little interested in religion. But that also is a phase, when may be traversed safely, and we must not forget that he is writing in French for the French public. The need for material progress is, in any case, so urgent that it seems providential that the Persians should have concentrated on it.

Of the Western nations which have come in contact with Persia, France alone, according to our author—himself a product of French education, writing with intent to please French readers—has won the affection of the Persians and so obtained an influence more real and lasting than can ever be obtained by force of arms. France, when she lost the hope of dominating Persia after Napoleon's rather crude attempt, confined her ambition

to acquiring a cultural influence, with remarkable success. Her schools were till quite recently the best in Persia, her diplomatic and cultural envoys were invariably tactful and polite, and apt to fraternise with Persians—with the result that French education early became popular in Persia and French became the second language of the country and remains so to-day, though France has hardly taken any part in Persian politics.

The last chapters are devoted to the work done for the regeneration of Persia and the strengthening of her defences by His Majesty the present Shah. It is a remarkable record, which by itself would make a book worth reading. Having given it, Dr. Siassi still thinks it necessary to bring forward arguments in favour of the possibility of completely Europeanising every Persian. The women still wear the veil, or wore it at the time this book was written. There still remain some queer old-fashioned customs, some picturesque insanitary corners for “civilisation” to remove. The author is apologetic in mentioning these shortcomings and hopes for their removal in a little while. We do not for a moment doubt the possibility of completely “Europeanising” Persia, but we doubt the value of the process both to Persia and the world. We hope that the reaction will set in before all traces of the ancient beauty and romance have been destroyed; but if they must be destroyed, we have sufficient faith in the artistic genius of the Persians to think that they will not for long remain content with ugliness. As the late George Meredith wrote, “Ugly is only half-way to a thing”. When the Persians have completely “Europeanised” their country, they will only be half-way to modern Persian civilisation.

M. P.

A NEW ISLAMIC JOURNAL.

A new periodical devoted exclusively to the Islamic World is *Informations Islamiques*, founded by Her Highness the Dayang Muda of Sarawak, and published monthly in Paris under the Editorship of Mr. Youssouf Maghrebi. Its object is to bring together the news of every Muslim country and of the Muslim communities inhabiting non-Muslim countries, to furnish first-hand information as to current problems, and co-ordinate the purpose of the various progressive movements which are now dispersed.

It is doing valuable work and in so far as we can judge from a perusal of the numbers sent to us, is doing it extremely well. (*Informations Islamiques, Publication mensuelle sous la direction de Youssouf Maghrebi. Administration et Redaction : 51, Boulevard Beausejour, Paris 11^c.*)

AN UNPUBLISHED CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF
AURANGZEB'S ACCESSION IN VERSE.

This rare contemporary historical record in Verse relating to Aurangzeb's Accession belongs to the State Library (His : No. 603) of Hyderabad Deccan—the Tableland of Ajanta and Ellora, as well as the last home of Aurangzeb himself, where he lies buried. I have not been able to trace a second copy of it anywhere. It contains much useful information based on personal observations and impartial motives. The author has named it in the last chapter :—

AURANG NAMA.

It opens with the praise of Almighty God, as usual with Persian books :

بنام خدای که از صنع پاک بگرد آفریده خلایق ز خاک
همه راز بان دادم چشم و گوش خردمندی و دانش و رای هوش

and is followed by a brief survey of Taimur's dynasty in India. The author has not given his exact name anywhere, only his poetical pen-name HAQIRI (Humiliated) in several places :—

بیا اے حقیری ز لطف خدای بگو نعت پینمبر دهنمای
بعجز حقیری ایا بادشاه که جز ذات پاکت ندارد پناه

Therefore I have entered this under the name of :—

AURANG NAMA-I-HAQIRI.

in my work *The Main Sources of Aurangzeb's Life*, simply with a view to distinguish it from other such works. Haqiri was Shia by religion and came of the Rozebehan clan which originated in Central Asia, as he has said in this book.

The metre of the verse is the same as that of the *Shah-nama* of Firdousi. The size of the book is 10 x 7 inches.

It has 278 folios, 15 verses on each page *i.e.* about 4,000 verses in all, which are divided into 330 sub-heads in red ink. It is neatly written in Nastaliq style.

The following historical works contain accounts of the successional wars of Aurangzeb :—

1. Waqiat-i-Alamgiri by Aqil Khan Razi.
2. Tarikh-i-Shah Shujâ'î by Mir Mohammad Masum.
3. Tarikh-i-Shahjahanî by Mohammad Sadiq.

But the contents of this *Aurang Nama*, which is of the same nature, resemble to some extent those of Tarikh-i-Shujâ'î which is simply due to the author's having taken part in the fights against Shujâ' under Mir Jumla, which he has dealt with in the light of his own personal observations. There is another work in verse, *Ashob-i-Hind*, by Bahishti, published in Lucknow. As Bahishti was in the service of Dara therefore he has defended his master in many cases. But our author is never influenced by any one and his mode of rendering is quite free from bias.

The chief contents run as follows :—

1. The sickness of Shahjahan ; Division of the kingdom : Jealousy among sons.
2. The departure of Suleyman Shukuh son of Dara with Jai Singh against Shujâ' towards Bengal.
3. The flight of Shujâ' ; Suleyman celebrates his success.
4. Shahjahan disapproves of Dara's action.
5. Murad and Aurangzeb negotiate with each other on the information about Dara's intrigues to get the throne.
6. Shahjahan checks them by letter and receives their replies which he gives to Dara but Dara does not obey.
7. On the other hand Dara despatches Jaswant Singh against Aurangzeb.
8. At Ujjain Murad and Aurangzeb join each other and Jaswant Singh is defeated.
9. Dara having come to know of Jaswant's defeat calls back his son Suleyman, and Aurangzeb advances to Gwalior.
10. Shahjahan, when made aware of affairs, disapproves of the behaviour of Dara. But Dara takes no heed and sets out himself against Aurangzeb towards Gwalior.

11. Dara starts for Lahore, having been defeated.

12. On seeing the state of affairs Shahjahan bestows the kingdom upon Aurangzeb :

همه ملك خود را فراز و نشیب سراسر سپارم باورنگ زیب

13. The affairs of Murad and Aurangzeb.

14. Aurangzeb pursues Dara to Multan where he receives information as to the coming of Shujâ' who crowns himself in Delhi.

15. Sultan Mohammad, son of Aurangzeb, and Mir Jumla start against Shujâ' and encamp on the bank of the Ganges.

The author has given every detail of all the skirmishes of Mir Jumla in which he himself was participating as a soldier of Aurangzeb under Mir Jumla.

In all the battles Shujâ' is completely defeated and at last burns his baggage and comes to Dacca. Here the author Haqiri gives a few verses in which he says something of himself, as mentioned above :—

حقیر ی ز لطف خدای کبیر	بدا که رسیدان سپه دار میر
چنین یاد دارم از آن پاکدین	که بودم در اندم تبانده زمین
بدم چاکر آن فریدون کلاه	که خلقش بخواند اورنگ شاه
تعیات بر جمله پاکدین	بیودم در آن جنگ و پیکار و کین
تو آدم بدانی تو روز بهان	همه سر فرازند نزدیشان
وطن گاهشان کوهر زاد بوم	بود در میان صفاهان و روم
همه سرگذشت سپه دار میر	باخر رساندی حقیر ظمیر

16. From here Shujâ' goes to the Jungles and encounters the Rajas of Tipperah, Karkot, and Dhot ?

17. Dara's last battle at Ajmer whence he escapes towards Sind on his way to Khandhar and reaches Bhakkar where he is welcomed by (Malik) Jiwan who entraps him.

18. Aurangzeb starts for Delhi where he is proclaimed Emperor of India and new coins are struck in his name.

19. Dara is brought to Delhi and meets with death by the orders of Aurangzeb, and is interred in Humayun's tomb.

20. The end is devoted to the fate of Suleyman Shukuh, son of Dara.

In the closing verses Haqiri has given the date of compilation 1072 A.H. (1661 A.D.) and states that it took a year and a half to compile :—

ز لطف خداوند عرش مجید همه داستان ها با خر رسید
کشیدم بسی رنجها سال و ماه نهادم برین نام اورنگ شاه
همه بیت های چو درسمین مبارک پیاد الصاحب نگین
بیک سال و شش ماه ز لطف و هاب فراهم بکردم جمیع کتاب
به شد نسخه آین آخر مر زبان ز بحثی کرد و بیارش زبان
زد نیا گذشت رسول کبار دو بودی و هفتاد و هم یک هزار
ز پس شاه اورنگ فرهنگدار بفرخ گذشته بیودی چهار
چو نسخه به بینی ابا تیز و دیر بخوانی دعا را ز بهر حقیر

In short this was compiled four years after Aurangzeb's accession to the throne *i.e.* even in the life-time of Shash jahan.

The colophon says that this copy of *Aurang Nama* was written in 1116 A.H. (1701 A.D.) *i.e.* two years before the death of Aurangzeb, and prepared in Zafarabad (Bidar, Deccan) by Ghulām 'Alī, a scribe :—

تمت تمام شد
نسخه اورنگ نامه بتاريخ ششم روز شنبه صفر المظفر سنه ۱۱۱۶ هجری نبوی
مکاتبه غلام علی
سکنه شهر ظفر آباد

MOHAMMAD ABDULLA CHUGHTAI.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

The Legacy of Islam edited by the late Sir Thomas Arnold C.I.E., F.B.A., Litt. D. and Alfred Guillaume M.A., (Oxon.), Principal of Culham College, formerly Professor of Oriental languages in the University of Durham. Contains articles by a number of well-known Orientalists, all bearing on the cultural legacy which Islamic civilisation has bequeathed to European literature, arts and science. (Oxford, Clarendon Press) Price 10 shillings net. For future review.

The Muslim University Journal, Aligarh, July 1931, containing articles on Urdu Literature by the late Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh, "Some English Poems on Indian Subjects"

by Principal P. Seshadri, "An Introduction to the Study of Mahommedan Law" by Mr. Asaf A. A. Fyzee; a long poem by Begam Shah Nawaz; essays on the Historical geography of the Punjab by Dr. Ibadur Rahman Khan and on Jalaluddin Firoz Shah Khilji by Sheykh Abdur Rashid. An excellent number. Annual subscription Rs. 5. Single number Re. 1-4-0.

Panoramic India "Sixty-four Panoramic Photographs of Natural Beauty Spots, Monuments of India's greatness, Beautiful Temples, Magnificent Mosques and Tombs, Charming Waterfalls, Lakes and Rivers, Marvelous Fortifications and Picturesque Cities ancient and modern" by W. R. Wallace. With Introduction and Notes by Kanaiyalal. H. Vakil, Bombay, Taraporevala Sons & Co. A magnificent souvenir of the usual tour of India, to which Mr. Vakil's introduction adds distinction. Price Rs. 10.

An Introduction to the Study of Mahommedan Law. By Asaf A. A. Fyzee, M.A. (Cantab), LL.B. (Bombay), Barrister-at-Law. Price Re. 1-4-0 Oxford University Press.

L'Eloge du Vin (Al-Khamriya). Poeme Mystique de 'Omar Ibn Al Faridh et son commentaire par Abdalghani An-Nabolsi, traduits de l'arabe avec la collaboration de Abdelmalek Faraj et precedes d'une etude sur le coufisme et la poesie mystique musulmane. Par Emile Dermenghem. Editions Vega 43 Rue Madame, Paris.

Ibnu'l Farid's *Khamriyah* and An-Nâblusi's commentary thereon translated from the Arabic by Emile Dermenghem with the collaboration of Abdul-malik Faraj, with a prefatory essay on Sufism and Muslim mystical poetry. For future review.

ISLAMIC CULTURE

Some Opinions.

"Leads us to hope that it will rank among the most prominent publications appearing in India." *JOURNAL OF ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, LONDON.*

"It is a Review that helps a Western reader to get into the heart of this religion, and well deserves its position as the New Hyderabad Quarterly. It is well printed and full of good work."

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, LONDON.

"The Review has attained and maintained a high standard of scholarship and research. The earlier numbers show that Oriental scholars all over the world have contributed to the Review."

THE ENGLISH REVIEW, LONDON.

"Many interesting and informative contributions which combine to make a journal of high literary standard and advanced knowledge relating to all forms of Islamic culture."

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATION AND SCHOOL WORLD, LONDON.

"The names of such distinguished authors among the contributors are a sufficient guarantee of the literary excellence of its contents. It deserves the support of every serious student of Muslim history, art, and literature."

THE ASIATIC REVIEW, LONDON.

"The journal is sure to breathe a new life into the lethargic Muslims."

ISLAMIC REVIEW, ENGLAND.

"It is a unique production of its kind."

TIMES OF MESOPOTAMIA.

"It is, beyond all doubt, one of the most scholarly periodicals in English devoted to the cultural aspects of Islam, in the various spheres of its activities — alike in the past and the present. It is one of the exceedingly well-conducted periodicals which have brought credit and renown to periodical literature issued in India."

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"A periodical of this kind in the English language has long been a great want. Islamic Culture will be a most important addition to Indian periodical literature."

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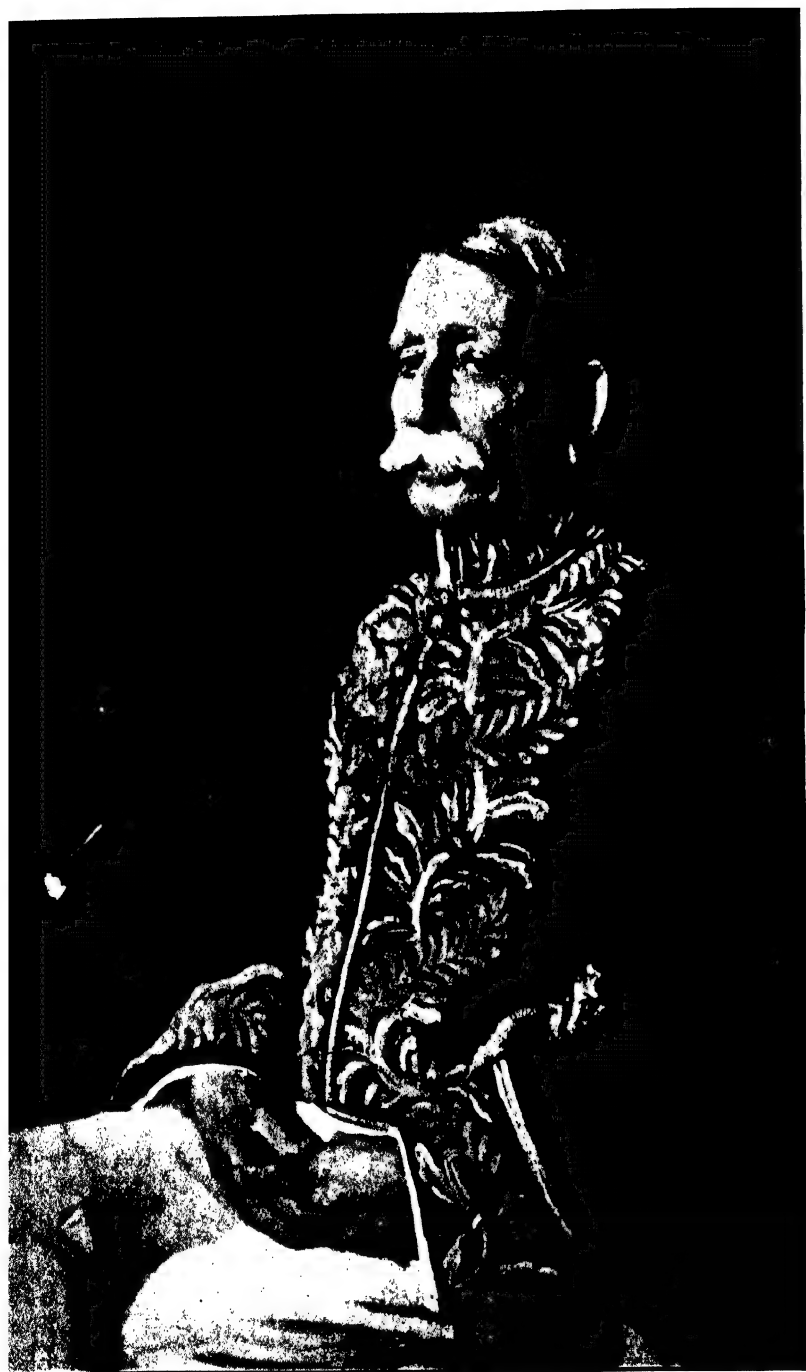
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THE RANGOON MAIL.



The Late Rt. Hon'ble SYED AMEER ALI, P.C.

MEMOIRS OF THE LATE RT. HON'BLE SYED AMEER ALI

(Continued from our last issue.)

SUPREME COUNCIL AND BENCH.

1883 was a momentous year for India. It was during Lord Ripon's viceroyalty that a Memorandum had been submitted to the Bengal Government pointing out the anomalous position occupied by magistrates of Indian nationality in dealing with cases in which British subjects were accused of offences committed in British India. They were deemed competent to deal with such offences in the Presidency towns, but the same magistrates were not competent to exercise jurisdiction outside the Presidency towns. Sir Ashley Eden saw the anomaly and strongly urged the Government of India to remedy it. Lord Ripon, on assuming office, agreed with him. A carefully worded section was to be introduced in the Criminal Procedure Code to remove this anomaly. As soon as it became known that the Government of India had the proposal under consideration, the Anglo-Indian Community were thrown into a state of panic. To judge of the feeling to which the projected measure gave rise, one may refer to the pages of Hickey,* who was actually despatched to England in the previous century by the "Settlement," to prevent the passing of an Act with the object of placing "natives of India" in possession of equal rights with the "settlers."

On this occasion there was wild talk of seizing the person of the unpopular Viceroy and deporting him to Australia. At the time there were three Indian members in the Viceroy's Council—Maharaja Sir Jotendro Mohan Tagore, Rai Bahadoor Kristo Das Pal (the Editor of the "Hindoo Patriot"), and myself; and we naturally approved of the projected measure as a step in the right direction. It not only equalised the position of a Mofussil

*Hickey's "Memoirs", Vol.

magistrate of similar training and standing with the magistrate in the Presidency towns. It removed an absurd race-stigma, without in the smallest degree affecting the safeguards provided by law against the miscarriage of justice likely to be occasioned by race-prejudice.

At the time Anglo-Indian feeling ran so high that the Government of India resolved to jettison the measure. This was chiefly done on the advice of Griffith Evans of the Calcutta Bar, also a member of Council, given to Sir Auckland Colvin. The question then arose as to the attitude of the Indian members. I informed Mr. Ilbert the Law Member, who was responsible for the Bill, at a meeting of the Select Committee on the Bengal Tenancy Bill, that we should emphatically oppose Evans's motion. This was conveyed to Lord Ripon, and that afternoon he had an interview with us. We explained our position; Lord Ripon was very frank: he said in effect that if we persisted in our opposition, he would have to resign, and asked us to consider whether his retirement should be to the advantage of India. We asked time to consider the matter and consult representative men. Next evening we held a large meeting and after a stormy and somewhat heated debate, I was able to carry my motion for a compromise. Certain safeguards were provided for the trial of Europeans in the Mofussil Courts. At the same time a section was introduced into the Criminal Procedure Code giving to the accused the right to apply to the High Court to transfer a case, if he apprehended a failure of justice.

In the same year the young Nizam of Hyderabad who was not yet installed on the throne, came to pay his respects to the Viceroy. Although he was only 19, he was anxious to obtain his installation as Ruler. The "politics" as usual raised many difficulties. Lord Ripon was a statesman of great perspicacity, and did not condemn the advice of persons outside the official ranks. He took pains to ascertain the general Moslem feeling on the subject, and acted upon it. Both the Nizam and his young Minister were installed at the same time.

Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt and Lady Anne Blunt, who had recently visited Ibn-ur-Rashid, the capable ruler of Hail, in Central Arabia, were touring India. He was very unpopular in England by reason of his avowed sympathy with Arabi Pasha, the Egyptian patriot. Naturally he aroused enthusiasm among Moslems of all classes. He had brought several introductions to me from mutual friends

and I endeavoured to make his and Lady Anne Blunt's visit pleasant, and our friendly relations continued for many years until I discovered, to my surprise, and natural regret, that the man to whom I had shewn much courtesy and good-will had, in his book of travel, actually imputed to me unworthy motives. This fact came out in a peculiar manner; a weekly paper called "India" published in London, in the Congress interest, and of which the editor was an Englishman, whom I had gone out of my way to help in his youth in Calcutta, published under the heading of "Greatness in the Making" a number of passages from Blunt's book in which I was traduced and represented as a man of weak and shifty character; and my attitude about Lord Ripon's Ilbert Bill was grossly misrepresented. After that I felt it impossible to maintain friendly relations with either the author or the disseminator.

In August of 1884 I was briefed for the defence of an important trial before the Sessions at Karachi in Sind. In spite of the immense distance I felt it my duty to undertake the journey. It also gave me the opportunity of visiting Lahore and seeing all the interesting architectural remains of the Mogul Emperors. A day had to be spent en route at Multan, one of the hottest places in India, where people sleep on the watered roofs.

The circumstances of the case at Karachi had created a great stir among the Moslems of the Punjab and Sind. From Lahore to Sukkur where we crossed the Indus, I was waited upon at every station by crowds of people of all classes bringing flowers and fruit, and presenting addresses. On the ferry-boat at Sukkur a deputation read me a glowing welcome to their ancient city. These disconcerting interruptions made progress uncomfortable. The fate of some hundred and fifty of the most respectable citizens of Sind depended on the success of my efforts to rescue them from the network of conspiracy in which they had become involved.*

*Extract from a letter dated Karachi 4th September 1884 :—

"At Rohri the station on the other side of the river to Sukkur, a deputation consisting of several thousand people waited on me, and presented me with a flaming address. At Sukkur (an hour after) I received another address, and another deputation, and so on at every station with garlands and bouquets of flowers and thousands to kiss my hand. I arrived here at 7.30 a. m. on Sunday and was received by a grand deputation and a brilliant address. Ten thousand Mohammedans had gathered to kiss my hand, and when I appeared in court the crowd was terrific."

A Hindu married woman had fallen in love with a Moslem and run away from home. She came to the local mosque and asked the Imam to make her a proselyte to his faith. The Imam refused and handed her over to her relatives who had pursued her. On her return to her husband's home she appears to have been cruelly beaten. She ran away again and was once more recaptured. The complainant's story was that the Hindu crowd who were taking the wayward lady to the temple where she had to do penance and was to be received back into caste, were attacked by a large body of Moslems, some on horseback, others on foot, all armed with swords, spears, firearms, or lathis (quarter-staffs) and that the woman was forcibly carried away by the assailants.

Some days later she was recaptured and brought before the Subordinate Magistrate to whom she told an astounding story. She denied the alleged attack, and stated that on the way to the temple she had seized an opportunity of escape; that she had been horribly ill-treated and did not want to return to her husband as she was certain to be murdered; and that she had been hiding ever since her escape. The woman was made over by the complainant Magistrate to her family. This of course gave them a splendid opportunity for "tutoring" her, in consequence of which when brought before the superior court she retracted all her statements to the Subordinate Magistrate and implicated all the accused as having participated in the attack on the party which was taking her to the temple.

The Magistrate thereupon committed the accused to the Sessions Court for trial. They included the prominent men of the locality and the neighbouring villages and townships. Had the prosecution succeeded in "netting" these men, it would have proved a splendid "scoop," and the Hindu money-lenders and speculators would have gathered a fine harvest. The Sessions Judge, Colonel Grant, was a fine specimen of the British Military Officer. He was, naturally, not a great lawyer, but had sound common-sense, perspicacity and knowledge of men with whom he had to deal. It is a pity that the administration of British India is now deprived of men of this type*.

*Military officers were formerly taken into the administrative cadre of what were known as non-regulation Provinces, such as the Punjab, Sind, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. They were especially selected officers of the British Indian Army and therefore had had opportunities of acquiring knowledge of the country, and often made excellent administrators and judges.

Under the Law the case was triable with the aid of what are called in the Procedure Code "assessors" Colonel Grant, the Judge, would not permit either a Hindu or a Moslem to have anything to do connected with the trial, in view of the communal issue involved. He chose as assessors a European, a Parsee, and a Eurasian (Anglo-Indian as now styled since Lord Hardinge applied the old term, then denoting Britons resident for the time in India, to the domiciled European community).

The Hindu community, it was reported, had subscribed a lakh and fifty-thousand rupees (then about £15,000) for the prosecution. The Moslems were comparatively poor, and consequently made a smaller display of legal talent. Russell of the Bombay Bar, afterwards a High Court Judge, was briefed for the prosecution. My opponent appeared to labour under great nervous excitement. He was not only rude to counsel for the defence, but was discourteous to the Bench, and waspish to the assessors when either of them asked questions necessary for the clear understanding of facts. In opening my address for the defence, I was constrained to remark that the intemperateness shewn by my learned friend was evidently due to the climate of Bombay, that in Calcutta we were blessed with a more temperate atmosphere. This enabled things to proceed more calmly. I called no evidence for the defence, as, I told the Court, I hoped to shew from the evidence for the prosecution that the story was a tissue of falsehoods. The case lasted, if I remember rightly, 12 days. I began my address on a Friday morning and continued speaking until next midday. By then I felt that I had broken up the case for the prosecution and that acquittal was pretty well assured. My opponent floundered for the remaining half of the day, but made no headway. On the Sunday morning I left to catch the Mail steamer on my way to England. Immediately on my arrival, even before I landed at Bombay, I was met by Mr. Hassan Ally's (my junior) most welcome telegram "all acquitted."

I had spent a very pleasant though extremely strenuous time under Mr. Hassan Ally's hospitable roof. On the Sunday after my arrival in Karachi I was taken to a public meeting convened by the Moslem notables of the city, to deliver an address on Mahommedan education in Sind. The meeting was crowded and numbers of people could not gain admission. My speech was in Urdu; and I am glad to say had the effect of fostering a much desired

movement. Mr. Hassan Ally and his colleagues were soon able to lay the foundations of the Islamic College in Karachi, which I believe is still flourishing.

Among those whose acquaintance I made during my stay there was Sirdar Shere Ali Khan who had been Wali or governor of Kandahar under Ameer Shere Ali. He had been expelled by Ameer Abdur Rahman, and took refuge with his family in Karachi. A more cultivated or courtly man I have not met either in Europe or in the East. His knowledge of the West was derived from books or newspapers, translated and read to him, and was remarkable. And his questions regarding the systems of government in European countries and the condition of the people, showed keenness and perception. His youngest son, aged about 18, handsome, straight as an arrow, with the eyes of a hawk, interested me and I remarked that, if life was vouchsafed to the lad and he was not won over by Abdur Rahman, he would be a thorn in the side of the new Ameer's family.

A month later I was married in London after an engagement of four years.

That year there was a severe epidemic of cholera in Italy involving quarantine and a diversion of mail passengers. We therefore travelled by Vienna and Trieste, and thence by the Austrian Lloyd Steamer "Vesta" to Alexandria. This was a small paddle-steamer which carried a few saloon and many deck passengers and cattle, to Corfu. Of the Italian-speaking crew I have not forgotten the idyllic name of the stewardess who had sole charge of the first-class passengers—men and women. "Lucia" was old but by no means infirm, and was kept on the go all day serving meals in the cabins to prostrate passengers during a typical Adriatic storm; and ministering to them most of the night.

Among our fellow-passengers were Prince Charles of Sweden, his secretary and his aide-de-camp, all exceptionally tall men; and there was some speculation as to how they could fit into their tiny cabin with its unusually short berths. Another interesting fellow-passenger was a Count Tolstoi, of the household of the Czar, who spoke nine languages. The Austrian Lloyd provided no luncheon; 4 o'clock was the dinner hour, and a "nursery tea" with boiled eggs handed in a basket finished the day's meals.

In those days arrival at Alexandria was fraught with some danger of being torn to pieces by rival porters soliciting for patronage ; and after the turmoil of landing and a night's railway journey across Egypt, it was a welcome change to embark in the P. & O. " Venetia " calmly awaiting our arrival with the mail at Suez. We made a short stay in Bombay with the pioneer lady-doctor —Dr. Edith Peachey of the Cama Hospital.

Not long after my wife's arrival in Calcutta she took up the problem of providing efficient medical aid for Indian ladies who, owing to social restraints, would not be attended by male physicians.

When the Countess of Dufferin organised her great " Fund for Medical Aid for the Women of India," the lady-doctor who was on her way to start this practice was called upon under the Fund to take charge of a dispensary and cottage hospital for women and children, which was I believe the first of those beneficent institutions which were soon to be opened all over India. From this small beginning, which in the second week of its existence attracted 100 outpatients a day, grew the present Dufferin Hospital for women in Calcutta, which has several times had to acquire larger buildings in order to meet the growing needs of the people. One of the crying necessities of India at the present day is still for more and more qualified women doctors. There are numbers, it is said, ready to take up the good work which now comes under the control of a government department.

I was obliged in 1885 to go to Simla for the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act. A great responsibility rested on me as a member of the Select Committee charged with the duty of guarding the interests of the *ryots* (tenants), a trust which I succeeded in filling in large measure. The Act from the *ryots'* point of view effected a considerable improvement in their legal rights and position. Babu Peary Mohan Mookerjee (created a Rajah and C.S.I. in 1887) was the champion of the land-holders and on the passing of the Act complimented me on my consideration for their safeguards.

We spent that autumn at Simla. It was not an unusual thing to be held up by leopards crossing the narrow paths when we were going to parties at night, also to see concourses of large grey monkeys on the hill-tops by day. And it was quite a daily diversion to observe the small

monkeys which abound near the houses on the hill, considered sacred to them, peering over the eaves into one's room, curious to watch the manipulation of a pair of hair brushes.

On one occasion when we were out for a walk along the wooded paths, two innocent-looking small Himalayan wolves sauntered across our way

Of the people we met during our comparatively short stay in the "Abode of the gods," I retain a vivid remembrance of Sir William Aitchison, then Governor of the Punjab, and of his old-world courtesy. He was a civilian who maintained all the traditions which made the mutual relations between English and Indian cordial and friendly. His memory is still fresh in the hearts of the people of the Punjab. After the Government of India Resolution of the 5th March 1885, he established eighty scholarships for Moslem students in his Province.

Sir Rivers Thompson, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, likewise encouraged English education and established 120 scholarships for Moslem subjects of the great Queen. This Resolution has a history of its own; and as the Moslems of India have short memories, I may mention its genesis. Ever since my return home I have been studying the painful subject of Moslem decadence under British rule—both its cause and its far-reaching effects. As I have already mentioned, the East India Company had, in about 1760, under a grant from the Mogul Emperor, taken over the control of the revenues of three of the richest provinces of the Mogul Empire. This involved administration by the Company's servants. In 1802 Lord Lake obtained from the Mogul Emperor for the East India Company the title of "Vakil-i-Mutlak," and the delegation of absolute authority as a deputy of the Sovereign, which meant the complete supersession of the Mahratta Chief who was expelled from the capital. Thus was a "trading company" to use Lord Brougham's expressive language, "installed as a sovereign power over an Empire." From this time forth the Moslems held a prominent position under the Company's rule. The causes of their declension and their gradual and steady eviction from place and power were traced in an article of mine in the "Nineteenth Century" of June 1882, which evoked great wrath from the "Hindu Patriot," usually a well-balanced paper. Other journals were actually violent in their expressions. Upon this article a "Memorial of the Central National

Iohammedan Association" on the subject, to the Viceroy, was based. Lord Ripon left our representation to be dealt with by his successor. I was accorded the privilege of seeing the draft reply before the question was finally disposed of. Its equitable treatment of the Moslem claims had a good effect; but the pendulum has swung back in the course of the forty years which have elapsed from that date.

Sir Syed Ahmed at last realised the danger of confining the intelligence and activities of the Moslems to a purely academical education, and of keeping them aloof from political training. Shortly after that he established the "Moslem Defence Association," but the ground that had been lost could never be regained.

The "Central National Mohammedan Association" pressed for the appointment by the Government of a Iohammedan Endowments Committee, to consider how such endowments were being utilised to promote the welfare of the Moslem people. Our submission for the consideration of the object of the Committee was set forth in a memorandum which bore the signature of the pre-eminent men among Moslems in Bengal. Pursuant to the resolution of the Government of India of 1885, the Eastern Bengal and Assam Local Government issued a Resolution which is worthy of note.¹

During these years I managed in spite of heavy professional work to contribute several articles on Indian questions to the "Nineteenth Century." One on the "Land Problem of Bengal" drawing attention to the needs for improvement in the condition of the ryots led to the passing of the Tenancy Act mentioned above.

Shortly after Lord Lansdowne's accession to the Viceroyalty he offered me the Judgeship of the Calcutta High Court vacated by Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, a man gifted with strong common-sense, a quality of inestimable value in a judge. His son, Binode Chunder Mitter, a young man of great capacity, began his practice before me. By his ability he has won great distinctions; he is Sir Binode Chunder Mitter and is said to be commonly called the "Lion of Bengal," though my recollection of him is more like that of a lamb.²

(1) *Not found.*

(2) Sir Binode Chunder Mitter was sworn of the Privy Council for service on the Judicial Committee thereof, in the post left vacant by the death of the author.

I experienced the usual hesitation of a barrister to abandon his practice — but yielded to the advice of friends on the Bench.

The Chief Justice for some time would not regard me as a “ Barrister-Judge ” and I was not allotted to the “ Nisi Prius ” Bench on the “ Original Side.”* However, when the Chief Justice found that the work had become much

*It will be seen from the letters below that this matter was rectified :—

Copy of letter from Sir Comer Petheram d/Calcutta, August 6th 1893—

DEAR MR. AMEER ALI,

Until the matter was mentioned the other day I had quite forgotten that the judges were classified in the return. I have asked Mr. Carnduff to circulate a proposal on my part that the portion of the form which contains the classification should be omitted in future, and if the judges agree this will be done ; if they do not, and you think the return is incorrect, I would suggest that you should bring the matter before the Court, as the Court alone can change the form in use.

With reference to the remaining portion of your letter, I can only make the reply which is suggested by the letter itself, that the responsibility of forming the various benches rests with me and that in forming them I have acted and shall continue to act to the best of my judgment.

I am, my dear Ameer Ali,
Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) C. PETHERAM.

To which the author replied :—

DEAR CHIEF JUSTICE,

I beg to thank you for your reply of the 6th instant to my letter of the 4th.

I am afraid you have misapprehended the purport of my letter. I am quite indifferent as to the *form* of the returns. My protest was directed against my misdescription as a non-barrister-judge.

As regards the subject of my exclusion from the Original Side of the Court, also, you seem to have misapprehended my meaning. What I desired to point out was that, taken in conjunction with the misdescription in the Returns, my exclusion appeared to be part and parcel of a deliberate and settled policy to ignore my status as a barrister-judge. In the one case my name is incorrectly returned to Government as a non-barrister-judge and, as a corollary to this misdescription, I have been invariably and persistently excluded from taking any part in those duties which are usually performed by the barrister-judges.

Under the circumstances I cannot help feeling I have a very valid ground for complaint and protest, though I have to thank you for the courtesy which has induced you to endeavour, however imperfectly and partially, to remove the cause of my complaint.

ongested he sent me to clear off the arrears. Barristers and solicitors alike assisted me in accelerating the disposal of the work by not taking up unnecessary time once they saw that the point of their arguments had been grasped. In six weeks the list was reduced to normal dimensions.

When the old Supreme Court was abolished in 1869 and replaced by the "High Court," it was vested in its ordinary original Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction with all the powers and functions of the Supreme Court. Until quite recently "barrister-judges" *i.e.*, judges trained and qualified in England, only sat on the "Original Side."

It always gave me pleasure to extend a helping hand to junior counsel commencing practice at the Bar, for a judge may easily make or mar a young man's career. I knew this from my own early experience, and therefore tried to help juniors if I found them struggling in difficulties. And, though in the profession memory is proverbially short, there may still be a few who remember.

One of the interesting cases before me was a Salvage case¹ in the Admiralty Jurisdiction which I tried without assessors. There were many expert witnesses and it lasted over four weeks. My judgment, given orally, took up the whole day. If I am not mistaken there was no appeal.

Another case² that came before me in which questions of English Real Property were involved, was illustrative of the different legal systems in force within the geographical boundary of the then metropolis of India.

Whilst I was engaged on the "Original Side" the Criminal Appellate work fell into arrears, the list having swelled to great dimensions, and I was called upon to assist in dealing with it. My very pleasant colleague, Mr. Justice Pratt, sat with me and seconded my efforts to reduce the file. We asked counsel and pleaders to give us a concise statement of the cases for the prosecution and the defence respectively; then to read the summing up of the Judge or the judgment of the lower courts, and if they so desired to draw attention to the evidence and question of law they wished to raise. Our procedure was eminently successful; it satisfied the profession, whilst it led to economy of time. In less than six weeks we succeeded in wiping off the arrears.

(1) The "Drachenfels" Case.

(2) *Nicholas v. Asfar*.

A form of crime which happily was not then common in India had become frequent in the unruly district of Rajshahi. Bands of hooligans, I regret to say not all of them young, took to what is called in the annals of crime "gang rape." This required stern repression. Sessions Judges trying the cases were wont to inflict sentences varying from four to ten years' imprisonment, which had very little effect in stopping the outrages. Gangs continued to break into the houses, mostly mere huts, of inoffensive peasants, and carry off the married and unmarried women, and after outraging them returned the poor half-dead creatures to their own doors.

I applied to Government to pass a short Act legalising capital sentences in such cases, as was done in Melbourne, where outrages by the "larrikins" were thus ruthlessly stopped. But the Indian Government had not the courage of the Australian, and I received a polite refusal. My colleague and I then took the matter into our own hands. The sentences came before the Criminal Bench for revision, and often the Legal Remembrancer appeared for the Crown on the ground of inadequacy of sentence. Our procedure was to issue notices to the accused to show cause why their sentences should not be enhanced. They almost invariably appeared by counsel or pleader and after a full and patient hearing on the accused's behalf, if we upheld the sentence, we enhanced it to "transportation for life," to the Andaman Islands.

In a few months we had the satisfaction of hearing that these brutalities had ceased.

The Civil Appellate List of the Rajshahi Division was always a very heavy one. The rivers were frequently changing their course by which villages were constantly diluviated. Disputes between riparian proprietors were therefore frequent. Having sat with the ablest of judges in this class of cases, William Macpherson J., I had gained experience in these conditions. He was an apt example of the value of judges being promoted from the Indian Civil Service, by reason of their knowledge and experience in dealing in the past with matters involving land tenure.

Thus, when the list became unwieldy, the arrears were entrusted to me. The difficulty of these cases will be shown by the fact that in one alone there were 36 maps which dated from early in the 19th century. The Brahmaputra had changed its course 36 times within the

ceeding 58 years, and the area diluviated and re-formed and to be resurveyed as many times. It took over three weeks to unravel the rights of the parties.

In 1891 my book, the "Spirit of Islam," was published London. The title of the work had been inspired by my wife, and it was dedicated to her as a token of my love and attitude.

With the exception of Gibbon's account, there was no comprehensive history of the Saracenic Empire. The works of continental writers in their respective languages related to special countries or special subjects. I accordingly ranged with Messrs. Macmillan for the publication of my "History of the Saracens." My object was to give an entire survey of the rise and fall of the Saracenic power on the three continents, yet within a compass which would enable students to study this absorbing subject; and the publishers fell in with my views. The work was reprinted during the Great War for the use of officers in the newly occupied, now mandated, Arab territories. Attempts at agrarianism, as usual in India, are common, but in the main they are miserably futile.

When on furlough in 1895 and supposed to be resting in a delightful haven of peace and quiet—Kingston House, near Angmering—I became involved in a controversy with that stormy petrel, Canon Macoll, who made a violent attack on me in the "Nineteenth Century." At Mr. Knowles' request I answered it, and wrote what I considered a temperate reply. This elicited a fierce onslaught from the pen of the warlike Canon, in which he accused Moslems of all manner of crimes. I was again compelled to reply; and the controversy would have continued for some time if the Editor had not closed the Review to further discussion. Sir James Knowles afterwards told me that the great Queen was so incensed at the Canon's temperate articles that she stopped the preferment which had been suggested for him by Mr. Gladstone.

This controversy with Canon Macoll in the "Nineteenth Century" drew me into collision with that bulwark of Liberalism. He wrote to the "Daily News," supporting his protegee's views and accusing me of being prejudiced writer.*

*Extracts from the following letters from a British military friend and from a stranger, a lawyer, living at Macon, Georgia, U.S.A. show that this controversy attracted some notice :—

The fact that the spirit then expressed by the Canon persisted was shewn by an appeal advertised in "The Times" by the Church Missionary Society for funds for proselytising purposes in 1919, which elicited the following letter from the author, published in the Pall Mall Gazette on the 19th February, 1919 :—

CROSS AND CRESCENT.—A MOHAMMEDAN PROTEST.
TO THE EDITOR OF THE PALL MALL GAZETTE,
SIR,

Will you allow me to enter a strong protest against the latest attempt to create ill-will between Christians and Mohammedans? The "Times" of Saturday last contained an appeal from the Church Missionary Society for funds for missionising purposes under the heading "Prussianism and Religion" "The Crescent and the Cross." In this appeal the Mohammedan religion is gratuitously dragged in and held up to contumely.

The religion of a hundred million of the King's subjects is vilified under the obnoxious designation of "Prussianism" and the Cross is pitted against the Crescent. Whatever may be the object of the authors of this extraordinary, not to say outrageous, advertisement they do not seem to realise the mischievous consequences of rekindling the old hatred. Nor do they appear to see that it shows a certain religious poverty to have to stiffen up Christianity and awaken charitable instincts by attacking another religion.

The two great religions can live and work side by side for the elevation of humanity without rivalry or rancour. But if this constant agitation for the sowing of discord between the followers of the two faiths, either by means of attempts to rob the Moslems of their places of worship or by reviling their Prophet and his teachings, is allowed to continue, there can be no prospect of the much needed "Peace and good-will."

(Sd.) AMEER ALI.

2, CADOGAN PLACE, S.W.1.

PETERSFIELD, HANT

November 28th-95

DEAR MR. AMEER ALI,

I have read with much pleasure your interesting article entitled 'Islam and Canon Macoll' in this month's "Nineteenth Century," and I sincerely congratulate you on the moderation and good taste with which you treat your insolent and fanatical opponent.

MACON, GA. U.S.A.

25th March 1896.

DEAR SIR,

The Contemporary Review finds its way into my home, and I feel that I am almost acquainted with you by reason of your able defence of Islam, against Canon Macoll. Myself, I respect any man of sincerity—that is the main thing. How it spends itself in thought comes afterwards.....

On Sir Comer Petharam's retirement there was still in Whitehall an appreciation of the need for efficient men in the superior tribunals of India. Sir Francis MacLean, his successor, was not a great lawyer ; he was hardworking and industrious but inclined to be idiosyncratic.

A case which required knowledge of Indian habits and modes of thought was decided by Jenkins J. against the Plaintiff, who appealed. The appeal was heard by the Chief Justice, Prinsep J., the senior Puisne Judge, a promoted I. C. S. Officer, and myself the senior Barrister-Judge. MacLean was in favour of affirming the judgment, Prinsep and I thought that the Judge had erred owing to his inexperience of the Indian mode of keeping accounts and other facts. We two, therefore, set aside the Lower Court's judgment. The Privy Council affirmed our judgment to the Chief Justice's evident displeasure. This reminds me of an incident with his predecessor who had asked me to sit with him to decide some cases under the Bengal Tenancy Act, which I might be supposed to be conversant with. as I had taken part in initiating the Act. We differed on the construction of one of the sections ; and the Chief Justice called in Prinsep J. as third judge, with the result that he agreed with my view. On this occasion the difference of opinion was not taken to heart.

PROMINENT MEN.

I retired from the Bengal High Court in April 1904. My successor was John, now Sir John, Woodroffe, Reader on Indian Law at Oxford. The choice could not have fallen upon an abler judge, or a more clever lawyer. He had been my collaborator in the " Commentary on the Indian Evidence Act " and " Commentary on the Indian Civil Procedure Code, " both of which were well received by the profession, and I was aware of his ability. When I left for England, on relinquishing my seat on the Bench, I was much touched by the large number of friends, Indian and English, who came to take leave of me. It was gratifying to me that there were so many who expressed their sense of satisfaction at my endeavours for the good of my country for over thirty years.

One section there was which never ceased to decry me. There is a Persian proverb which may roughly be translated as follows : " The scorpion's bite is not of spite ; it is to the nature of the beast that it is due. " (Nesh-i-akrab na-az-pai kin-ast ; maktazai tabiatash in-ast) but

I could never understand why particularly one newspaper, the "Bengali," should be so bitter. It was owned and edited by Surendranath Banerji. For a year or more I had lectured to the classes instituted by him and also had induced my friend K. M. Chatterjee to assist him. Surendranath Banerji was a great orator and proved a formidable enemy to the Government after he was prematurely retired from the Indian Civil Service. He had said in one of his speeches to students that "he would shake the foundations of British Rule"; and he fully justified his threat until the Government recognised the merit of having its foundations shaken by rewarding him with a knighthood. For Surendranath Banerji was the real creator of the Swarajist movement, if not in India certainly in Bengal. He laid the foundations of that bitter anti-foreign spirit which has become the main policy of the stalwart patriots of Bengal and elsewhere in India. I remember a time when large bands of the youth of the province were wont to slink away with the utmost celerity at the shadow of a policeman. They now valiantly stand up to the police with sticks and umbrellas, and occasionally even shoot down inoffensive foreigners. The development of the spirit of independence and aggressiveness among a people by nature so meek and law-abiding is due to Surendranath Banerji, and Swarajist Bengal should erect a statue in his honour.

I have been a consistent admirer of the late Lord Curzon's great natural gifts and untiring efforts on behalf of the people of India, and consider the Punjab Land Alienation Act one of the finest pieces of beneficent legislation. When I told the Viceroy this, and expressed my regret that he did not endeavour to make the measure applicable to the whole country, he answered with a sigh that I little knew of the great difficulties he had to contend with even to get this small measure passed, that at one sitting its opponents rose in a body and left the Council Chamber.

The reason for this Land Act was that the yeoman land-owners of the Punjab, from whom a great portion of the Indian Army is now recruited, were rapidly losing their land by sales in execution of decrees of the British Indian Courts in favour of money-lenders, mostly town Hindus. The Indian yeoman and land-holder is sometimes improvident, but more often than not he is the victim of bad seasons and of circumstances. He is obliged to command ready-money to pay his rent, or land revenue to Government.

The reason for the land-holder having to command ready-money and to pay his land revenue to Government without fail on the due date is shown by the following instance quoted in a letter from a friend dated 1895. "A certain landowner by some oversight failed at the proper time to meet in full the Government dues ; the arrears being only two rupees. Two days later, this insignificant sum was paid into the Civil Treasury, but in the meantime an order had been issued by the Collector (the Magistrate in charge of and the head of the Revenue Administration of the district) for the attachment of his property amounting to 50,000 rupees in value. This was sold by public auction for 10 rupees, in satisfaction of the claim for two rupees, notwithstanding that the debt had been met before the sale took place. The person interested and his friend, not believing that such an order would be carried out, failed to put in an appearance at the auction."

The owner of the property appealed against this unjust decree and the District Judge very properly quashed the proceedings. But the purchaser carried it up to the High Court, where it was heard by two Judges who disagreed. The case was then laid before the Chief Justice, who held that the Law did not support the owner of the property and accordingly gave judgment in favour of the purchaser.

It is doubtful whether such a case could possibly occur at the present day, but the Revenue Administration is still faced with the necessity of not allowing land-holders to fall into arrears. They are only too prone to do so, and at the same time in hard years matters are sometimes difficult for them. In times of famine the payment of revenue has to be suspended or remitted, which means a serious deficit for the Government. Land revenue is the mainstay of the Indian revenues, much as is income-tax in England.*

British Indian Courts maintained the principles of the freedom of contract throughout the nineteenth century and were very loth to lower any rate of interest, however unconscionable. It was not until the Great War, when the borrowings of soldiers' families at harsh rates of interest

*Lecturing at the London School of Economics on "Indian Institutions" Mr. Ameer Ali remarked that "following on the first settlement of the Moslems in Mesopotamia, there was a survey and a fresh revenue assessment of the whole province. A rule then was made that agriculturalists should not be allowed to part with their holdings and that agricultural land should not be alienated. That rule was now in force in the Punjab and it was one of the most beneficent in India."

affected the rank and file, that an Act was passed restricting the rate of interest to 12 per cent. simple interest, in the year 1918. As an instance of how these debts can mount up, a claim was made by a Hindu money-lender against the estate of a British Major killed in the War, for two hundred times the amount of a debt of £40, contracted by the Major twenty years before, as a penniless subaltern. He had paid off the principal and some of the interest, but had been saddled with the compound interest throughout his career. The claim was for the balance of the compound interest. The money-lenders and the bulk of the legal profession, mainly Hindus or Jains of the towns, are closely connected; hence the opposition to Lord Curzon's measure in the Council, and later on to the Restriction of Interest Act passed during the War. The town Hindu landlord, who merely regards the possession of land as an investment, cannot possibly take any interest in his tenants, and often opposes from instinct and interest any measure for the amelioration of their lot. It may safely be said that the Punjab Land Alienation Act of Lord Curzon is one of the bases of the prosperity of that province. It lays down that land may not be alienated by any person not belonging to an agricultural caste or community.

Had this measure been applied to the rest of India it would have prevented the alienation of very large areas, amounting sometimes to three-quarters of a district, to non-agricultural absentee landlords of the trading castes or legal profession.

Of Commanders-in-Chief in India whom I knew personally, four stand out in my memory—Sir Donald Stewart, Lord Roberts, Sir George White and Lord Kitchener. Both Sir Donald Stewart and Lord Roberts had been closely associated with Indian troops since the "forties" and "fifties" of the nineteenth century. They had commenced their military careers as officers of the Old East India Company's Army and the fact that both had seen the horrors of the Great Mutiny did not change their friendly feelings towards Indian officers and sepoy. They were well aware of the value of the personal touch in dealing with them.

It may be noted that the importance of the personal relation between the right type of British Officer and Civil Official and the masses of India has been intensified manifold by the developments of recent years, not minimised as many pretend to think.

Lord Roberts had the faculty of remembering names and faces after a long time ; and when holding high rank in the Army, delighted veteran Indians who had served under him by calling them out, and enquiring after their welfare. Lord Kitchener, accustomed to the fellahin of Egypt, was curt and aloof. The destruction by explosives of the Mahdi's tomb after the victory of Omdurman was attributed to his orders. Like many public events abroad, this became known to the people in India and they said at the time that Lord Kitchener himself would come to his end by an explosive.

I remember well the dispute between Lord Curzon as Viceroy and Lord Kitchener as Commander-in-Chief in India in which Mr. Brodrick, then Secretary of State for War (later Lord Midleton), took Lord Kitchener's side. On learning that Lord Curzon had decided to send in his resignation I wrote to him expressing my great regret that he should retire from the viceroyalty before his work was completed. He replied that for his part he was equally sorry that circumstances compelled him to leave his work uncompleted, but that history would judge of the merits of the controversy.

The career of Sir Donald Stewart is less well-known but equally interesting. He joined the famous Ninth Native Infantry in the ' forties' and was carried with them on the tide of conquest as far as Peshawar. He was a keen and efficient regimental officer, and at the time of the Mutiny was Adjutant of his Regiment which was then serving at Aligarh, an out-station with no British troops. It had been sent there out of consideration for the men, owing to their having been on active service in distant parts for many years. Most of its rank and file were recruited from the neighbourhood, in fact it was known to Indians as the Jalesar-ka-Palan (or Jalesar regiment) from a small town in Etah, the next district. The personal influence of the Colonel, Donald Stewart and other officers kept the regiment faithful for some time in the midst of a revolt on all sides, but it dissolved without violence to the officers when the regimental Pundit (Hindu priest) was hanged for the treasonable correspondence

NOTE.—It will be generally remembered that Lord Roberts began his soldiering in 1852 in that corps d'élite of the old East India Company's Army, the Bengal Horse Artillery. Although he was a Staff Officer through most of the Mutiny, the gunner's point of view peeps through the lines of his early letters from Delhi and elsewhere written during the Mutiny itself.

with the rebels. Sir Donald afterwards gave it as his opinion that this act was a mistake ; and that most, if not all, of the regiment would have stood loyal if the officers had merely drummed out the priest. So ended the Ninth Native Infantry, like most of the Corps of the Old company's Bengal Army, after nearly a century of victory and loyal service.

(To be continued.)

THE BLESSED MESSENGER

Heedless of self, unconscious of his power,
 He gazed aloft where Faith's bright visions lay.
 Beyond this earth, beyond the light of day
 He gazed afar as from a lofty tower.
 Morn, noon and night, in brightest, darkest hour
 He saw in all things near and far away—
 In birth, in death, in growth and in decay,
 From man to lowliest worm, from star to flower—
 The Maker's will exprest. Each wish, each thought
 Came like a breath from Him no longer far,
 And clothed in light became His word divine.
 That word was life—a living beacon fraught
 With hope for all—a never-setting star
 Whose unextinguished beams through ages shine !

' The veil is lifted ; let all mankind see
 In Heaven and Hell, the mystery of Doom ;
 In Life, the spirit's splendour and its gloom ;
 In Death, the mask of immortality.'
 Such was the mandate, and it bade him be
 The Messenger of Truth and light to illumine
 The heart of man where evil still finds room
 And self-deluding sin takes sanctuary.
 Soldier and saint, unvanquished though alone ;
 High-souled, pure-hearted Leader of mankind ;
 Light-bearer, Guide, entrusted and ordained,
 He leads us on from height to height unknown
 Till Truth in God and God in Truth we find.
 And Peace is ours when the last height is gained !

NIZAMAT JUNG.

THE TABLE-TALK OF A MESOPOTAMIAN JUDGE

PART II.

(Continued from our last issue.)

101. He also said that he had heard the following from Ja'far (al-Khuldi). Once, he said, when I went on pilgrimage, I bade farewell to the elder Muzayyin,¹ the Sufi, and asked him to give something to take with me. He said : If you lose anything, or wish God to bring you and someone together, then say : *O Thou who gatherest mankind to a day whereon there is no doubt verily God will not violate His promise* (Surah iii. 7), *bring about a meeting between me and—* ; God will bring about a meeting between you and that thing or person.

I went also, he said, to the elder Kittani² the Sufi, and bidding him farewell, asked him to give me something to take with me. He gave me a gem with something engraved on it, like a talisman. He said : When you are in distress, gaze on this and your distress will disappear.

I went off, he said, and I never invoked God with that invocation about any matter, but it was answered, neither did I ever in distress look at that gem but the distress vanished. One day I was crossing the river in the direction of the eastern side of Baghdad when a violent wind arose ; I was in the *sumairiyyah*³ and the gem was in my pocket. I took it out in order to gaze at it, but somehow or other it slipped from me into the water or the vessel or my clothes, and I was greatly distressed. I prayed God, reached the other side, and kept on praying to God that day, the following night, and some days, with the above invocation, and sometime afterwards I got out a box which contained my clothes, with the view of putting on some of them, and when I emptied the box I found the gem at the bottom. So I took it and thanked God.

(1) There were several Sufis of this name, see Nicholson, *Luma'* p. xxix. According to Sam'ani (*Ansab*) he is the ascetic who died 328 A.H., his name being Abu'l-Hasan Ali, Muzayyin meaning "barber."

(2) Probably Abu Bakr b. Muhammad b. Ali b' Ja'far, ob. 322 A.H. See Sha'rani's *Tabaqat* i. 146.

(3) See references in the Index to *Eclipse* s.v. *Rivercraft* for this type of vessel, which was rowed by two men.

102. I was told the following by Abu'l-Hasan Ahmad b. Yusuf b. al-Buhlul al-Tanukhi,¹ who had it from Ahmad b. al-Tayyib.² I was, he said, in the presence of Mu'tadid, when there came a man who cried at the door : Advice !³ Mu'tadid was informed of this, and said : Go out and bid him state what it is.—They came back and said that the man declined to state it to any one but the Prince of Believers. He said : Tell him that if it be not valuable advice, I shall punish him severely.—They went out and came back to say that the man consented to that condition. He was introduced in my presence, and saluted the Caliph, who asked him what his advice was. He replied : A charm which has come into my possession which will immediately stop the poison from a person who has been stung.—The Caliph ordered a scorpion to be brought. It might seem that one had been got ready, as it was produced straightway. The Caliph pointed to an attendant ; it was flung on him and stung him so that he cried out. The man bade the attendant show him the place of the sting, which he did. The man then produced a piece of iron without an edge and began to rub therewith the stung and envenomed place from top to bottom, saying *In the Name of God*—⁴ which he repeated a number of times till the attendant said that the pain had ceased from his hand entirely, except in the place of the sting where he still felt some remains of it. The man asked for a needle, and when it was brought he pricked the place, and some yellow matter came out. The attendant then rose up fully cured. Mu'tadid ordered that the charm should be copied and preserved in the treasury, and that the man should receive a handsome reward.

Abu'l-Hasan told me that he had tried this charm on a hornet's sting, and it had proved effective. It might well be tried on a snake-bite, for the man's phrase *stops the poison* includes all such cases. I myself saw him (Abu'l-Hasan Ahmad b. Yusuf) employ this charm in the mode described, and the person who had been stung would arise quite cured from the treatment.

I was told the above story by Abu'l-Faraj al-Mu'afa b. Zakariyya, a jurist according to the system of Abu

(1) A frequent authority for the anecdotes in part i.

(2) Author of a work on Baghdad.

(3) *i.e.* that he had important advice to offer.

(4) There follow a number of barbarous words, probably corrupted from some foreign language or languages.

Ja'far al-Tabari,¹ and one of the deputies of the qadi of qadis for part of the Black Country. I was told, he said, by the qadi Abu Talib b. al-Buhlul² on the authority of someone on the authority of Ibn al-Tayyib. (Abu'l-Faraj had forgotten the name of the man (someone), but I have no doubt that the person was Abu Ahmad al-Razi, though God knows best). The story is current in the Buhlul family on this person's authority who had it from Ibn al-Tayyib. The whole family employ this charm, and hand down both the formula and the action.

103. Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Harun b. Yahya b. al-Munajjim³ recited to me the following verses by himself which he had written to 'Ali b. Harun b. Khalaf b. Tayyab who had been away and failed to write. They were set to music by Abu'l-Hasan b. Tarkhan.⁴

Between fate and me there's a quarrel, which might
Prove lengthy unless some excuse put it right.
O thou both whose presence and script keep away,
Can visit of either be hoped for some day?
Did hope not console me, a heart would soon break
Which sorrow enfolds like a robe for thy sake.
Of God's loving-kindness we must not despair;
The parted He gathers; the distant brings near.
Now should you rejoin me; well, that would be best;
How sweet such reunion of lovers, how blest!
But should you stay absent, no solace were mine
Save messenger bringing your greeting or line.

104. Abu'l-Faraj Ahmad b. Ali b. Yahya b. al-Munajjim⁵ recited to me certain verses of his own, wherein the rhyming word was the same throughout though in different senses. The first was

My master art thou with a mind
To tyrannize and be unkind.

They have already been inserted in another part of this work.⁶

(1) The historian and commentator on the Qur'an. He was the founder of a school of law which survived for sometime, his death-date being 810 A.H. It was not till about 400 A.H. that recognition came to be accorded to the four well-known schools to the exclusion of others.

(2) He is mentioned by Miskawaihi, *Eclipse*, iv. 330.

(3) 277-352 A.H. There is a biography of him in the *Irshad* v. 440, foll.

(4) He is mentioned by H. G. Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, p. 171.

(5) Member of the same family as the author of the preceding ode. There is a brief notice of him in the *Irshad* i. 229, where it is stated that he wrote a universal history.

(6) We have already seen that the volumes of the work were composed simultaneously.

The *Ustadh*¹ Abu Ahmad al-Husain b. Muhammad b. Sulaiman recited to me the following by himself :

O thou whose figure is an Alif, and whose temples are a Lam, thou hast multiplied my censors, but were justice done thee they would not blame me.

105. I was told by one of the recognized Witnesses in Baghdad (who however asked me not to mention his name while he was alive, and I have accordingly not done so) that he was one of the four witnesses who were introduced with the qadi of qadis Abu Muhammad, who at that time held no office ; with us, he said, was Abu Bakr al-Isfahani, friend of Sabuktakin the Turk, freedman of Mu'izz al-daulah, when he usurped the power, and styled himself prince of princes. They brought us in, and there was not a seventh person with us, so that we attested that al-Muti' had abdicated, read to him the deed of abdication, and made him confess to its contents ; after which we went out and were taken into another apartment of the Caliph's palace, where we found ourselves in the presence of the prince Abu Bakr 'Abd al-Karim son of al-Muti', whom we proclaimed Caliph and saluted accordingly. We then went out and sat down in a room near his, in order to set our signatures in attestation to the deed of abdication.³ The Prince of Believers, al-Ta'i', demanded water to drink, and one of the attendants brought him a mug containing water, which he drank. He then went out ; we saw the mug, and as I was thirsty, I said to him⁴ *Ustadh*, give me drink ; and he brought me water in the identical mug, from which I drank. We then signed our names and departed.

(1) A title of honour at this time, see Index to *Eclipse*. It implies that its holder held some high office.

(2) The artifice in the original lies in the double sense of *lamu* for the letter of the alphabet, and for the 3rd person plural masculine of the verb *lama* "to blame." It does not seem easy to reproduce either the smiles or the play on words in another language.

(3) In the *Eclipse* v. 354 this scene is recorded very briefly, and the date given as Dhu'l-Qa'dah 13,363 (Aug. 5, 974). The account of Sabuktakin's usurpation precedes this notice, and in the Index to the *Eclipse* a fairly full biography of this general will be found. The qadi of qadis Abu Muhammad is doubtless ' Ubaidallah b. Ma'ruf, who having been appointed in 360 had resigned office for a conscientious scruple, and was restored in 364. The statement here therefore agrees exactly with those quoted in the note to *Eclipse* ii. 339 (Arabic Text).

(4) The person meant would seem to be the attendant, for whom this address seems too lofty. It cannot of course be the new Caliph, and Sabuktakin should have been mentioned had he been intended.

106. Abu Muhammad al-Muhallabi used to talk much over his repasts, and his conversation was most entertaining and his reminiscences of anecdotes and miscellaneous themes were most copious at his table, owing to the number of savants, clerks, and messmates whom he used to gather round it. I was often present. One day a partridge was brought in. He said : This reminds me of a quaint story, which was told me by someone who had been an associate of the governor al-Rasibi.* Once, he said, I was dining with him, when there were many other guests, among them a Kurdish chieftain, who was a neighbour to Rasibi's province. This man had been a highwayman, but had sought amnesty from Rasibi, who had granted it, and made a friend of the man. The two had long been associated and the Kurd was at Rasibi's table on this occasion, when partridges were brought in, and Rasibi tossed one of them to the Kurd, in the style wherein great men pay compliments to their guests. The Kurd took the bird, and began to laugh. Rasibi was surprised at this, and said : What is the reason of your laughter, since we see nothing to occasion it ?—The man said : An adventure which I once had.—Rasibi bade him narrate it.—He said: It is a curious thing which came to my memory when I saw this partridge.—Asked what it was, he said : When I was a highwayman, I was once going along part of a certain highroad on a certain mountain. I was alone on the lookout for someone whom I could strip of his garments, when a solitary passenger came towards me. I barred his path and shouted at him ; he surrendered, and stood still, while I took all that he had on him, and demanded that he should undress. He did so, and started away ; I was afraid that he might be met on the road by someone whose help he could secure in pursuit of me, in which case I should be hunted and being alone might be caught. So I pointed my sword at him meaning to kill him, but he said : My friend, what is there between us ? You have taken my clothes and stripped me bare ; What profit have you in killing me ?—I paid no attention to what he said, tied him up, and was about to bring my sword down on his head. He turned to me, as if he meant to ask for something, and seeing a partridge standing on the hill he said : Partridge, bear witness for me before

* His name was Abu'l-Husain 'Ali b. Ahmad, ob. 301. He was in charge of the region from Wasit to Shahrzur, etc., and the revenue for which he was responsible was 1,400,000 dinars annually. Yaqut, who gives these details in his Geographical Dictionary, praises his character warmly.

God that I am murdered !—I proceeded however to strike him till he was dead, and went my way. I never remembered this adventure till I saw this partridge, when, remembering the man's folly, I laughed.

The narrator proceeded : Rasibi's expression changed into one of anger, and he said : You may be assured that the evidence of the partridge will not be lost in this world this day any more than in the next world. My amnesty only applied to your acts of highway robbery ; God has not thereby absolved you of murders, and has caused you to confess to one in my presence. Slave, off with his head !—The slave with others hastened to batter him with their swords, and each of them dealt him a blow on the back of the neck till his head looked like a bisected cucumber, and rolled down in front of us while we were at the table. The trunk was dragged away, and Rasibi continued his repast.

107. Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Hilal the Sabi'an clerk dictated to me a letter which he had written to a man who had given his mother in marriage. It was as follows :

God, to whom be praise, has made thee a man of sense profound and judgment sound, orthodox throughout and harbouring no doubt, and even as thou obeyest not passion to commit what is tabu'd, so thou yieldest not to pride to tabu what is allowed. We have learned how thou hast authorized a contract of marriage between thy mother (may God lengthen thy term for her !) and XY, endeavouring therein to obey the dictates of piety, while enduring sore trouble, in that thou hast amputated the nose of jealousy concerning her, humiliated the cheek of pride about her, angered thyself to please her, and resisted thy inclination to suit her mind. So we congratulate thee on the firmness of thy endurance, and condole with thee on missing thy desire. We ask God to grant His favour to thee, and cause the same to attend thee always in what thou desirest or declinest, avoidest or adoptest. And salutation.

He also recited to me the following verses by himself, which he had written and with which he despatched me to the prince,¹ who promised me that he would rescue him, but delayed doing so.

Champion of church and state, who hast repaired
Its might, when reparation was despaired,²
Is it too hard for thee, when thou didst save
Thy liege and master, to set free thy slave ?

(1) The prince is the vizier Ibn Baqiyyah, as we learn from the biography of Ibrahim in the *Irshad* i. 345. 'Izz al-daulah Bakhtiyar had been rescued from his ambitious cousin 'Adud al-daulah, and restored to his throne in 364 to some extent through the efforts of Ibn Baqiyyah, though Miskawaihi (*Eclipse* v. 386), who is prejudiced against the latter, minimizes them. The Secretary of State Ibrahim the Sabi'an had for some reason been arrested by Bakhtiyar.

(2) Ibn Baqiyyah had just been given the title *Nasir al-daulah* "Champion of the empire." "Its Might" is an allusion to Bakhtiyar's title 'Izz al-daulah "Might of the empire."

108. The following verses were recited to me by an Egyptian who said they had been recited to him by Abu'l-Faraj clerk of al-Baktimuri,¹ a Syrian who is still living in Syria, as his own :

Thou hast, my life, my life possessed ;
Granting, mine eye, mine eye no rest.
Not, fickle one, was such my hope ;
Parting came not within my scope.
For thee the art of rhyme I learned.
And so a poet's name have earned.

The following were recited to me by Abu Ghassan the physician of Basrah.²

My life be the ransom of one whose embrace
Enfolded me, bringing his mouth to my face.
When I said : My master, love makes me thy thrall,
He answered : May freedom ne'er come to thy call.

109. I was told the following by Abu'l-Qasim Buhlul b. Abi Talib (the qadi, whose full name was Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Ishaq b. al-Buhlul al-Tanukhi)³ which he had heard from the district chief of police at the Damascus Gate (he mentioned the man's name). He said : I was a police officer serving under Abu'l-Hasan al-Abza'iji,⁴ who was Chief of police in Baghdad. He had fetched certain robbers out of prison and asked permission of Mu'izz al-daulah to impale and execute them at the Bridge. Mu'izz al-daulah gave permission for this to be done in the evening. There were twenty of them, and they were put in charge of a company one of whom I myself was, a certain person being appointed our chief. He said to us : keep on guarding them the rest of this day and the night, and to-morrow morning I will decapitate them. So we passed the night turning it into day, a day however wherein both our chief and ourselves slumbered, so that one of the robbers managed to sever the rope and get down from the stake. We only woke up to the sound of a fall and a man running ; our chief ran after him, and so did I, but we could not catch him. We were afraid that the rest of the men, might become disorderly, and another escape. So we hastened back and sat down despondently thinking

(1) One Baktimur is mentioned by Tabari as governor of Hims in 260 ; a freedman of his would be called Baktimuri, and the son of such freedman might well be contemporary with the author.

(2) A person of this *kunya* is mentioned in Part i, but is unlikely to be the same.

(3) For this person see Index to the *Eclipse*, where he is called Abu'l-Hasan.

(4) He was dismissed in 346 A.H. See Index to the *Eclipse*.

what we could do. Our chief said : Ibn al-Abza'iji will not overlook any offence of mine or accept any excuse ; he will suppose that I have taken money from the robbers and let the man escape, and will beat me to make me confess ; I will not confess, and then he will think that I am braving it out, and will go on beating me till I am dead. So what do you suggest ?—I said : You had better run away.—He said : Then how am I to earn my living ?—I said : Only half the night is passed, and no one knows what has happened. Let us walk about, and some unfortunate wretch will certainly fall into our hands, whose time has come ; you can secure him, impale him, and say to Ibn al-Abza'iji : You delivered to us twenty men ; for he has not taken note of their features.—The chief said that this was the best plan, so we started walking about, and walked along the Bridge Road, to examine the western bank. At the bottom of the steps of the Bridge we saw a man committing a nuisance ; we went in his direction and arrested him. He cried out : What do you mean, you fellows ? I am a boatman, who has just stepped up from my ferry-boat for this purpose, and here is my boat (to which he pointed) ; what have I to do with you ? We beat him, saying : You are the robber who escaped from the stake ; so we dragged him up, and set him on the stake where we bound him in place of the runaway robber. He kept howling and sobbing the whole night, so that our hearts were lacerated out of pity for him, as we said : He is a wronged man, only what expedient is there ?

Next morning al-Abza'iji rode to the prison, and by the time he had arrived there was a crowd gathered to see the execution. The boatman cried out Ustadh (this was how he was addressed as was the practice in the case of all heads of police in Baghdad), as you will stand before God summon me and hear what I have to say ; I am not one of the robbers whom you fetched out and ordered to be impaled, I am a wronged man, the victim of a plot.—Al-Abza'iji ordered him to be taken down and bade him state his case. The man told him the actual facts, whereupon al-Abza'iji summoned us and asked us what this man had been doing. We replied that we did not know what he was saying ; You delivered twenty men to us, and here are twenty men.—He said : You have taken money from one of the robbers and released him, and have waylaid an innocent stranger and taken him.—We said : We have not ; this is the robber whom you delivered to us.—Al-Abza'iji decapitated the others, but spared the boatman, and bade

them summon the gaolers and porters. When they came, he asked them whether the boatman was one of the twenty whom they had taken.—They all studied the man's features and said that he was not.—He meditated for a time, and ordered him to be released, but then ordered him to be brought back. We brought him back, and al-Abza'iji said to him: Tell me your story.—He repeated what he had said before, and then al-Abza'iji asked him: What were you doing in that place there at midnight?—He said: I was passing the night in my boat, and feeling a certain need went up for the purpose.—Al-Abza'iji meditated for a time, and then said to the man: Tell me truly what you were doing there so that I may release you.—The man would tell him no more than he had said.—Now it was al-Abza'iji's custom when he wished to extract a confession to make the man stand between two persons and behind him a number of men with scourges, and when al-Abza'iji scratched his head, one sound blow would be administered to the person who was being examined; al-Abza'iji would then say to the person who had dealt the blow May God cut off your hand and your foot, you scoundrel! Who told you to scourge him? Come forward, my friend, no harm will happen to you, only tell me the truth and you will be safe.—If the man confessed, well and good; but if he did not, al-Abza'iji would scratch his head a second and a third time; this was always his procedure, and indeed with all culprits, and those who were employed in his presence were well acquainted with it. When the boatman persisted, he scratched his head, and one of those who were standing behind dealt the man a violent blow on the back of the neck, causing the latter to cry out. Al-Abza'iji said: Scoundrel, who told you to do that? May God cut off both your hands!—Then he said to the boatman: Now tell the truth and save your life.—The boatman said: Ustadh, Does God attest that my life and limbs will be safe if I tell the truth?—Al-Abza'iji said Yes. He does.—The man then said: I am a boatman, who works at a certain wharf;¹ my neighbours know me to be an honest man. Yesterday after the second evening-prayer having brought my ferry-boat to the Tuesday Market,² I was looking about in the moon-

(1) See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 85.

(2) "The Lower Bridge of Boats from the time of Mansur till the middle of the fifth century A.H. connected the quarters of West Baghdad outside the Basrah Gate with the Tuesday Market within or above the gate of that name in the city wall of the Mukharriim quarter in East Baghdad." *Ibid.* 95.

light, when an attendant came down from a house which I do not know, and called out Boatman! I came forward, and he put in my charge an elegant woman with two little girls. Handing me some genuine dirhems, he bade me convey them to a certain wharf at the Shammasiyyah Gate. After I had rowed them part of the way the woman uncovered her head, and proved to have a face of extreme beauty like the full moon.

The rest of this anecdote is too horrible and harrowing for translation. It may be thus summarized in Latin. Cupivit eam, postulavitque ut secum coiret. Quod cum negasset, minatus est se primum filiolas postea illam ipsam in aquam demersurum esse, nisi fecisset. Filiolis occisis muliere potitus metuebat ne si salva evasisset ab ea accusaretur; itaque illam quoque demersit. In ripam egressus ab hominibus prehensus est. Præfectus cum hæc audivisset, quamquam incolumitatem pollicitus erat, jussit hominem manibus et pedibus abscissis securi feriri.

I was told by a trustworthy citizen of Baghdad that al-Abza'iji got his name through being the servant of a Turkish officer who was a retainer of Muwaffaq, named Abza'ij, which Abza'iji is very like.

110. I was told by Abu Bakr b. 'Uthman al-Sairafi, the poet¹, that he had heard the following from 'Umar b. Aktham.² Certain persons, he said, wished to certify a death and a number of heirs before the qadi Abu 'Umar. They had promised the advocate fifty dinars for the business.³ When the number of the heirs had been proved to the qadi's satisfaction by the evidence of two witnesses, they demanded that the advocate should take part of the fee and excuse them the rest. So he took what they were pleased to give, and then came before the qadi, their opponents being present in court, and said: Qadi, I have been briefed by these persons (the opponents) and have thrown up my brief for the first set.—The qadi bade him proceed.—He said: The two witnesses attested before the qadi that they were not aware of any heir except the persons whom they named; I have two approved witnesses who are aware of another heir.—The qadi bade him produce them, and the two men stood up. The advocate delayed the settling of the case, and went on doing so for a month, after which the heirs came to him and said: You have

(1) One Abu Bakr al-Sairafi is mentioned in Part i, p. 192 as an army pay-master.

(2) Deputy qadi and afterwards qadi in Baghdad, Index to *Eclipse*.

(3) This anecdote is of interest because we so rarely hear of advocates in Islamic courts. The few cases collected in the article *Meetings and Salons under the Caliphate* (*Islamic Culture*, 1927, p. 7) mainly refer to the representation of public bodies.

ruined us.—He replied : Through what “ your own hands have wrought.” By Allah I will delay your business a year, unless you give me fifty dinars afresh, for me to stop.—They gave him what he demanded, when he came forward and said : I have no evidence, and the qadi assigned them the inheritance.¹

111. I was told by the same Abu Bakr the following, which he had heard also from Umar b. Aktham. An orphan, he said, who was ward of one of the Trustees² employed by the qadi Abu Ja'far b. al-Buhlul,³ and having attained his majority had ceased to be a ward, presented himself before the qadi saying : Qadi, the Trustee XY has wasted so much of my property, and I demand it of him.—The qadi said : Smite the back of his neck ! Does he say this of a Trustee in whom I place complete confidence ?—The man said : Qadi, I did not say that he had embezzled ; no, he spent that amount more upon me than I needed, and that is “ wasting.”—Abu Ja'far summoned the Trustee, and asked him about the matter ; he confessed, and the qadi made him responsible for the sum.

112. We were told the following by Abu'l-Qasim al-Hasan b. Bishr al-Amidi. One day, he said, when Abu Ahmad Talhah b. al-Hasan b. al-Muthanna and I were talking about the relations between him and Abu'l-Qasim al-Baridi⁴ and how each of the two was planning to arrest the other, and I was advising him to flee from Basrah and not stay there, bidding him make no mistake, he said to me : I am not anxious about this person for many reasons, among them a dream which I saw some nights ago.—I asked him what it was.—He said : I saw a great snake which was coming towards me out of this wall (he pointed to a wall in his house) and was making for me ; I struck it and fastened it to the wall ; and I interpret the snake as al-Baridi, and the dream to mean that I shall overcome him.—When he said *I fastened it to the wall*, it came into my mind that al-Baridi was the snake and that the wall

(1) There are some points about this interesting specimen of the practice of the Baghdad bar which the author left in obscurity. Who are “ the opponents ” ? They would seem to be people who also claimed a share in the estate. Nor is it clear how counsel could delay the granting of a decision, except by promising to produce the claimants, and these, we are told, were in court.

(2) These were persons appointed by the qadi to keep records and to discharge other duties.

(3) See Index to *Eclipse*.

(4) Son of the famous Abu 'Abdallah ; there is a notice of him in the Index to the *Eclipse*, p. 82.

was his wall rather than Abu Ahmad's, and I wanted to tell him that the interpretation was contrary to that of a dream wherein 'Abd al-Malik¹ saw himself wrestling with Ibn al-Zubair² on level ground, and Ibn al-Zubair nailed him to the ground with four pegs. 'Abd al-Malik sent a mounted messenger to Basrah, who met Ibn Sirin³ and recounted the dream to him as his own, concealing the name of 'Abd al-Malik.⁴ Ibn Sirin said to him : This is not your dream, so I will not interpret it to you. When the man urged him, he said : This must be the dream of 'Abd al-Malik, and if you tell me the truth, I will tell you the interpretation. The man admitted that it was as Ibn Sirin had thought. He said : Tell him that if this dream comes true, he will wrest the land from Ibn-al-Zubair, and that four kings sprung from him shall reign over it.⁵—The man went back to 'Abd al-Malik and told him ; the latter was astonished at Ibn Sirin's acuteness and bade his messenger go back to Ibn Sirin and ask him how he knew.—Ibn Sirin said to him : The vanquisher in a dream is the vanquished in reality, and his being fastened to the earth is his gaining possession of it, and the four pegs which were driven into the earth are kings who shall be established on the earth as the pegs were fixed therein.—Abu'l-Qasim al-Amidi said : I should have liked to tell Abu Ahmad this and how it had occurred to me to interpret his dream on the analogy of that other, but I was unwilling to do so as it would have been ill-mannered, bad fellowship, and sounding his death-knell. Only a few days however passed before he was arrested by al-Baridi, and there happened to him what did happen.⁶

(1) Umayyad Caliph, 65-86 A.H.

(2) Pretender to the Caliphate, who maintained himself for a time in the Hijaz and was defeated and killed in 78 A.H.

(3) Jurist of Basrah 33-110 A.H.; his skill in interpreting dreams is noticed in Ibn Khallikan's biography of him.

(4) The text has Ibn al-Zubair : the dream was said to be his, and this is a relic of the earlier form of the story.

(5) They were the four sons of 'Abd al-Malik, Walid I, Sulaiman, Yazid II, and Hisham.

(6) Some light is thrown on this narrative by what the author tells us in *Deliverance after Stress*, i. 184. "When Abu Ahmad Talhah intrigued with the army of Abu'l-Qasim son of Abu 'Abdallah al-Baridi to arrest Abu'l-Qasim and imprison him in the house of Abu Ahmad, and that the Caliph al-Muti' should come or an army of his to (?) Basrah and take possession of it, and have Abu'l-Qasim surrendered to them by Abu Ahmad, and the affair was well known at the time." Miskawaihi apparently thought the event unworthy of notice.

Among the persons who were present with me when Abu'l-Qasim told me this story was Abu'l-Qasim 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Talhah b. al-Hasan b. al-Muthanna. He said : My grandfather¹ had queer dreams which never failed.

One was that I was in his presence when I was a lad in the tomb of my maternal grandfather and my father's uncle al-Husain² and I fancy that there was not more than a year between me and my brother.³ Those who were around, he said, said to him : May God ruin the shaikh and do unto him ;⁴ and he came away from the tomb. Seven days after this story he was arrested by Abu'l-Qasim al-Baridi on Thursday, 1st. Sha'ban, 335 (Feb 25, 947), in whose custody he remained for less than three months, when Abu'l-Qasim put him to death in the month Shawwal by a device arranged by the physician 'Abdan who tampered with some drink which he gave him (God's curse be upon him).

Abu'l-Qasim al-Amidi said : I was present at the beginning of the sitting and when he narrated his dream he interpreted it in a manner which did not come true.

The rest of this anecdote furnishes no satisfactory sense owing to corruption of the text and the omission of many sentences.

113. I was told the following by Abu'l-Qasim 'Abd al-Rahim b. Ja'far al-Sirafi, jurist and theologian, known as Ibn al-Sammak (God have mercy on him !). I was present, he said in Shiraz at the court of the qadi of the place Abu Sa'd Bishr b. al-Hasan al-Dawudi, when there came before him a Sufi man and a Sufi woman. Now Sufism there is very rampant (he observed), it is said that the men and women who follow that system are in thousands. The woman demanded the help of the qadi against her husband, and when they presented themselves she said to him : Qadi, this husband of mine wants to divorce me, which he has no right to do ; would you please stop him.—Abu Sa'd began to ask me whether I was not surprised at this language, and to call my attention to the Sufi doctrines which it involved. Then he said to her :

(1) The Abu Ahmad Talhah who had the dream which has been narrated.

(2) This person (Talhah) claimed to be descended from 'Ali's elder son al-Hasan. The word "grandfather" here means ancestor, and "uncle" has a similar sense.

(3) It is evident that a considerable amount must have been lost here, as these words seem to have no connexion with the story, and what follows is unintelligible without further information.

(4) i.e. all sorts of evil.

How do you mean that he has no right to do this? She said: When he married me his intent was stable, and now he states that his intent has ceased from me, whereas my intent is stable with regard to him and has not ceased. He must wait until my intent with regard to him has ceased even as his intent has ceased from me.—Abu Sa'd said to me: What do you think of this jurisprudence?—He then reconciled the parties and they went away without divorce.¹

114. I was informed by a number of learned persons that there is in Shiraz a man known as Ibn Khafif of Baghdad, head of the Sufi community there, to whom men gather and who talks to them about "imagination" and "suggestions."² Thousands attend his circle, and he is regarded by them as highly expert. He has perverted the weak-minded to this system. One of his followers died, a Sufi, who left a Sufi widow. There was a gathering of Sufi women, who were a multitude, and no one besides them attended the mourning. When they had finished the interment, Ibn Khafif with his intimate associates, also a multitude, entered the dwelling, and he began to console the widow in Sufi language, after which he said: I have administered consolation. He then said to her: Is any other here?—She said: No other.—He said: Then what is the sense of our souls hugging the vexations of grief and being tortured with the torments of sorrow? Why should we neglect amalgamation, so that the lights may meet, that the spirits may be purified, the substitutes fall and blessings descend?—The woman said: If you will.—The two companies amalgamated for the whole night, and when morning came, the men were dismissed.

The expression "Is any other here?" means "Is there any one here who does not agree with the system?". And her answer "No other" meant "no one disagrees." "Amalgamation" has an obscene sense. "That the lights may meet" refers to their principle that in every body there is a divine light. "The substitutes" refers to the doctrine that every married person has a substitute for the dead or absent mate.³

(1) There is a chapter on Marriage in Nicholson's *Kashf al-Mahjub*, but it throws no light on the principle stated here.

(2) Both the words used here are found in the *Kashf al-Mahjub*, where the former is explained as "a transient state" and the latter as "a judgment of separation."

(3) It is unlikely that the author obtained these glosses from authoritative Sufis. The whole story is probably a calumny.

I regard this as atrocious ; had I not been told it by a number of persons whom I regard as unlikely to lie, I should not have repeated it, as too atrocious, and most unlikely to occur in an Islamic country. I was told that this and similar occurrences became so notorious that they reached the prince 'Adud al-daulah, who arrested a number of the persons, scourged and banished them, and by scattering the groups put a stop to such proceedings.*

115. The following verses were written by Abu Firas al-Harith b. Sa'id b. Hamdan when he was taken prisoner :

Whatever God decrees, man must perforce obey ;
I robbed the lion once, now am hyenas' prey.

He addressed an ode to Saif al-daulah, from which I select two couplets :

My height aspiring souls alone attain,
Who strive like me for honour might and main.
For others by my side there is no room.
Throned as I am on glory's towering dome.

He composed the following when the festival arrived and he was a captive in the Byzantine country :

O Feast, thou bringest no delight
To one in sad and troubled plight.
O feast, thou dost revisit eyes
Debarred from thy festivities.
How desolate that home, whose head
In bondman's livery is clad !
The festive dawn, arising there,
Neither is fragrant nor is fair.
What spite has fate against me, thus
To deal me blows so marvellous ?

There is also an ode composed by him during his captivity, which commences :

Shedding no tear, endurance is thy trait ;
Has love the tyrant on thy mind no sway ?

It contains the following lines :

Kindled by meditation and desire
Between my ribs there all but sparkles fire ;
Thy promises may soothe, but death comes first ;
May rain cease falling, if I die of thirst !
Ready am I to enter any fray
Whence men avert their glances in dismay

* Ibn Khafif of Shiraz is the subject of a paragraph in the *Kashf al-Mahjub* (p. 247), where he is represented as a model of chastity in spite of his nominal marriage to 400 wives. According to this work he gave his name to a sect or order. There is a reference to him in the *Luma'* (also edited by Nicholson).

I thirst till spear and soil are drenched with bloods ;
 Hunger till wolf and vulture need no food.
 Ne'er is the tribe or host by foe attacked
 Not warned by me, made ready for the act.
 On many a fort, which feared me not at all,
 Some dawn with me has seen destruction fall.
 Full many a tribe I've mastered in the field
 Till sight of women's veils has made me yield.
 Wealth with its pomp has never turned my head,
 Nor poverty my bounty minished.
 I seek no gold my treasury to fill,
 Unless my honour be more copious still.
 Captured was I, though armed was my force ;
 Myself no novice, and no colt my horse.
 But when a man encounters fate's decree,
 He finds no refuge upon land or sea.

He proceeds

'Tis flight or ruin, said my comrades all :
 I said : The sweeter of those two is gall.
 I must proceed to that which shames me not ;
 Captivity, ah me ! the lighter lot !
 It boots not to avert by action base
 Disaster as did 'Amr in like case.]

116. In Rabi II of the year 366 (began Nov. 27, 976) Abu Sa'id Musa'id b. al-Jahm al-Shaibani recited to me the following lines, which, he said, he had composed some seventy years before, adding that he was now ninety-six years old.

The glances of her eyes like scorpions sting ;
 And mine are like a sky whose stars are tears ;
 Careering in a field, where stumbling
 The steed may throw his rider, so he fears.
 Those tears with drops of blood behind them shed
 Might he roan steeds by fiery courser led.

In the year 366 he recited to me the same verses with an improvement, " flame steeds, " which is more correct, since he meant that he was shedding tears of blood ; and this is proved by the phrase " with drops of blood behind them shed. "2

117. I was told the following by Abu'l-Fadl Muhammad b. 'Ubaidallah b. al-Marzuban, clerk of Shiraz, who

(1) The allusion is to the story that 'Amr b. al-'As being about to be slain by 'Ali, uncovered himself, which so shocked 'Ali that he let 'Amr escape. All these verses are to be found in the published *Diwan* of Abu Firas, a member of the Hamdanid family, of which Saif al-daulah and Nasir al-daulah were the most distinguished scions. See *Index to the Eclipse*, p. 50.

(2) This comment is clearly erroneous, since the colour of blood is indicated by " roan. " The fire or flame must refer to the heat of the tears. The verses can in no case be regarded as felicitous.

had it from Abu Bakr al-Ji'abi¹, the Hafiz. One day (said the latter) I visited the qadi Abu'l-Husain son of Abu'Umar² and found him in sore distress. I said to him : May God let no sorrow fall on the qadi ; what is it that I see ?— He said : Yazid al-Mani is dead.—I said : God preserve the qadi of qadis for ever ! Who was Yazid that his death should cause all this grief to the qadi of qadis?—He said : Sir, can one like yourself say this about man who was unique in his profession, and whose death leaves him without a successor or any one to come near his skill ? What is the pride of a country except the existence in it of numerous leaders of the professions and savants ? When a man who has no equal in his profession, and that profession is indispensable, dies, what does that indicate but the deterioration of the world and general decline ?—After this he went on to enumerate his virtues and the ingenious remedies which he had applied, and the difficult cases which had been cured by his treatment, few of which have remained in my memory : one however was the following.³

118. I was told the following by Abu'l-Mughirah Muhammad b. Ya'qub b. Yusuf al-Asadi, poet of Baghdad, who said he had heard it from Abu Musa 'Isa b. 'Ubaidallah of Baghdad. He said that a friend of his had narrated to him as follows. I was on my way to Ramlah, by myself ; by the time I reached it the people were asleep, so I turned aside to the cemetery, and entered one of the domes over the graves. I threw down a leather shield which I had with me and flung myself upon it, but kept my sword tight ; I meant to sleep in this place and enter the town when it was day. The place however seemed to me uncanny, and I was sleepless ; when I had been awake for some time, I perceived motion ; I supposed them to be robbers who were passing, whom I might not be able to assail with safety, as there might be too many of them. So I kept in retirement and did not move : presently I put my head out of one of the doors of the dome, in great trepidation. I saw a creature like a bear walking, and concealed myself : the creature made for a dome which faced mine and was near it, looked about a long time and circled round it, then looked about for a time and finally went inside. This creature and its procedure roused my

(1) His name was Muhammad b. 'Umar, and his death-date 855.

(2) See Index to the *Eclipse* for this person's career.

(3) The anecdote which follows is to be found in *al-Faraj ha'd al-shiddah* ii. 101. It is unsuitable for translation.

suspicion, and I was curious to know what it was doing. Having entered the dome it came out again without pause, and entered and came out several times. Presently while under my inspection it entered and struck its hand on a grave inside the dome ; so I thought this must be an ex-humer, without doubt. Watching the creature digging with its hands I felt sure that it had an iron tool and was digging with it. I left it alone till it felt secure, and had gone on digging for a long time, when I seized my shield and my sword, and walking on tiptoe entered the dome. The creature perceiving me rose up to a man's height, and made as if it would strike me on the face with its hand. I struck at it with my sword, and severed the hand which flew off. The creature cried out : God's curse be on you, you have killed me. I think—and ran off while I followed behind. It was a moonlit night, and the creature entered the town followed by me, though I could not catch it up : only it was within the range of my vision, as it passed down a number of streets, which I marked in order not to wander,* finally came to a house-door, which it pushed open, and after entering locked. Following on, I marked the door, and retraced my steps, following the marks which I had made until I came back to the dome where the ex-humer had been. Searching for the hand I found it and took it out into the moonlight ; after some trouble I extracted the amputated hand from the iron tool, which was a gauntlet of the same shape as the hand, with fingers into which the fingers had been stuck ; the hand itself had been treated with henna, and had on it two gold rings. When I perceived that it was a woman's, I was grieved, and examining the hand saw that it was as soft, moist, plump, and elegant as any in the world. Having wiped the blood off it, I went to sleep in the dome in which I had at first been, and the next morning when I entered the town I looked out for my marks, and so found my way to the door. I asked to whom the house belonged, and was told the qadi of the town. A crowd gathered there, and presently there came out an old and distinguished looking man, who proceeded to lead the morning prayer, and then took his seat in the prayer-niche. This increased my wonder at the affair, so I asked one of those who were present what was the name of the qadi, and he told me. I then embarked on a long conversation about him, and learned that he had an unmarried daughter and a wife. I had no doubt that the exhumer was the daughter. I then

* He must mean on his return.

approached him, and said : There is a matter which I must discuss with the qadi (God exalt him !), and which is only suitable for a private interview. --The qadi rose and went to the inner part of the mosque, where we were alone, and bade me speak. I produced the hand and asked him if he knew it. --He examined it for a long time, and then said : I do not recognize the hand, but the rings belong to an unmarried daughter of mine. What is the story ? --I narrated it to him, in a whisper, and then he bade me come with him and took me into his house, of which he locked the door. He then called for a tray and food, and summoned his wife. The attendant told him that she asked how she could come out when he had a strange man with him. He said : She *must* come and eat with us, as this is a man with whom I do not stand on ceremony. --She declined, but he vowed that he would divorce her unless she came, and then she came in tears and sat down with us. He bade her bring her daughter. She said to him : My friend, you are mad ; what has come upon you ? You have disgraced me, an old woman ; how can you do the like to an unmarried girl ? He however vowed that he would divorce her unless she brought the girl. The latter was then produced, and he said to her : Eat with us. --I beheld a maiden fair as a golden dinar, never had I gazed on one who equalled or surpassed her : only her hue was very yellow, and she was ailing. I understood that the cause of this was what I had done to her hand. She started eating with her right hand, concealing her left. Her father bade her show her left hand. She said : There is a bad swelling on it, and it is bound up. --He vowed that she should show it. His wife said to him : Man, cover your own disgrace and your daughter's. --Then she said, confirming her statement with a number of oaths, I never learned any harm about this girl till yesterday,* when she came and woke me after midnight and said : Mother, do something for me, or I shall die. --I asked her what was the matter with her. --She said : My hand has been amputated ; and she showed me the stump. I started beating my face, but she said : Do not disgrace us both before father and the neighbours by screaming, but apply treatment. --I told her I did not know what treatment to apply. --She said : Take some oil and boil it and cauterize my arm with it. --I did this, cauterized it and bound it up. I then bade her tell me what had happened to her. At first she declined, but I swore that

*She should have said " last night. "

if she did not tell me, I would disclose the affair to her father.—She then said : Some two years ago it occurred to me to dig up tombs. I instructed this handmaid to buy me a goatskin with the hair on it, and I had a pair of iron gauntlets manufactured. When you were asleep I would open the door and order the girl to sleep in the vestibule without locking the door. I would then put on the skin and the gauntlets and walk on all fours ; any one who saw me from a roof or elsewhere would assume that I was a dog. Then I would proceed to the cemetery, having ascertained in the day what important persons had died and where they were buried. I would go to the grave, exhume the corpse, take the grave-clothes, put them inside the skin, walk home as before and as the door was not locked I could enter and lock it. I would then remove the costume and hand it over to the maid with the clothes which I had taken, all of which she would conceal in a repository unknown to you. I had collected somewhere about three hundred winding-sheets, and did not know what to do with them ; only I felt in these expeditions and proceedings a certain pleasure for which there would appear to be no reason except that it had this trouble in store for me. Last night I was attacked by a man who noticed me ; either he had been sitting there or was guarding the tomb ; when I began to dig it up, he came upon me ; I started to strike his face with my iron hand, meaning to escape while he had that to think of, but he attacked me with his sword and I received the blow with my left hand, which it amputated.—I said to my daughter : Pretend that there is a swelling on your hand, and that you are ill ; your pallor will confirm this. When some days have passed we shall tell your father that your hand must be amputated, otherwise the poison will spread to your whole body and you will die. He will give permission for its amputation, and we will pretend that the amputation is fresh, and so your story will be kept dark.—We adopted this plan after I had told her to repent, and she declared herself penitent and vowed that never again would she do the like. I had also decided to sell this slave-girl, and in future to look more carefully into the way in which this daughter of ours passes her nights, and to keep her by my side. And now you have disgraced me and disgraced yourself !—The qadi asked his daughter what she had to say. She said : Mother has spoken the truth and I swear that I will never do this again. She declared herself penitent. The qadi said to her : Here is the man who amputated your hand.—She almost died of chagrin.—He

then asked me whence I came.—I said I was from Iraq.—Why have you come here ? he asked.—To look for a living, I replied.—He said : A livelihood has come to you which you may lawfully enjoy. We are people of means whom God has screened ; rend not that screen. I swear that I knew nothing of my daughter's proceedings, and what say you to marrying her, and to my rendering you independent of other people by my wealth ; and living with us in this house ?—I agreed, he had the food cleared away, we went to the mosque where the people were gathered expecting him, he delivered the nuptial address, solemnized the marriage between us, and then rose and returned home. We were taken into the house, and love for the girl took possession of me till I nearly died of it. She stayed with me some months, disliking me, though I courted her favour, shed tears over her hand and offered excuses which she pretended to accept, alleging that her state of mind was due to grief over her hand. At last one night when I had been sleeping soundly as usual, I felt a heavy weight upon my chest, and woke up in alarm. I found her kneeling on my chest with her knee fixed on my hand, and a razor in her hand : she was going to cut my throat. My waking confused her ; I wanted to free myself, but this was not possible, and I was afraid she would get in her blow first. So I ceased moving, and said to her : Say something to me and then do what you like. What is your motive in this ?—She said : Do you suppose that having cut off my hand, disgraced me, and married me, you are going to escape scot-free ? By Allah, this shall not be so. —I said : You have failed to cut my throat, still you can deal me some wounds ; only there is the chance that I may escape and cut your throat, or get away and give information about you, so that you will be handed over to the government, when your first crime as well as your second will come to light, you will be cast off by your family and executed. —She said : Do what you like, only I must certainly slaughter you, as each of us has become afraid of the other.—I considered and found escape from her improbable, since very likely she would wound some part of my body, which would cause my death. So I thought a ruse would be most effective. So I said : What of some other course ?—She bade me say what I meant.—I said : Let me divorce you immediately, so that you will be free of me, and I will leave this town, so that we shall never see one another again ; there will be no scandalous revelations about you in your town, and you

will be able to marry whom you please ; the story has been circulated that your hand was amputated owing to a tumor causing gangrene, and you may hope that there will be no disclosure. She said : Will you swear not to remain in the town and never to disgrace me ?—I swore (he said) the most solemn oaths, and she rose from off my breast and started to run for fear I should lay hold on her ; having flung the razor somewhere unknown to me, she came back and pretended that the whole thing had been a jest done for my amusement.—I however bade her begone : It is, I said, no longer lawful for me to touch you, and to-morrow I will depart from you.—She said : Now I know that you are in earnest, and by Allah, had you done anything else, you would not escape from my hand. She then rose and produced a purse. Here, she said, are a hundred dinars, take them for your expenses, write out a bill of divorce for me, do not betray me, and depart.—Next morning I departed after writing to her father that I divorced her. I departed alive, and have never come across them to this day.

119. Abu'l-Mughirah, the narrator of the last anecdote, was a voluminous poet, naturally gifted, a satirist, but the author of numerous encomia, and a bulky diwan, out of which he recited to me certain pieces, one of them the following :

A mine of magic are the eyes
 Of one whose love has brought me low ;
 Thither my heart's direction lies,
 Drawn by the temple of that brow.
 A scorpion it might seem to be,
 Whose sting save hers no body spares ;
 Blame not my passion, for its plea
 Is beauty which no rival shares.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(*To be continued.*)

AHMAD SHAH ABDALI IN INDIA. 1748

RISE OF INDEPENDENT DYNASTIES IN THE PROVINCES.

THE dismemberment of the Mughal Empire was immediately preceded in each of its lost provinces by the exceptionally long rule of some exceptionally able viceroy, who completed his work by founding a dynasty and transmitting his power to his own family though securing outward legal sanction to this hereditary succession by means of gifts to the shadowy Emperor of Delhi. These men formed a striking contrast to the early short term *subahdars* who were never permitted to govern a province for more than four years in the times when the Padishah was a real power in the land.

In Bengal it was Murshid Quli Khan, (surnamed Ja'far Khan Nasiri, Nasir Jung, Mutaman-ul-mulk), who ruled the province without a break from 1707 to his death in 1727 and left a throne to his son-in-law Shujâ Khan. In the Deccan it was Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah, first appointed to the viceroyalty in 1713, then removed, and finally reinstated in 1725 to hold that realm till his death in 1748 and to bequeath it to his progeny. In Oudh it was Sâdat Khan, appointed in 1723 and succeeded on his death (1739) by his son-in-law Safdar Jung and his line. In the Punjab it was Saif-ud-daulah I, who got the *subahdarship* in 1713 and was succeeded in 1726 by his son Zakariya Khan (entitled Saif-ud-daulah II); and the latter dying in 1745 left his provinces, Lahor and Multan, to his sons Yahya Khan (surnamed Zakariya Khan II, and 'Azz-ud-daulah II) and Hayatullah Khan (surnamed Shah Nawaz Khan and Hizbar Jung II). Saif-ud-daulah I thus founded a dynasty which was extinguished only when his unworthy grandsons quarrelled and failed to save their heritage from Afghan encroachment (1748). The *subahs* of Gujrat and Malwa were lost to the dying Empire by foreign annexation, without the intervention of a long rule by any *subahdar*.

These founder-viceroy did immense benefit to the people whose happy lot it was to be governed by them. Being strong and capable men, they successfully enforced law and order and fostered the growth of wealth and population in their charge. They saved their subjects not only from robbers and foreign raiders, but also from the illegal exactions of office underlings - which the lesser *subahdars* could not do. Thus, of Murshid Quli Khan we read, "Two days in the week he administered justice in person; and was so impartial in his decisions and rigid in their execution that no one dared to commit oppression. . . . The regulations and orders of Murshid Quli Khan were so absolute that the most refractory trembled in his presence and his commands were implicitly obeyed."¹

So, too, was the case with Asaf Jah. His *diwan*, Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan², reports from personal knowledge: "The former *subahdar* Daud Khan (Pani) had laid the foundation of the illegal innovation (*bidat*) of exacting *ziladari*, amounting to nearly eighty lakhs of rupees, from the *zamindars* and *ryots* of the *parganahs* of *subahs* Khandesh, Balaghat and others, for himself with the assistance and concert of the Maratha troops, - with whom he was as thick as milk and sugar. Afterwards, (on the Nizam's first coming to the Deccan) when the collectors told him about it and asked his permission to levy this cess, he altogether abolished it. Nay more, he used constantly to urge his revenue officers to write to the '*amils* of the *parganahs* and *mahals* of his *jagir* that they must remember that no *ahwab* or cess forbidden by the Emperor should be collected even to the extent of a farthing (*dam*). Such was this great man's compassion on the condition of the common people."

Long connection with one province also allowed the growth of personal ties between such a viceroy and his subjects and gave him the same interest in their welfare that a hereditary landlord takes in the prosperity of his tenants and which no temporary farmer of the revenue can feel. With the growth of such a family-connection with the province in their charge, these founder-viceroy came to look upon the governed as their own children. Zakariya Khan I, when pressed by the departing Nadir Shah to ask for a personal boon, nobly begged for the

(1) Salimullah's *Tarikh-i-Bangalah*.

(2) *Muntakhab-ul-lubab*, ii. 748-749.

liberation of the Indians whom the ruthless conqueror was dragging away with himself to servile labour in far-off Iran. And his house rigorously enforced law and order ever since its coming to power in the Land of the Five Rivers.

The Panjab had, generally speaking, enjoyed more internal peace than any other frontier province of India during the 17th century. The visits of the Emperors Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzib and Bahadur Shah I to Lahor, their marches through this province on expeditions and journeys beyond it, the movements of large armies across the land for the wars in Central Asia, Qandahar and the Khaibar Pass, had all tended to impress the local law-breakers with a wholesome fear of the Emperor's power and respect for the Emperor's peace. The Sikh risings under *guru* Govind Singh in the 17th century and under Banda in 1710 and 1713 disturbed and desolated some well-defined zones only.

After Banda and his personal followers had been crushed in 1714, the Sikhs remained quiescent for over one generation and did not disturb the public peace. But there were other lawless classes in that province, predatory by instinct and tribal usage, who were ever on the look-out for an opportunity to plunder cities and caravans and seize the rents of villages. Such were the Ranghars and the Gujars, the brethren of the hereditary Jat robbers living further east. In the Panjab the Jats supplied the main body of recruits to the Sikh fraternity, but their lawless activity as Sikhs revived only after 1750.

The land of the five rivers has in our day become one vast granary with an assured if artificial water-supply, and the home of a prolific, manly but peacefully prosperous population. But in Mughal Panjab Man had not yet harnessed Nature to his service, and an infinitely smaller population than to-day's could then find a subsistence on its soil. Vast forests overspread the *doabs* or tracts enclosed by two rivers, where we now see only smiling fields of wheat and cotton, millet and oilseeds, stretching up to the horizon, broken by rapidly rising cities, the homes of industry and arts. And these jungles afforded safe homes and ready refuges to robber bands. One jungle covered the country from Karnal (70 miles north of Delhi) to Ludhiana near the Satlaj as late as 1803.*

* Thorn's *Memoir of the War in India*, map and p. 485.

The town of Sarhind was no doubt a centre of population and tillage, but beyond a narrow belt of clearance around it the forest reigned supreme. So, too, after crossing the Satlaj into the Jalandar doab. Further south the state of things was still worse. A Panjabi Hindu, writing in 1695, thus describes the land: "The *sarkar* of Dipalpur (the modern Montgomery district) is the home of the Wattu, Dogar and Gujar tribes, who are notorious for their turbulent and rebellious character. Every year the floods overspread the land far and wide, and when the water subsides so many jungles spring up all over this country, owing to the great moisture, that a pedestrian has great difficulty in travelling. How then can a rider? It is called the *Lakhi Jangal* (forest of a hundred thousand trees). The wicked men of this plain, owing to the shelter afforded by the impassable jungle—which stretches over leagues in length and breadth—become ambuscaders, highwaymen and thieves. The hand of the imperial commanders cannot reach them for chastisement." (*Khulasat-ut-tawarikh* of Sujan Rai.)

A strong man was needed to keep such a province in order, and that strong man was found in the person of Abdus Samad Khan.

Abdus Samad Khan, a Turki immigrant from Samarqand (Ahrar) and a near kinsman of Nizam-ul-mulk and Itimad-ud-daulah I, was created a five-*hazari*, with the title of Dilir Jung and appointed *subahdar* of Lahor in 1713. His first great achievement was the crushing of the Sikh rising under Banda in 1714, for which he was rewarded by promotion to the rank of a seven-*hazari* and the title of Saif-ud-daulah. Next, in 1718, he destroyed, after a severe contest, Isa Khan, a petty landowner of the Ranghar tribe, who had raised himself to almost princely power and dignity by successful highway robbery. This man's grandfather had laid the foundation of power and wealth by collecting and leading a robber band. Isa Khan himself, on the strength of this heritage, was courted as a man of consequence. Joining Prince Mu'izz-ud-din before the battle of Jajau, he was enrolled as a *mansabdar*. Then, in the contest fought out between the four princely brothers at Lahor in 1712 he was on the winning side and vastly enriched himself by seizing the treasure-laden carts of the other princes. His patron, on gaining the throne, made him a five-*hazari* and the *faujdar* of Lakhi jungle..... On the fall of Jahandar Shah 1718,

he fought for his own hand, plundered and occupied the neighbouring district, defeating the local *fauj-dars*, robbed the trade caravans between Delhi and Lahor, and thus amassed a vast hoard of wealth and jewels. At the same time he was cunning enough to bribe the Emperor's favourite Samsam-ud-daulah (Khan-i-Dauran) and make him his patron at Court. Emboldened by this high protection, "he looted the people worse than before. The imperial officers who had been assigned jagirs in this region, could not get a penny from their villages as the rents were forcibly collected by Isa Khan. He dominated the country from the bank of the Bias—where he had built a fort named Darisa—to the village of Thara on the bank of the Satlaj, in the Sarhind district, and through fear of him the tiger drew its claws back." (*Ma'sir-ul-umara*, ii. 825—, following Khafi Khan, ii. 767-768.)

Abdus Samad Khan, in 1718, sent his subordinate Shahdad Khan Kheshgi, to root the rebel out. The decisive battle took place near the village of Thara, the seat of Isa Khan, who fought bravely at the head of 3,000 horse, slew many of the imperialists, and even forced Shahdad to turn his back. But just then, Isa Khan's father having been shot dead, he was maddened by rage, and drove his elephant with blind impetuosity on that of Shahdad, with the result that he was killed and his victory turned into a rout. His son took to a peaceful life and was left to enjoy his zamindari. Shortly after this campaign, the *subahdar* fought and slew another turbulent rebel, Husain Khan Kheshgi of Qasur.

Saif-ud-daulah I was a patron of the immigrants from Trans-Oxiana and settled many of these Turks in the Panjab by granting them lands and posts in the provincial army. In 1726 he was replaced by his son Zakariya Khan, created 'Azz-ud-daulah I, Hizbar Jung. In 1739 the latter's charge was enlarged by the addition of Multan, and he was, on Nadir Shah's recommendation, promoted to be an eight-*hazari* with the title of Saif-ud-daulah II. He had married a daughter of the wazir I'timad-ud-daulah I, while his eldest son Yahya Khan was married to a daughter of that wazir's son I'timad-ud-daulah II. Zakariya Khan was a very strong and just ruler, vigilant in supervising the administration and protecting the people from oppression,—for which his fame spread throughout the land and he was idolised by his subjects in a degree unequalled in that age. He continued his father's good

work of putting down the brigand chiefs who used to disturb the country, such as Panah Bhatti, the terror of the tract from Hasan Abdul to the bank of the Ravi, and Mir Mar, whose hunting ground was the *doab* between the Ravi and the Satlaj.

Zakariya Khan's crowning act of nobleness was done for the relief of humble sufferers who had none else to befriend them and who could not do him any benefit in return. Nadir Shah greatly loved him, and when passing by Lahor on his withdrawal from India he pressed Zakariya Khan to ask for a personal favour, but the only boon that he asked of the world-conqueror was the liberation of the artisans and other people of Delhi whom Nadir was dragging away with him to Persia. Nadir agreed, and thousands of Indian homes far away from the Panjab were rendered happy by this nobleman's unselfish generosity.

After promoting the peace and prosperity of the province entrusted to his care, Zakariya Khan died on 1st July 1745. "There was so much grief for him among all people, especially in the city of Lahor, that for three nights in succession no lamp was lighted in any house. Thousands on thousands followed his bier through the streets, lamenting aloud, beating their breasts, and heaping up flowers on his bier, till at last not a handful of flowers was left in the city." (*Anandram*, 139.) Zakariya Khan had scattered plenty over a smiling land and read his history in a grateful nation's eyes. There cannot be a nobler monument to a governor than this.

With him ended the happiness of the Panjab. Zakariya Khan I left behind him three sons: Yahya Khan (surnamed 'Azz-ud-daulah II) Hayatullah Khan (surnamed Hizbar Jung II and Shah Nawaz Khan), and Mir Baqi. Yahya was a weak, effeminate youth, while Hayatullah, a particular favourite of Nadir Shah, seems to have derived from his dread patron a bloodthirsty, oppressive and grasping character. Soon after their father's death, the two elder brothers returned from Delhi to Lahor, when Hayatullah demanded a partition of their patrimony. A settlement was delayed and the armed retainers on the two sides came to blows with each other. At last terms were arranged and Hayatullah, on receiving a certain amount in cash and jewels by way of payment, withdrew to his *faujdari* in the Jalandar doab.

But this did not bring peace to the Panjab. The Emperor foolishly put off appointing a governor for that province. He rejected the wazir's suggestion of giving Zakariya Khan's two provinces of Lahor and Multan to his two sons, as likely to create a hereditary Turani dominion there. Many emigrants from Central Asia had settled in and around Lahor under the patronage of the last two viceroys and had built there houses, tombs and gardens, so that "the place had become a home of Mughals like Balkh and Bukhara." At last the wazir tried to save these fellow-tribesmen by begging the *subahdari* of the province for himself. No more unwise arrangement could have been devised for the most important frontier province of India than an absentee and vicarious governorship. As the wazir's deputy, however, Mir Mumin Khan, who had been Zakariya Khan's 'man of business,' was appointed, which was an excellent selection. The wazir himself could not pay a single visit to his province.

All these circumstances conspired "to destroy the peace and prosperity which the just rule of Zakariya Khan had given to the Panjab.... Disorder broke out. Everywhere lawless men, plunderers and adventurers, who had so long kept themselves in hiding, now came out of their holes and began to desolate the realm..... On one side the Rajah of Jammu rebelled, and on the other the Sikhs began to cause tumult and trouble." (*Anandram*, 289.) The first deputy governor, Mir Mumin had not the means of suppressing these disorders. At last, after long persuasion, the Emperor in 1746 agreed to appoint Yahya Khan as deputy governor, while the wazir continued as the titular *subahdar*.

Yahya retained Mir Mumin as his chief officer, but his own soft character made it impossible for him to govern such a turbulent province. To add to his difficulties, his younger brother Hayatullah came to Lahor on the 21st November 1746, entered his mansion outside the city and called upon Yahya to make a complete division of their father's property. The discussion was prolonged, no settlement was made, and the soldiers of the two brothers often fought in the streets, while each of them stood behind his entrenchments in his own quarter of the city. At last Hayatullah's patience was worn out; his soldiers clamoured for the arrears of their salary which he had no means of satisfying. So, on the 17th March 1747, at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, he ordered his

lieutenant Adina Beg Khan to reconnoitre his brother's trenches. This move drew Mir Mumin out in force and a light and indecisive skirmish ensued, after which each side retired to its shelter. Next day, Hayatullah in person delivered a sudden assault; the portable artillery which he carried in front quickly scattered his enemies, and Mir Mumin was captured, wounded. Lahor could not hold out against the victor, because Yahya's fugitive soldiers flocked into the city and mutinied for their pay, which was four or five months overdue. Hayatullah entered Lahor unopposed (21st March) and seized the property of Yahya, who took refuge in the house of his widowed aunt, where he lived practically as a prisoner of his brother.

After thus usurping the government of Lahor, Hayatullah assured his position by removing from their posts all the old captains "who had grown grey-haired in the service of his father and grandfather" and confiscating their houses and property. He then sent his steward to the Emperor Muhammad Shah with some presents, begging pardon for his acts and requesting that he might be appointed deputy governor of the province under the wazir's seal! The envoy arrived at Delhi with this strange letter on the 3rd September and opened negotiations which the Emperor's advisers considered it politic to draw out.

In the meantime the political horizon of India was overcast and a great danger arose to threaten the throne of Delhi. Nadir Shah had been murdered on 9th June 1747 and much of his wealth and soldiery had passed into the hands of Ahmad Khan Abdali, his favourite general. Abdali had crowned himself king on his way from Nadir's camp to Qandahar (about 12th June) and laid claim to the heritage of Nadir. His immediate aim was to equip himself with the necessary funds by squeezing that well-known milch-cow, India. And for this a fine opportunity presented itself immediately.

The civil war between Yahya and Hayatullah rent the government of the Panjab into two, and made that province too weak to resist a foreign invader. In addition to this, Hayatullah, who knew that he had hopelessly broken with his Delhi master by ousting the Emperor's lawful representative and the wazir's son-in-law, looked round for an ally outside India and sent a letter inviting Ahmed Abdali to come and take the sovereignty

of the land. He also embraced the Shia religion, replacing the names of the Timurid Emperors on his official seal by the names of the twelve Imams. He thus hoped to find allies among the Shia soldiery of Persia.

After his conquest of Delhi, Nadir Shah annexed the *subah* of Kabul and all the portions of the Panjab and Sindh lying west of the Indus river down to the sea, as well as the province of Tatta or lower Sindh and the ports situated in it. In addition, he received in perpetual assignment the revenue of the four cis-Indus *mahals* of Sialkot, Gujrat, Aurangabad, and Pasrur, which had hitherto been reserved for feeding the Mughal administration of the perpetually deficit province of Afghanistan. (*Anandram*, 80-81, *Siyar*, iii. 30 and ii 97.) The Emperor's governor of Lahor signed an agreement to send Nadir twenty lakhs of rupees every year on account of these four *mahals*.

Thereafter the Court of Delhi enjoyed peace and protection from the side of Persia. Nadir was a great admirer of Timur; he used to carry Timur's autobiography with him on his campaigns, and he had not the heart to ruin Timur's lineal descendant in India. During the remainder of his life the great Persian conqueror kept up friendly relations with Muhammad Shah. In the midst of his busy life and arduous campaigns in many a distant land, he did not forget to send presents to the Emperor of Delhi. Thus, 110 mule-loads of melons, grapes and apples from him were received in December 1740, and 81 Iraqi horses for the Emperor with several others for the leading nobles of his Court arrived at Delhi in May 1746. Muhammad Shah, in return, sent Nadir 25 lakhs of rupees in December 1740 and 51 healthy young elephants in June 1746. (*Anandram*, 121 and 168, 115 and 170).

The conquest of Delhi was followed by incessant campaigns which shook almost every country of western and central Asia. In the course of these, Nadir's character underwent a rapid decline. He became a fierce tyrant, revelling in wanton bloodshed and cruelty, giving vent to frequent outbursts of fury and insane suspiciousness. A deep melancholy and loss of confidence in his people and officers settled on him, which made him harsh in his attitude towards them. The failure of his Daghestan campaigns (1742 and 1744) broke the spell of his invincibility. Rebellions henceforth

broke out in many parts of his empire ; everywhere the rebels set up pretenders to the local thrones and killed the loyal officers of Nadir.

His treasury having been exhausted by his ceaseless warfare, Nadir now resorted to the cruellest extortion to fill his coffers. Many of his revenue collectors perished under torture to make them yield more and more money. All wealthy subjects lived in dread of their lives. " These rebellions only increased the violence of his temper, and his acts became even more wild," as his secretary admits. People were put to death, mutilated or blinded on the merest suspicion. On the plain outside Isfahan, he burnt alive some Hindus, Muslims and Armenians. When in January 1747 he set out from his capital for Khurasan, in every province that he passed through he built towers of human heads after killing local nobles and commons. Each rebellion was suppressed with ferocious cruelty, but a new one soon broke out in another quarter. In short, " the last years of Nadir Shah's reign were years of unspeakable misery for his subjects." (Sykes.)

The most influential element in the population of Persia were the *Qizilbash*es (literally *Red Heads*, from their red Turkish caps). These were the descendants of some Turkish tribes long settled in Persia and they formed the best soldiers in the East, often acting as king-makers. Nadir now began to brood over plans for destroying all the *Qizilbash*es of note and influence with the aid of his Uzbek and Afghan captains, who had latterly displaced the *Qizilbash*es in his trust and favour. He arranged with these foreign mercenaries to summon all the *Qizilbash* chiefs and captains to his presence next day and there massacre them, and then by a sudden attack annihilate their leaderless soldiery, giving up their property to plunder by the Uzbaks and Afghans.

The plot, however, leaked out. The *Qizilbash* chiefs, under the leadership of the captain of the palace-guard and Muhammad Khan Qachar, took prompt action. At midnight preceding the day appointed for their massacre, they started, in a body of seventy, for Nadir's tent to forestall the blow. But the terror of the great king paralysed the feet of 57 of the conspirators and they dropped off on the way. Thirteen entered Nadir's tent and slew him.

This tragedy took place near Kuchan at the extreme north-eastern corner of Khurasan, on 9th July 1747.

The death of Nadir Shah left the field open for Ahmad Shah Abdali.* His ancestors had their homes in the Herat district and belonged to the Sadduzai clan of Afghans. His father and grandfather having been slain in battle, young Ahmad fled for refuge to the Ghilzai clan in Qandahar. When Nadir Shah captured Qandahar (in 1737), he took Ahmad into his service as a personal attendant (*Yesawwal*). The conqueror removed the Ghilzai clan from their home in Qandahar to Mazendran and Khurasan, while he shifted the Abdali clan wholesale from Herat and Khurasan to the Qandahar district which henceforth became the land of the Abdalis.

In the service of Nadir Shah, Ahmad Abdali greatly distinguished himself and rose to be the chief commander of the king's Abdali contingent (some four thousand strong). Nadir used often to say in open Court, "I have not found in Iran, Turan or Hind any man equal to Ahmad Abdali in capacity and character." There is a charming legend that one day Nadir Shah was enjoying the breeze seated on his golden throne and Ahmad was standing before him at a respectful distance, when the king cried out, "O Ahmad Abdali, come forward." Ahmad approached, but Nadir said, "Come closer still." When Ahmad had come up, Nadir told him, "O Ahmad Khan Abdali, remember that after me the kingship will pass on to you. You must treat Nadir's family kindly." Ahmad replied in alarm, "May I be your sacrifice! If you wish to slay me, I am present here. But there is no reason why you should utter such (unfortunate) words as these." Nadir repeated, "I know for certain that you will become an Emperor. Treat Nadir's descendants well." The historian Husain adds that Ahmad Shah in his days of power was always mindful of his late master's appeal and assisted Shahrukh Mirza (the grandson and successor of Nadir.)

After murdering Nadir at midnight, the Qizilbash conspirators planned to keep the fact a secret from the rest of the army till next morning, in order to attack his favoured Afghan troops by surprise, crush them and

* An ancestor of Ahmad Shah was a disciple of the saint Khwajah Abu Ahmad Abdal of the Chishti order, and so pleased his Master by his devotion that the holy man blessed him and called him *Abdal*, a word which means a man free from earthly bonds by reason of his close communion with God. The conqueror Ahmad Shah took the title of *Durr-i-durrani* or 'Pearl among Pearls;' and hence his dynasty is also called *Durrani*.

plunder their camp, and then seize all the property of the late king without a sharer. But so great a secret could not be kept. Ahmad heard of it before morning, stood on his defence during the rest of the night, and early next morning marched in battle array towards Nadir's tent. There he found the Qizilbash soldiers and camp-followers engaged in indiscriminate plunder. The Uzbek and Afghan contingents at once plunged into the game and "in four hours from the dawn no trace remained on the ground of the tents and property of Nadir Shah. Everything had been dispersed and had disappeared."¹

The Afghan soldiers, seeing their patron dead and themselves surrounded by hostile rivals in a foreign land, marched away rapidly from Kuchan in a compact body for self-defence against any Qizilbash attack. At the end of the third day, they halted and held a council. Their captains said among themselves, "On the long journey before us we need a man whose commands all shall obey. It would be difficult, nay impossible, for us to reach Qandahar with our entire body of women, children and servants, in the face of the hostility of the Persians, unless we have a supreme chief. We must obey such a leader with all our power, whatever happens." All the Abdalis took this view and chose Ahmad as their commander, hailing him as *Ahmad Shah*. (*Mujmil*, 74.)

Spiritual blessing was also secured by the new king. Three days before the murder of Nadir, Ahmad had met on the way a *darvish* from Lahor named Shah Muhammad Sabir,² who had prophesied to him, "On your forehead I read the marks of royalty." The holy man then proved his supernatural powers by working a miracle. After the death of Nadir, Ahmad did not forget to take the saint with him in his flight. At the first halt the *darvish* pressed Ahmed to make himself king. The Khan pleaded his incompetence and lack of materials befitting royal grandeur. But the holy man was not to be so put off. Piling up a small mound of earth, he seized Ahmad's hand and seated him on it saying, "This is your throne." Then strewing some barley-shoots on his head, he

(1) This is the account given in *Mujmil* 20. But *Jahan-kusha* 461, a more reliable source, states that the Uzbaks and Afghans in concert attacked and repulsed the Afshar troops and plundered Nadir's property.

(2) Shah Sabir was the grandson of Usta Halal'khor, a well-known farrier of Kabul, adored by the Turanis as a *darvish*. (*Siyar*, iii. 16.)

declared them the aigrette on his crown and styled him *Durrani Padishah*, or 'Pearl among kings.'

Arrived at Qandahar, Ahmad published the news of Nadir Shah's death. The Ghilzai Afghan whom the Persian king had left as his governor in this fort plotted to kill Ahmad by treachery. But the blow was anticipated. Abdali killed the leading conspirators and took possession of Qandahar, where he crowned himself with full pomp and struck coins in his own name. (*Mujmil* 75, *Siyar*, iii.16.)

The Afghan tribesmen flocked to Ahmad Abdali's standards in the hope of finding a national leader who would lead them on to a career of successful rapine as in the days of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. The various bodies of Nadir's soldiers scattered in different places in the Panjab and Afghanistan were drawn together by Taqi Khan Shirazi (Beglar-Begi) and induced to enter Abdali's service. In these ways a band of 40,000 hardy warriors (only a minority of them being Qizilbashs) were soon gathered under Ahmad. He then looked out for money to maintain them and found it very soon.

After arranging for the administration of Qandahar and taking oaths of allegiance from all the Abdali tribesmen, Ahmad set out to conquer the provinces of Afghanistan from Nadir's officers. He first took possession of Ghazni after some fighting and installed his own governor there. Nasir Khan, a hereditary servant of the Delhi empire, had been forced by Nadir Shah to continue as his governor of Afghanistan when that country was ceded to Persia by the treaty of 1739. In May 1747 he had left Kabul for Khurasan at Nadir's call to deliver the accumulated revenue of Kabul, Peshawar and Sindh, amounting to 30 lakhs of rupees, to him. When he reached the neighbourhood of Qandahar, the news of Nadir's murder had already spread abroad, and this treasure was looted and divided among themselves by some neighbouring tribal chiefs. But soon afterwards Ahmad arrived there, arrested these chieftains and forced them to disgorge the money.

Abdali sent Nasir Khan back to Kabul to act as governor on his behalf, but Nasir's heart was averse to this service and he left Kabul for Peshawar (his winter headquarters) in order to be within easy reach of Delhi. Abdali then advanced north and took unopposed possession of Kabul, from which Nasir's deputy had fled away.

Ever since his accession to the throne, Ahmad Abdali had been issuing invitations to the Afghan clans all over the country to join him and help to recover the lost sovereignty and empire of their race. Many of these tribal chiefs flocked to his standard to share in the alluring career of plunder under such a born general and national leader. From Kabul Ahmad sent an advanced detachment to occupy Peshawar and plunder the country up to Attock on the Indus. At the news of the invaders' approach, Nasir Khan evacuated Peshawar, crossed the river and took refuge in the land of Chach Hazara; but he was driven out of this district by another Afghan force under Ahmad's commander-in-chief Sardar-i-Jahan, and fled to Lahor (November), giving up all his property to plunder.

Abdali now established his own rule in Peshawar, which city served as a very convenient starting-point for the invasion of Hindustan, with the man-power of Afghanistan behind him and no great physical obstacle in front. The Khaibar Afghans quickly gathered round him and a plan of invasion was matured.

Meantime, at the news of Abdali's march towards Peshawar, Hayatullah had issued from Lahor and taken up an entrenched position on the bank of the Ravi, appealing to the Emperor to send him reinforcements, which never came.

Leaving Peshawar about the middle of December 1747, Ahmad Abdali crossed the Indus by a bridge of boats, and the Jhilm and the Chinab by the same device, and arrived near Lahor on 8th January 1748, his track being marked by a line of sacked and burnt villages. Twelve thousand picked horsemen followed him, the core of which body was composed of 6,000 devoted and veteran soldiers of his own clan who had accompanied him from Persia. A vast number of Afghan adventurers from the frontier also joined him on foot, in the hope of plundering the rich plains of India. This raised the invading force to 25,000 men, but they were absolutely without cannon.

Abdali's religious guide, Baba Sabir, entered Lahor alone, avowedly to visit his mother who was living in that city, and also to make a pilgrimage to the local saints' tombs; but really to deliver to Hayatullah an invitation from Abdali to join him. His fame as a magician had preceded him and people told how his spells had turned a number of toy tents and horses into real cavalry and

war equipment for Ahmad immediately after Nadir's death. It was now reported that Sabir had come to Lahor in order to render the Mughal artillery powerless by his charms. So formidable an enemy could not be suffered to escape. He was at once arrested by order of Hayatullah and next day put to death, by a subordinate officer without the governor's knowledge.

After this Abdali could no longer think of conciliating Hayatullah. On 10th January his soldiers forded the Ravi one by one and reached the Shalamar garden four miles east of the city. Next day they appeared in force on the plain of Shah Baladil and the hermitage of Shah Husain. The advance posts of the defenders were two,—the small fort of Hazrat Ishan held by Hayatullah's pay-master and an entrenchment close to the hermitage of Shah Baladil (in the Parvizabad suburb) commanded by Mirza Asmatullah and Lachin Beg. These two divisions, totalling 16,000 men, now issued to the plain to meet the enemy. The Afghans sent out only a body of a thousand mounted musketeers, who galloped up to the Mughals, fired their pieces, and as quickly rode back beyond range. The battle raged in this manner till evening, neither side being able to make an advance from its position. About sunset, the Indian troops, regarding the fighting as over for the day, set out to return to their trenches in the careless disorder that usually marks their retirement, when the Afghan horsemen delivered a sudden attack, charging them at full speed and firing such sharp volleys from their muskets that the imperialists were completely taken by surprise and driven off the fields in hopeless rout. The Lahor Pay-master and other captains, without making any attempt to rally their men in the redoubt or the trenches, fled at once to the shelter of the walled city. Adina Beg alone stood outside the city during the first quarter of the night, firing his guns to keep the exultant Afghans back from advancing nearer than the Hazrat Ishan. Then he came back to his master and reported the situation. Hayatullah found Lahor untenable and fled away from the city at midnight, and his officers and soldiers followed his example, each man only thinking how to save himself.

The rich capital of the Panjab lay utterly undefended. Next morning (12th January) Mir Mumin and other faithful officers of the late Zakariya Khan, who had been kept in confinement by Hayatullah, went on a mission

of entreaty to Abdali's tent. For a ransom of 30 lakhs of rupees, the Afghan victor agreed to spare the city from a sack, and sent his provosts to keep his soldiers back from entering Lahor. A good deal of plunder, however, unavoidably took place in the collapse of all government.

The capture of Lahor more than doubled the strength of Ahmad. Not only did he gain immense wealth in the form of the city's ransom (Rs. 22 lakhs immediately paid) and the property of the governor and his family, but he was thus enabled to equip himself with all the imperial artillery and military stores in the fort, of which he had brought none from Peshawar. Further, he seized all the horses and camels that he could find in and near Lahor, mounted his Afghan footmen on the horses and his swivel-guns on the camels, and in this way added five or six thousand hardy men to his mobile division, with a good number of rapidly portable light pieces of artillery.

Thus completing his preparations and feeling confident that he could now face the regular army of Delhi on equal terms, he started from Lahor on 19th February, at the head of 30,000 men, leaving his own governor in that city, and marching eastwards to Sarhind on the road to Delhi.

Let us now see what the imperial Government had been doing in the meantime in the face of this terrible danger. The Emperor had received many and early warnings of the coming danger, but infatuation had seized his Court, and even the fresh memory of the loss and humiliation suffered in consequence of Nadir's invasion could not awaken any of his officers to a sense of their duty and the needs of the situation. Irresolution, conflict of counsel, procrastination and inertia now marked the measures of the Delhi Government to an even more shameful extent than when the Persian conqueror was threatening it.

As early as 1st September 1747, Muhammad Shah had received from Amir Beg (Nasir Khan's deputy at Kabul) the copy of a proclamation issued by Abdali on 15th July, appointing Muhammad Hashim Afridi the chieftain ("malik and grey-beard") of all the Afridi tribesmen in the Peshawar district. (*Anandram*, 299.) About the middle of November followed the report of Abdali's occupation of Kabul and of the appearance of a detachment of his troops near Attock, oppressing and plundering the entire district. Close on its heels came the

news of the invader's capture of Peshawar and the flight of Nasir Khan to Lahor.

The situation which resulted at Lahor from Hayatullah's usurpation of its government put the imperial Court into the greatest perplexity. The usurper held the lawful deputy governor Yahya Khan in his hands, and the despatch of a force from the capital to oust him might drive him to kill his captive, who was a son-in-law of the wazir. Therefore, by the wazir's advice the Emperor had temporised with Hayatullah, sent him smooth messages and even held protracted parleys with the envoy sent by the rebel to Delhi to negotiate for the grant of the *subahdari* to him. The situation was made more critical by Abdali's conquest of Qandahar and Kabul, which naturally raised the fear that if he invaded India the least sign of disfavour at the Delhi court would drive Hayatullah into the arms of the invader. Therefore, the Delhi Government, instead of boldly facing the danger and crushing the rebel at Lahor by a prompt and vigorous attack, found wisdom in doing nothing but talking idly and letting matters drift.

Even when the Emperor learnt that the invaders had taken Peshawar and their advanced troops had appeared near Attock (early in November), he did not realize the seriousness of the threat to Lahor. True, he sent his advance tents out of Delhi one day's march towards the Panjab on 23rd November; but he fixed a date fully three weeks later (14th December) for actually starting from his capital. He was confirmed in his blindness by the report that the Afghan raiders had gone back from Attock to Peshawar. The news was very grateful to his indolent and weak character. He had lived in Delhi now for 28 years since his accession, without ever going more than a few miles outside his capital (except twice only). He had grown extremely ease loving, and in addition was now suffering from the effects of the opium habit. At this time he fell ill and the doctors forbade him to be moved.

What was to be done to meet the danger from the north-west? On this question there was a sharp division of opinion at his Court. Seasoned captains told His Majesty that unless he led the army in person, the ease-loving soldiers of Hindustan would not face the veterans of Iran. The carpet-knights of the Court, who had never seen a battle, bragged that the Afghan upstart did not

deserve the honour of the Shahanshah taking the field in person against him and that any one of his nobles could bring him back a captive tied hand and foot. The wazir, who was wiser, warned the Emperor that if he wished to achieve victory he must march out of Delhi and go at least to some place near to Lahor, such as Panipat or Karnal, and thence send the army on under the wazir to meet the invasion. "The Emperor in speech agreed to this counsel, but he could never resolve on such action and constantly put off the date fixed for his starting." (*Anundram*, 311.) Nothing was therefore done. Inaction is the course dearest to imbeciles.

On 22nd December Muhammad Shah learnt that Abdali had begun his march from Peshawar towards Lahor with a strong force. But even then the urgency of the case was not brought home to his mind. By this time his malady had progressed too far to permit him to move, and yet he would not allow his only son, Prince Ahmad, to go in his place at the head of this expedition. So, all the State treasuries were emptied and 60 lakhs of rupees were thus collected, which were distributed among the nobles to enable them to equip themselves for this campaign. That aged drunkard and smooth-tongued advocate of utter inaction, the wazir Qamruddin Khan, was appointed supreme commander, with Safdar Jung (*subahdar* of Oudh), Ishwari Singh (Rajah of Jaipur and chief of the Rajput feudatories), and Nasir Khan (late governor of Kabul), as his assistants.

Even after this the delay made by them in moving was disgraceful. The wazir was given formal leave to depart on 8th January 1748, but he had to halt for 4 or 5 days to enable the artillery to join him. Ishwari Singh had asked for the fort of Rantambhor, which the Emperor refused, and the Rajah grew lukewarm in his zeal and put off his own march as long as he decently could.

At long last this huge army, numbering with its camp-followers more than two hundred thousand souls and encumbered with heavy artillery, began its slow and ponderous march from Delhi, halting frequently on the way. It had not yet reached Narela (16 miles north of Delhi), when the news came that Abdali had already taken Lahor and was raising fresh troops there. The Delhi army was overcome with terror of the enemy. The generals halted there and sent a deputation to the Emperor, begging that he should despatch his son to lead them. There was no

help for it now ; the Emperor agreed. Prince Ahmad started from Delhi on 31st January. Overtaking the main army near Sonpat, he quickened its pace. Karnal was rapidly crossed (19th February) because of the bad omen of its having witnessed another foreign invader's triumph over the Delhi forces nine years earlier ! Here it was learnt that Ali Muhammad Ruhela, the imperial *faujdar* of Sarhind, had deserted his station and fled to his home Aonla in the Bareilly district, so that the most important outpost between Lahor and Delhi was left without a defender. The Prince, therefore, pushed on as fast as he could and arrived near Sarhind on the 25th.

The enemy had not yet been sighted nor had any news of his movements reached the imperialists. But he could not be far off. In this situation the Delhi army made an incredible blunder which can be explained only by the utter fatuity of its chiefs and the hopeless degeneration of public life in India in that age. As a sufferer, Anandram Mukhlis, writes, " The nobles displayed astounding ignorance and neglect. They made no attempt to collect intelligence ; they did not care to guard their communications with Delhi in the rear, nor the route for the coming of provisions to their camp, but left Sarhind in this state (of negligence). The enemy's cavalry would meet with no obstacle on the way if it made a dash on Delhi. "

The women of the wazir's harem and all the heavy baggage, treasure, and surplus stores and carts of this huge army were left in the small fort of Sarhind with a garrison of 1,000 horse and foot under an eunuch of the wazir, while the army advanced towards the Satlaj. The straight route between Sarhind and Lahor crosses that river at Ludhiana, but as the water-level was lower at the ford of Machiwara, 22 miles above Ludhiana, the imperial chiefs decided to make a detour *via* Machiwara, thus leaving the customary and shorter road far to their left. And yet they did not send any detachment to hold Ludhiana, nor even posted scouts there to watch for the enemy's appearance. Worse than that, the advancing army immediately lost touch with its depôt at Sarhind, as it did not care to maintain a lengthening chain of outposts from that base to itself.

As against such incredible infatuation and military incompetence, the enemy displayed unusual alertness and activity. Abdali's force consisted of about twenty-five

thousand* mounted men, without heavy artillery, but extremely mobile and armed with nearly a thousand light pieces (swivels, *jizail*) placed on camels, which could move as fast as the cavalry. In addition, the ruthless vigour of this veteran lieutenant of the Persian Napoleon maintained strict secrecy about his movements. "Abdali had ordered his troops to slay every Indian whom they might find in their camp or in the plains, so that not a single spy of the wazir or of any other noble who went out to scout returned alive." (*Mujmil*, 101.) Thus, quite in the dark about the enemy's position and intentions, the doomed Indian army marched out of Sarhind on 27th February and reached Bharaoli (14 miles north of that town and eleven miles short of Machiwara). While halting here, the imperialists were astonished to learn that Abdali had cut into their rear, seized Sarhind, annihilated its garrison, and got possession of all their treasure, artillery and women left there. We shall now see how this happened.

After leaving Lahor on 19th February, Abdali had forded the Satlaj at Ludhiana (1st March) and pushed on to Sarhind (40 miles south-eastwards) in the course of the following night. Early next morning he delivered an impetuous attack on the utterly surprised garrison of the fort. The fire of his camel-swivels drove the defenders away from the walls. Then the Afghans by one rush reached the gate of the fort, broke it open and entered within, pillaging, slaying and burning the thatched houses in the fort and the city. The imperial musketeers soon exhausted their powder and shot and were then butchered; the women were reduced to slavery. It is difficult to exaggerate the effect of this victory on the whole campaign. All the rockets, military stores, treasure, etc., of the Delhi army except what was carried by the troops in the field, fell into Abdali's hands and immensely strengthened him. The imperialists were correspondingly depressed; their rear was cut and the invader was reported to be on the march to Delhi with a clear path before him. The alarm reached the capital (about 20th March); the Emperor ordered a detachment to go with artillery to Sarai Badli, 7 miles north-west of Delhi, and block the invader's route. The ordinary citizens made a rush to flee from the city and

* According to *Anandram* (p. 332), Abdali left Lahor with nearly 80,000 men. Six to seven thousand men had accompanied Abdali from Peshawar to Lahor according to *Ashub*, ii. 454, (25,000 acc. to *Anandram*, 312.)

thus escape a repetition of Nadir's massacre, but the city police, under orders, shut the gates and kept them in.

After taking Sarhind, Abdali wisely sent his booty, tents and heavy baggage to Lahor, in order to lighten his force. Then he entrenched his camp in the imperial garden outside Sarhind, put a garrison of 4,000 men to defend it as his base, and sought the imperialists out.

The news of the loss of Sarhind was brought to the Prince's camp late on 2nd March by ten Persian scouts whom Safdar Jang had sent out. But the wazir, blinded by conceit, would not believe it, as none of his own spies had returned. Therefore, the imperial army lost one precious day in sending out fresh scouts to verify the report. When the news was found to be too true, "it so alarmed the chiefs and soldiers of India that they were on the point of dispersing without offering battle." (*Mujmil*, 103.) The Prince immediately beat a hurried retreat from Bharaoli towards Sarhind and reached Manupur, a village ten miles north-west of the latter city, where the enemy were sighted. Here the imperialists halted and began to entrench themselves as a measure of defence. Guns were ranged round the tents of the Prince and the other generals, their wheels being chained together in the Turkish fashion, ditches were dug and the earth heaped up to form ramparts, and *sangars* (musket-houses) were built at suitable points.

The huge host, with its followers, spread over 14 or 15 miles of ground. (*Anandram*, 343) It was a dry region with only a few wells. Some more wells were dug, but not enough for that vast gathering of men and beasts. Severe scarcity of water soon made itself felt; their food supply was altogether stopped by the roving bands of the enemy. The Indian army completely immobilized itself in the face of such a swift raiding force of invaders; it was, in effect, completely invested.

Abdali also entrenched his advanced camp, five miles north-west of Sarhind and about the same distance in front of the imperial camp at Manupur. His roving bands had daily skirmishes with the patrols round the Delhi force. He had brought with himself only seven small portable pieces (*top-i-jilau*) and therefore could not reply to the heavier and more numerous artillery of the imperialists, nor venture near the Mughal trenches within the range of these guns. But the imperial host was thrown entirely on the defensive; its unwieldy size made it vulnerable at many points and its surrender through starvation was only

a question of time. The imbecile wazir rejected the idea of seeking a decision by fight before his food supply gave out, as "his plan was to avoid an action, but to cut off the enemy's food supply by inciting the neighbouring zamindars to attack his foraging parties and in the end to overpower him with artillery fire." (*Anandram*, 345.) From 4th to 11th March this fruitless cannonade continued. But at last the wazir's hands were forced when he saw the price he must pay for the policy of inaction which left all the initiative to the enemy. The Abdali had brought a large gun from Lahor and on the 9th mounted it on a hillock overlooking the wazir's camp; its fire began to kill his men and camels, and so he decided to risk a pitched battle two days later as preferable to such helpless slaughter.

In the morning of the appointed day (11th March, 1748), all the divisions of the Delhi army got ready. The wazir was to have issued on his elephant and led the attack. He had nearly finished his morning prayer and recital, when a cannon ball struck the ground outside his tent, rebounded over the wall and falling inside wounded him mortally in the waist.

People could not believe that it was by pure accident that a single shot fired in that direction was so well-aimed as to reach that particular tent and hit the wazir seated within it. The contemporary *Anandram* narrates the story that some days before this two spies of the Abdali had gone to the wazir, pretending to have been former artillery-men of Zakariya Khan and now deserters from the compulsory service of the invader. Being fully trusted by him, they in a few days learnt all about his place of residence, habits, and hours for different kinds of work, and then returned to the Afghan camp on the plea of bringing over more deserters. The information supplied by these men so guided the Afghan gunners that one shot was enough to kill the wazir. Ghulam Ali, writing in 1807, says that Mehdi Quli Beg, Abdali's chief of Ordnance, had visited the wazir with a pretended proposal of peace, and measured the distance of his tent by counting his steps. The Wazir knew that his wound was mortal. Calling his son Muin-ul-mulk from the trenches, he told him, "My son, it is all over with me. But the Emperor's work is not yet finished. Before this news spreads, do you quickly ride out and deliver the assault. When it is done, you may think of me." These were his last words. Muin

rose to the occasion ; he suppressed his filial tears, hurriedly buried his father's corpse, wrapped up in its blood-stained clothes, in the floor of his sleeping tent, and levelled the sand over it, to remove all signs. Then he mounted his father's elephant and going to the army in the field publicly declared that the wazir was ill of a cold and had deputed him to lead the army in his place.

But such an event could not be totally suppressed. Muin imparted the news in secret to the captains of the wazir's division and made an appeal, telling them, " Advance with me or stand back from the battle as you like it, but do not resort to retreat during the fighting and thereby ruin our cause. I shall fight on till my death." (*Bayan*, 233.)

The imperial army consisted of about a hundred thousand combatants, formed in three main divisions : the Right Wing under Safdar Jang at the head of a picked body of Irani-Turkish soldiers taken over from Nadir's army, besides Indians of the Purbia class ; the Centre under Prince Ahmad and his guardians ; the Left Wing under the wazir's son at the head of the Turani (Turk) contingent. In addition, there were the Vanguard under Talib Jang and Arslan Jang and a Rajput contingent of 17,000 horse under Ishwari Singh of Jaipur and other Rajahs. This last body was posted between the Centre and the Left Wing, probably as the customary division called *Iltimsh* (advanced reserve), guarding the route to the baggage camp in the rear of the Centre.

Abdali's army, on the best estimate, was not more than 25,000 strong, and the imperialists were fourfold superior to him in number of men and immeasurably stronger in artillery. The Indian lines were too long drawn out and their Centre was too well protected in front by formidable rows of big guns. Abdali knew his own inferiority in number and gun-power and determined to make the best use of the superior mobility and energy of his soldiers by not fighting a regular battle of the conventional type, division against division, but by merely containing the imperial Centre and directing his main attack on the two Wings, so as to break through them and threaten the Indian camp in the rear. A special division was told off to fall upon the imperialists' baggage by any path it could find during the confusion of the battle.

The conflict began at noon. By that time the Indian troops had marched out of their trenches and were drawn

up in battle array on the field beyond them. The Afghans were the first to attack. The full force of their assault fell on the imperial Left Wing, 30,000 strong. Abdali's chief commander Muhammad Taqi Khan Shirazi assailed it at the head of 3,000 Qizilbash troops (*i.e.*, Turks settled in Persia). These, according to their usual tactics, made a succession of charges, each time galloping up, delivering a rapid volley, then quickly falling back as the imperialists pressed forward, and advancing again to the attack after being refreshed and reinforced behind the battle line. The fight in this quarter was most obstinate. Muin and his comrades fought with desperate valour and caused heavy slaughter among the Afghans, who were borne down by sheer weight of numbers and devastated by the heavy artillery in the Mughal trenches. Abdali repeatedly pushed up supports to Muhammad Taqi to maintain the battle.

Very early in the fight, the Afghans had found an easier prey in the Rajputs. A body of 8,000 of Abdali's horsemen with 200 swivels carried on camels, had divided themselves into two divisions. Each half galloped up to within easy range of the Rajputs, delivered their fire and galloped back like the wind. Immediately afterwards the second group attacked in the same way. Thus, while the Rajputs were waiting for the enemy and twirling their moustaches in full confidence of victory by their rapid swordsmanship and reckless courage when the contest would come to the decision of cold steel, they found thousands of their saddles being emptied at each volley without their being able to touch an enemy. This strange method of warfare shook the nerves of the Rajputs, trained in the obsolete tactics of two centuries ago. The Afghans seized the moment and drove into the confused and wavering crowd, cutting it up "like the sections of a cucumber." The Rajput leader, Ishwari Singh, had early heard of the wazir's death, and received despairing counsel from his chief adviser, a barber (!), who had told him, "When the wazir is dead, what can *you* do against the Abdali?" Seeing the havoc among his followers and no chance of restoring the fight under the circumstances, the Rajah at once fled away from the field, abandoning his section of the trenches also. So hurried was his flight that he threw his kettledrums and light artillery (*rahkala*) into wells, and abandoned his baggage to be looted by the rascals of the army. His leaderless followers scattered right and left and crowded for shelter into the trenches of the Prince and Muin.

By the path thus left open, one Afghan division penetrated to the baggage and, after plundering it, entered the rear of Muin's trenches on the heels of the fugitive Rajputs. Even the imperial Centre was threatened, and the Prince in alarm appealed to Safdar Jang for aid. Desertions to the rear appeared among the Indian fighters, both generals and common soldiers being panic-stricken.

Muin delivered a countercharge on the Afghan Centre and engaged it at close quarters, with heavy slaughter on both sides. Muin's skin was grazed by a bullet, his brother Fakhr-ud-din received a shot in his foot, their officer Adina Beg was twice wounded, and Janish Khan and some other Turani *sardars* of this division were slain. This was the crisis of the battle. But the scale was soon turned in favour of the Indians by the bravery and enterprise of Safdar Jang and a happy accident.

One of the Afghan divisions had been posted opposite Safdar Jang (on the imperial Right Wing). By Abdali's order 700 of his camel-swivels had been advanced to a hillock overlooking Safdar Jang's position; here the camels were made to lie down, their knees were tied together, and the swivels were directed against the Indian troops. Safdar Jang met this danger by dismounting 1,700 of his musketeers and sending them to charge up the hillock on foot. By one concerted volley of their long pieces (*jizails*) these men slew many of the Afghan gunners, routed the survivors, and captured all the enemy's camels and swivels. A counter-attack failed to recover the hillock; Abdali's men, as they ran up the slope, were shot down by the soldiers of Safdar Jang now in possession of the crest. Thus, the Afghan wing engaging the imperial Right was decisively defeated. Safdar Jang now had breathing time; he detached men to reinforce the Prince (in the Centre), and made a bold advance into the field with all his force in line, preceded by rockets, long firelocks (*jizail*) and light artillery (*rahkala*), so as to draw away the Afghan attack from Muin (Left Wing) upon himself.

Meantime, some carts full of rockets which Abdali had captured caught fire from the recklessness of the plunderers, several thousand rockets at once flew up into the air, sparks falling from them ignited the gunpowder of the Afghan field artillery, a thousand of Abdali's soldiers were burnt to death, and utter disorder fell on their ranks. This calamity, coupled with Safdar Jang's intervention in the contest on the Mughal Left, which came just when the

enemy had been checked by Muin, at last decided the day. The Afghan soldiers resisted no longer, but broke and fled.

Ahmad Abdali, however, was too good a general to accept an utter defeat. He put a bold face on it and maintained a firm stand a short distance in front of the imperialists, until darkness settled on the field. To the Mughals the victory was quite unlooked for and they durst not follow it up at once, but deemed it wiser to keep a careful watch in their own trenches during the whole of the night, each man sleeping fully armed in his own appointed place, the generals sitting on horseback, the sentries regularly going round, and random shots being fired by way of precaution till next morning.

After this decisive repulse, Abdali retired from the field under cover of the darkness, with only two to three thousand followers, many of whom were wounded. The imperialists could not set out in pursuit even on the following day, as they were quite in the dark about the enemy's real condition and exact position. Rumours spread in their camp that the Afghan commander-in-chief had been slain* and even that the Abdali king himself was killed or at least wounded. No Indian soldier durst go out singly to scout. Abdali beguiled the Prince and Safdar Jang for a few days by sending envoys to ask for terms of peace, and used this respite to get his broken army into order again, send away his camp baggage and treasure to Lahor by a neglected path, and finally one night begin his retreat towards Lahor quite unperceived.

It was only on the 16th of March, or five days after the battle, that the imperial army ventured to march out towards the Afghan camp, in full strength and battle array, but found it deserted. The jungle which covered all the land from Sarhind to the river Satlaj rendered pursuit slow and ineffective. Even the scouts could not get prompt and correct intelligence of the enemy. The imperialists continued to feel their way towards that river, clinging together for safety and precaution, rather like a camp in constant dread of a surprise than in the spirit of self-confident victors. The Afghan rear-guard, some two thousand horse, were once sighted in the jungle, but retired before the imperialists could reach them. On the 18th, Sarhind was recovered. But the Abdali had crossed over

* Years afterwards Abdul Karim Kashmiri reported it as an actual occurrence! (*Bayan*, 235.)

at Ludhiana the day before and then reached Lahor. This city he first vacated of his booty, and then hastened towards Qandahar *via* Peshawar, as he had heard that his deputy and nephew Luqman Khan had rebelled against him during his absence.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LEXICOGRAPHY OF THE SHAH NAMA

(Continued from "Islamic Culture" Vol. V. No. 2 pp., 319).

روی بودن (with را of person or thing): "To be proper, suitable" (for). (Sh. N., IV., 1847).

برو نیز آن شیردل را بگوی که ایدر ترا آمدن نیست روی

She said, "Go quickly, and tell that lion-hearted man that it is not suitable for him to come hither."

روی پیچیدن "To decline." (Sh. N., I., 495).

نگه کرد گر سیوز اندر گروی گروی ستمگر نه پیچید روی

Garsîvaz looked at Garûy; the tyrannical Garûy did not decline (to obey the implied command).

[Garsîvaz was the brother of Afrâsiyab. The implied command was to kill Siyâvash the latter's son-in-law. cf.

[روی تاقن]

روی دیدن "To think reasonable, proper." (Sh. N., IV., 1732).

بیارام و بر خیره چیزی مجوی که فرزنانگان آن نه بینند روی

Remain quiet, and do not foolishly seek something that the wise do not think reasonable.

روی روشن بودن (For a person) "To be honoured and fortunate;" perhaps, "welcomed." (Sh. N., IV., 2002).

بایران اگر زن نبودى جز این که خسرو برو خواندى آفرین

نبودی چو شیرین بمشکوی او بهر جای روشن بدی روی او

If there were no women in Persia save those on whom Khusrau (Parviz) bestowed his approval,—(provided only that) one like Shîrîn were not in his palace he would be honoured and fortunate in every place.

[The objection to Shîrîn was that she was a Christian]

ریک

“Quicksand.” (روان ریک) ریک روان

“To try to stick quicksand on to a mountain.” (Sh. N., IV., 2036).

بداند که بهرام بسته میان ابا او یکی گشته ایرانیان
رومی سپاهی شاید شکست شاید روان ریک بر کوه بست

(He) will know that Bahrâm (Chûbîn), who is all prepared, and with whom the Persians have made common cause,

Cannot be defeated by a Grecian army—quicksand cannot be stuck on to a mountain.

[“Quicksand” symbolizes the Greeks, and “mountain” Bahrâm-e Chûbîn; the sense being that the former cannot press upon or have any real effect upon the latter. “Bahrâm cannot be defeated, etc., lit.,” it is not possible to defeat Bahrâm, etc. ”].

ز

زادن (sometimes with به): “To give birth” (to). (Sh. N., I., 468).

دراوان آن پیره سر پر هنر بزائی بکی خسرو نامدار

In the palace of that excellent old man (*i.e.*, Pirân-e Vîsa) you will give birth to the illustrious Kai Khusrau.

[Words of Siyâvash to his wife Fanangîs].

زاغ “Night”, (in respect of its darkness). (Sh. N., III., 1507).

برین گونه تاشید بر پشت زاغ برآمد جهان شد چو روشن چراغ

And so, till the sun surmounted the (darkness of) night, and the world became like a brilliant lamp. [Lit., “The sun mounted on the back of the crow ”].

زبون

“To hold as weak, incapable, to despise, depreciate.” (Sh. N., IV., 1828).

چنین داد پاسخ یکی ره نمون که ما داشتیم آن سپه را زبون

An informant thus gave answer, “We held that army as incapable.”

زدن

برزدن (with بر): "To come into conflict" (with),
"to attack." (Sh. N., IV., 1731).

همی این بران برزدی آن برین چنین تادو مهر گرفتند کین

This (minister) attacked the other, and the other this one; (and) so, till the two Princes were full of rancour.

زرد هشت See زرد هشت

زرد هشت From rhymes in the Sh. N. should be "Zard-hisht" "Zoroaster," the name of the chief Mûbid and minister of Nûshîrvân. He was poisoned by Nûshîrvân's successor Huramuzd. (Sh. N., IV., 1794 and 1795).

1794 :

که موبد زبد پاک بودش سرشت مر آن پیر را نام بد زرد هشت

For the Mûbid's nature was devoid of evil. That old man's name was Zoroaster.

1795 :

همی راند اندیشه بر خوب وزشت سوی چاره کشتن زرد هشت

He reflected upon all aspects of the question of how to put Zoroaster to death.

زره دامن "The skirt of a coat of mail." (Sh. N., IV., 1936).

پیاده شد آن مرد پر خاش خر زره دامش را بزد بر کر

The warrior dismounted, and tucked the skirt of his coat of mail into his belt.

تنگ اندر (در) آمدن See زمان تنگ اندر (در) آمدن

زه (zih).

زهی باز کردن "To unfasten a bow-string." (Sh. N., IV., 1892).

زدر چون رسیدند نزدیک تخت زهی از کان باز کردند سخت
فگندند ناگاه بر گردنش بیاویختند آن گرامی تنش

When from the door they came near to the throne, they unfastened a strong string from the bow;

They threw it suddenly over his neck, and strangled that venerable personage.

[A relation of the murder of King Huramuzd].

زیان باز دادن “To compensate for damage or loss suffered.” (Sh. N., IV., 1849).

زیانی که بودش همه باز داد هم از گنج خویشش یکی ساز داد

He compensated him for all the loss he had suffered, and even gave him some means from his own treasure.

زیان بازستدن “To recover damages.” (Sh. N., IV., 1800).

ز خسرو زیان باز باید ستد اگر صد زیانست صد بار صد

Damages must be recovered from Khusrâu (Parvîz): if the damage is a hundred, (then) a hundred times a hundred.

زیبا (with 'izâfat): “Fitted” (for). (Sh. N., III., 1480).

کسی را جز از تو نخوانند شاه که در خورد تاجی و زیبای گاه

They shall call no one but you King, for you are worthy of the crown and fitted for the throne.

س

A “scheme.” (Sh. N., IV., 1851).

بگفت این و خود ساز دیگر گرفت نگه کن کنون تا بمانی شگفت

He said this, and adopted another scheme—look now that you may be amazed.

—“means, effects.” See under زیان باز دادن

“To make an arrangement, to form a scheme.” (Sh. N., IV., 1887).

که من بی گانم کزین راز ما وزین در نهان ساختن ساز ما

بدان لشکر اکنون رسد آگهی نباید که سر تو بدشمن دهی

I doubt not that of these thoughts of ours and of the schemes we are forming in secret

Information will now reach that army—Do not give up your life to the enemy.

ساعت

“To wait a moment or a little while.” (Sh. N., IV., 1805).

سپاسم ز یزدان کنین مرد پیر برآمد چنین گفتۀ نا کنیری

اگر ساعتی دیگر آوردمی بمردی و بسیار غم خوردمی

Thanks be to God that words so indispensable have been uttered by this old man.

If I had waited a little while longer, he would have been dead, and I should have suffered much regret.

“To despise, despising, contempt.” (Cf. سبک داشت) (Sh. N., IV., 1775).

زمهتر سبک داشتن ناسزا است اگر شاه تو بر جهان پادشاست

Contempt from a great Prince is not befitting, (even) though your King be paramount in the world.

سبک مایه “Undignified.” (Sh. N., III., 1413).

هر آنکه که خشم آورد پادشا سبک مایه خواند ورا پارسا

Whenever the King displays anger, the wise man would call him undignified.

سپاس

سپاس (with از) [“Thanks” (be) to]. (Sh. N., IV., 1769). For quotation see under خوار.

سپاس بودن (with نزد کسی) : (For a person) “to be under obligations.” (Sh. N., I., 422-3).

و گر باز گردد سوی شهریار ترا برتری باشد از روزگار
سپاسی بود نزد شاه زمین بزرگان گیتی کنند آفرین

And should (Siyâvash) return to the King (of Persia) you will be further exalted by Fortune.

The King of the world (*i.e.*, the King of Persia) will be under an obligation (to you), and the grandees of the world will applaud.

سپاه

سپاه بردن “To lead an army.” (Sh. N., I, 404).

سپه بردی و جنگ را خواستی که بودت سر بخت و هم راستی

You have led an army and engaged in battle, for you had the height of good fortune and also rectitude and justice.

تخت سه پایه “The tripod throne”; *i.e.*, the “minber” or pulpit, which had three steps. (Sh. N., IV., 1790).

به تخت سه پایه برآید بلند دهد مرجهان را بگفتار پند

He will ascend the tripod throne exalted (above the people); by his words he will give counsel to the world,

[Buzurjmîhr is interpreting a dream of Nûshîrvân's as signifying the coming of Muhammad].

سپردن (sapardan or separdan).

روزگار بید سپردن "To run the risk of evil or calamity."
(Sh. N., I., 465).

بدو گفت چون تیره شد روزگار شاید سپردن بید روزگار

(Garsîvaz) said (to Afrâsiyâb), "When fortune has darkened, we should not run the risk of evil."

گیتی بید سپردن "To have experience of evil or calamity."
(Sh. N., IV., 2036).

هر آن س که گیتی بید بسپرد بمنز اندرش هیچ باشد خرد
بداند که بهرام بسته میان ابا او یکی گشته ایرانیان
بروی سپاهی شاید شکست نشاید روان ریک برکوه بست

Whoever has experience of evil, (and who) has any intelligence in his brain,

Will know that Bahrâm (Chûbîn), who is all prepared, and with whom the Persians have made common cause,

Cannot be defeated by a Grecian army—quicksand cannot be stuck on to a mountain.

جهان را به نیک و بید سپردن "To come across good and evil."
(Sh. N., IV., 2039).

جهان را سپردم به نیک و بید نماندم که روزی بمن بد رسد

I have come across good and evil, but on no day have I let evil reach me.

[Khusrau Parvîz, who is speaking, means that he has never let evil fortune prevail against him].

پی روزگار بید سپردن "To pass the time, to live, unfortunately." (Sh. N., IV., 1805).

فراوان ز گنج پدر برخورد پی روزگاران بید سپرد

He will enjoy abundant wealth in the treasure of his (late) father; he will not live unfortunately in the world.

حق سپاسی سپردن "To acquit oneself of an obligation."
(Sh. N., I., 435).

سپاسی نهادی ازین بر سرم که تازنده ام حق آن نسپرم

Through this you have laid an obligation upon me of

which I shall not be able to acquit myself as long as I live.

سپنجاب (Sipanjâb): The name of a country near Sogdiana, to which Kâmûs-e Kashânî, an ally of Afrâsiyâb, who was ultimately killed by Rustam, belonged. (Sh. N., II., 504).

سپنجاب و سغدی بگودرز داد بسی پند و منشور آن مرز داد

(Rustam) gave Sipanjâb and the Sogdiana territory to Gûdarz; he gave him much counsel and the mandate of those regions.

سخت

سخت کردن "To secure, fasten, to lock or bolt." (Sh. N., IV., 1894).

خود اندر پرستشگاه آمد چو گرد بزودی در آهنبین سخت کرد

(Bandûz) himself ran into the place of worship like lightning, and hastily secured the iron door.

سر (sar).

سر آوردن (as بر آوردن): "To bring to an end." (Sh. N., IV., 1835).

گر آیم همان پیش تو ناگهان بترسم که بر من سر آری زمان

If I should appear at once before you, I fear that you would bring my days to an end.

[Lit., "bring time to an end for me "]

سرگران شدن (with از): "To be vexed" (with). (Sh. N., I., 422).

ترا سرزنش باشد از مهتران سراو همان از تو گردد گران

You would be reprehended by the great, and (Siyâvash) also would be vexed with you.

سوی سر نهادن (with سوی): "to go" (towards or to). (Sh. N., II., 518).

سران سوی ایران نهادند گرم نهانی چنان چون بودند نرم

They went swiftly towards Persia, secretly and so softly and quietly.

[سرها for سران].

بر سر آمدن "To be added." (Sh. N., IV., 1909).

چنین داد پاسخ که ده باد و ماه برین بگذرد باز یابی تو گاه

دگر بر سر آید ده و پنج روز تو کردی شهنشاه کیتی فروز

He thus gave answer, "When twelve months have elapsed, you will gain the throne again.

Then when fifteen days are added (to this), you will become the world-illuminating King."

بر سر نهادن "To add to, to give in addition." (Sh. N., IV., 1762).

از آن کس که بستدم اورا دهید دگر نیزش از گنج بر سر نهد

Give it to the person from whom he has taken it ; give him also in addition something from the treasury.

نه سر نه بن پیدا دیدن (with را) : "Not to know what to make of" (a thing). (Sh. N., II., 503).

چو بشنید خسرو سرا سر سخن نه سر دید پیدا مرا آفرانه بن

When (Kai) Khusrau had heard all the envoy had to say, he did not know what to make of the matter.

سراییدن "To speak." (Sh. N., IV., 2049).

بدید ار کردم همه راه خویش پر از درد بودم ز بدخواه خویش

بس از مرگ من بر سر انجمن زبانش مگر بد سراید ز من

I have shown you my mind entirely, (so that you see how) I am distressed by my enemy,

Lest, after my death, his tongue speak evil of me before the people.

"To distinguish oneself" (with به) سرفرازی کردن (by something). (Sh. N., III., 1464).

بد و گفت منذر که ای سرفراز بفرهنگ نوزت نیاز

چو هنگام فرهنگ باشد ترا بدانائی آهنگ باشد ترا

بایوان نما من که بازی کنی بیازی همی سرفرازی کنی

Munzir said to him : "Exalted (Prince), you have yet no need of learning ;

When the time comes for you to learn, and you are fitted to acquire knowledge,

I will not let you go on playing in the palace and distinguish yourself (simply) by play."

"To neglect." (Sh. N., IV., 2017).

همی خواندیش شاه او چاره جست همی داشت آن نامه شاه سست

The King summoned him more than once, but he practised evasion, and neglected the King's letters.

سگالش جست (with با): "To consult" (with). (Sh. N., III., 1461).

سگالش بخوئیم جز باردان نردمند و پیداردل موبدان

I will consult only with the learned, the wise and enlightened Mûbids.

سگالیدن (with با): "To consult" (with). (Sh. N., IV., 1788).

بهر کار با مرد دانا سگال برنج تن از پادشاهی منال

In every affair consult with the wise—do not complain of the trouble entailed by sovereignty.

سندروس (sandarûs): Explained in the Sh. N. Glos. as "a gum resembling amber," but with چون means always "yellow," *i.e.*, "pallid." (Sh. N., IV., 1892).

هم آنگاه برخاست آوای کوس رخ خونیان گشت چون سندروس

At that time arose the roll of the drum; the faces of the assassins grew pallid (at the sound).

سو (سوی). "Side, direction." That سو has the longer form سوی (as روی) is proved by verses in which the longer form is required by the metre. Cf., *e.g.*, Sh. N., II., 528):

بدان سوروآن گشت پیران نیو وزین سوی شاه وفرنگیس وکیو

The hero Pîrân went in that direction, and in this direction went the Prince, Farangîs, and Gîv.

—"On the side of," (in descent). (Sh. N., I., 371).

نیره جهاندار سام سوار سوی مادر از تخمه نامدار

A descendant of the world-holder Sârn, the noted horseman, and on the mother's side, of the stock of a famous (Prince).

—"From, back to", (in descent) (Sh. N., II., 508).

سرافراز و ز تخمه کی قباد ز مادر سوی توردار دژاد

A Prince exalted and of the stock of Kai Khubâd, and through his mother descended from Tûr.

سودمند آ مدن (with را of the person): For one "to be profited by." (Sh. N., IV., 1742).

بخوبی بسی رانده ام با تو پند نیامد ترا پند من سودمند

I have given you much good counsel, but you have not been profited by my counsel.

“ (فارغ گشتن and the sense of از) سیر گشتن ” (with) (Sh. N., IV., 1913).

چو گشت از نوشتن نویسنده سیر نگه کرد قیصر سواری دلیر

When the secretary had done with writing, the Kaisar fixed upon a bold horseman (as bearer of the letter).

ش

Haftvâd's eldest son, from whom Firdausî received the old story of the Indian Râjâ Jamhûr and his son and nephew Gau and Talhand. (Sh. N., IV., 1726).

چنین گفت فرزانۀ شاهوی پیر ز شاهوی پیر این سخن یادگیر

Thus spoke the old sage Shâhûy—be mindful of the words of Shâhûy.

شتاب آ مدن (with را or به of the person impatient and از of the cause): "To get impatient" (of or at) (Sh. N., III., 1471).

چو شد تیره شب رای خواب آمدش هم از ایستادن شتاب آمدش

When dark night came on he had a mind to sleep, and got impatient of standing up.

شرم

بشرم آ مدن (with از): "To be shamed" (before). (Sh. N., IV., 1912).

که بوینده گشتیم گرد جهان بشرم آمدیم از کمان و مہان

For I have been wandering round the world; I am shamed before great and small.

“ To take game.” (Sh. N., IV., 1801).

وزان پس به نخبیر شد شهر یار بیاورد هر کس فراوان شکار

Afterwards the King went to the chase, and everyone took abundant game.

“ Undulation”. (Redhouse).

شکن بر شکن “With many graceful undulations.” (Sh. N., III., 1519).

یکی چاهه گوی و دیگر چنگ زن سوم با بکوبد شکن بر شکن

One is a singer of odes, another a lyrist. the third dances with many graceful undulations.

[Cf. also the “Haft Paikar” ارشکن]

شکیفتن (with از): “To be able to bear absence” (from), “To be able to do without.” (Sh. N., IV., 1800).

نبودی جدایک زمان از پدر پدر نیز نشکیفتی از پدر

He would not be a moment apart from his father, who also could not bear a moment's absence from his son.

—(with negative, and از): “To yield” (to). (Sh. N., IV., 1896).

سپاه مرا خیره بفریفتی ز بدگوهر خویش نشکیفتی

You have wickedly deceived my army, you have yielded to your evil nature.

شگفت “Astonished.”

شگفت ماندن (with در): “To be astonished” (at). (Sh. N., III., 1497).

مانداندردان شاه ایران شگفت وزان دردل اندیشه ها برگرفت

The King of Persia was astonished at that and reflected much in his heart upon it.

شنبلید or شنبلیت “Fenugreek.” With چون means “yellow,” i.e., generally, “pallid.” (Sh. N., IV., 1912).

چو قیصر بر انسان سخنها شنید بر خسارشد چون گل شنبلید

When the Kaisar heard such words, his face turned pallid.

[Lit., “he became in face like the fenugreek flower.”]

شوریدن (with با): “To clash, to come into collision” (with) (Sh. N., IV., 1803).

بدو گفت موبد که با این سپاه سزدگر بشوریم با ساه شاه

The Mûbid said to him, “With such an army as this we may well come into collision with King Sâva.”

شهد “Honey.” Used for دریای شهد (the Hîrmand

river), in (Sh. N., III., 1473.)

ترا چاره اینست کز راه شهد سوی چشمه سو گرائی بمهد

Your resource is to go in your litter, by way of the (river) Shahd, to the stream (called) Sau.

شهر A "country." Common in this sense, especially in the Shâh Nâma.

—A "kingdom." (Sh. N., II., 530).

اگر باشهنشاه شهری بدی ترازین جهان نیز بهری بدی

If the King had a kingdom, would you also have (even) a share of this world (of his) !

ع

عرض عارض (‘araz) : pl. of عارض used apparently as a singular in Sh. N., IV., 1803 : "Muster-master and reviewer of an army."

عرض را بخوان تا یار د شمار که چند است مردم که آید بکار

عرض با جریده بزدیک شاه ییامد ییامد ورد مر سپاه

Summon the muster-master, and let him bring his account of the number of men who are fit for service.

The muster-master came with his register before the King, and submitted the number of the army.

عرضگاه (‘arzgâh, but scans, in Sh. N., IV., 1808, as arazgâh) : A "mustering-place of troops."

سپید بشد تا عرضگاه شاه بفرمود تا پیش او شد سپاه

The general came to the King's mustering-place, and gave order that the troops should muster before him.

عنان

عنان پیچیدن "To display horsemanship," or simply "to ride." (Sh. N., III., 1465).

بگو تا به پیچند پیشم عنان بچشم اندر آرد نوک سنان

"Tell them to display horsemanship before me and to bear away the ring at the point of the lance."

عنان گران کردن "To tighten the reins." (Sh. N., II., 517).

چو یک نیمه برید از آن کوه شاه گران کرد بازار آن عنان سیاه

همی بود تا پیش او رفت کیو چنین گفت بیدار دل شاه نیو

When the Prince had ridden up half the mountain, he tightened the black reins.

He waited until Gîv had come up to him, and then that Prince, valiant and alert, thus spoke.

عنبر "Ink" (Sh. N., I., 423).

نخستین که برنامه بنهاد دست عنبر سرخامه را کرد پست
 جهان آفرین راستایش گرفت بزرگی و رایش نمایش گرفت

First, when he put his hand to the letter-paper, and dipped the point of the reed into the ink,

He began to praise the creator of the world and to set forth His greatness and wisdom.

دردن (with بر): "To find fault" (with).
 (Sh. N., IV., 1911).

همه داستان را سخن بشمرند نباید که برنامه عیب آورند

That they may not reckon all the account (empty) words; they must not (have to) find fault with the letter.

— — "To disgrace". (Sh. N., II., 523).

شود رنج من هفت ساله بیاد و دیگر که عیب آورم بر تو

My toil of seven years would be nullified, and, in addition, I should disgrace (my) descent.

ف

فر (far, farr; as خوره or خره): "The divine radiance, light, or illumination" (received especially by Kings).
 (Sh. N., I., 461). See under گوهی

فرازیدن (with به): "To be attached" (to). "To be in love" (with). (Sh. N., IV., 1783).

سپاسم بیزدان که فرزند هست خردمند و دانا و ایزد پرست
 و زایشان بهر مزدنا زانترم برای و بهوشش فرا زانترم

Thanks be to God that I have sons, wise, learned, and devout;

But I am most proud of Huramuzd among them, and am most in love with his good sense and intelligence.

[Words of Nûshîrvân when about to appoint Huramuzd his successor].

فراموش بودن (with dative) : "To be forgotten" (by).
(Sh. N., IV., 1788).

مبادت فراموش گفتار من و گردورمانی ز دیدار من

Let not my words be forgotten by you, even though
you be far from my sight.

فرجام "Prosperity, success." (Sh. N., I., 386).

بدو گفت کاین خود بکام منست بزرگی بفرجام و نام منست

The King said to her, "This is indeed according to
my desire ; greatness is through my prosperity and name."

فرسوده (as فرسوده رزم) : "Veteran." (Sh. N., IV.,
1810).

زهر زن و زاده و دوده را نه پیچد روان مرد فرسوده را

Having in mind wife, children, and clan, the soul of the
veteran would not recoil (from battle).

فرود آمدن و بر نشستن "To be practised in riding." (Sh.
N., I., 359).

بیا مدد مان تا میان سپاه ز لشکر بر طوس شد کینه خواه

که او بود بر زین و نیزه بدست جوگر گین فرود آمد و بر نشست

He came rushing on among the troops, and sought
battle with Tûs out of all the army :

(With Tûs), who was in the saddle with lance in hand,
and who was practised in riding even as Gurgîn.

فره (farra) ; (as فر) : "The divine radiance or light."
(Sh. N., I., 461).

See under کوه

افزونی (افزونی) : "Supereminence." (Sh. N., III,
1456).

دگر آنکه لشکر بداد بداد بداند افزونی مرد تواد

Again that he should treat the army with rectitude ;
and that he should recognize the supereminence of the
man of race.

افسوس (افسوس) : "To use taunts." (Sh. N.,
IV., 1984).

چنان دان که هر کس که دارد افسوس هم او بابد از پرخ کرده کوس

Know this that any one who uses taunts will himself suffer a blow from the rolling sphere, (and so be subject to taunts).

ق

قلم رفتن (with بر): (For a thing), "to be preordained." (Sh. N., I., 481).

اگر زומרانچ خواهد فرود قلم رفت و این بودنی کار بود

If I am to suffer much trouble from him, it has been preordained and is a thing which was to be.

ک

کار بر آراستن (with به): "To prepare" (for). (Sh. N., II., 518).

درکنج را کرد شاه استوار براه بیابان بر آراست کار

The Prince secured the door of the treasury, and then prepared for the road to the desert.

کار کردن (with بر): "To strike"; lit., "To act" (upon). (Sh. N., I., 341).

سیاوش با سپر دگر بر نشست بینداخت آن گوی نختی زد دست
پس آنکه بچوگان بر و کار کرد چنان شد که باماه دیدار کرد

Siyâvash mounted another horse; he threw up the ball a little,

Then struck it with the polo-stick, so that it paid a visit to the moon.

کار گرفتن (with به): "To be employed" (with), "to engage" (in or with). (Sh. N., I., 450).

وزان پس بخوردن گرفتند کار می و خوان خوالیگرو میگسار

And after that they engaged in feasting, and were employed with wine, the tray, the cook, and the cup-bearer.

—(with از):

سه روز اندرین گلشن زرنکار بیاشیم و از بادیه گیریم کار

Let us remain three days in this gold-adorned abode of pleasure and engage in (drinking) wine.

کارجوی (as کارآگاه or خبرجوی in Sh. N., IV., 2017): a "spy," an "informer."

یسا مدچو نزدیک قیصر رسید یکی کار جویش بره بر بدید

The messenger went on, and when not far from the Kaiser an informer saw him on the road.

کار

خداوندکار A "husbandman." (Sh. N., IV., 1800).

درمهای گنجی بران کشتزار بریزند پیش خداوندکار

Let them pour out before the husbandman coin from the treasury for that sown-field.

کارنده A "husbandman." (Sh. N., IV., 1800).

اگر کشمندی بود کوفته وزان رنج کارنده آشوفته

* * * وگراسپ درکشتزارش شود

* * * دم اسپ وگوشش یساید برید

If a sown-field be trodden down, and the husbandman be disturbed by that trouble ;

And if a horse get into a sown-field, the horse's tail and ears must be cut off.

To gain success " (with بر) : " To gain success " (against). (Sh. N., IV., 1912).

مرا اندرین کار یاری کنید برین بی وفا کامگاری کنید

Give me your help in this affair ; gain success against this faithless man.

کردار " Mode, fashion." (Used with a preceding به)

بکردار " In the mode or fashion of." (*Passim* in the Sh. N. and other works).

[cf. بدین کردار " In this mode or fashion." (L. A., II., 41).]

کژ

کژگوی " Insincere of speech." (Sh. N., IV., 1792).

میامیز با مردم کژگوی که او را نباشد سخن جز بروی

Do not associate with a man of insincere speech, since his speech is only for effect.

[Lit., " he has speech only to the face"].

کژی

بکژی بردن " To falsify." (Sh. N., III., 1496).

تو پیمان که کردی بکژی مبر نباید که خوانمت بی دادگر

Do not falsify the engagement you made (with me): let me not have to call you unjust.

کش (Kash): "Elated." (Sh. N., IV., 1885).

بر زمی که کردی چنین کش مشو هنرمند بودی منی فش مشو

Do not be so much elated at the battle you have fought; you have displayed valour and skill, do not be boastful.

کشی ("Elation.").

کشی کردن "To be elated." (Sh. N., IV., 1834).

به پیر وزی اندر تو کشی مکن اگر تو نوی هست گیتی کهن

Do not be elated in victory; if you are young, the world is old.

[i.e., the world is experienced in effecting changes; you do not know what it has in store].

کشیدن

(پا) See (پا) پای کشیدن

(پا) : "To retire, withdraw" (Sh. N., IV., 1859).

چو بشنید خسر و که شاه جهان همی کشتن او سگال دهنان

شب تیره از طیسفون درکشید تو گفتی که گشت از جهان ناپدید

When Khusrau (Parvîz) heard that the King of the world (Huramuzd) was secretly thinking of compassing his death,

He withdrew in the darkness of night from Ctesiphon—it was as though he had become invisible to the world.

—"To pass." (as time). (v. intrans.). (Sh. N., IV., 1907).

چونیمی ز تیره شب اندر کشید ز باره یکی بهره شد ناپدید

When a half of the dark night had passed, a portion of the wall disappeared.

کان

کان راز به کردن (ba—zih), means "to string a bow," not "to draw it." (Sh. N., III., 521).

دوشیر زیان پیش آن بیشه دید کان راز به کرد و اندر کشید

He saw two ferocious lions on the outskirts of the forest ; he strung his bow and drew it.

کَانَ رَازِیِ سِیَوَدَن (Sapardan) : "To destroy (one's) value or importance." (Sh. N., I., 460).

بدلِ کُفتِ اراید و نکه با من براه سیاوش بیاید بزد یک شاه
بدین شیر مردی و چندین خرد کَانَ مرا زیری بسپرد

He said to himself, "If, now, Siyâvash go with me to the King,

With all his valour and so much wisdom he will destroy my value and importance."

[For the reading کَانَ of the text we have the support of the idiom کَانَ بر طاق بلند گذاشتن "To pretend to perfection"; but it is possible that the correct reading may be کَانَ "opinion, surmise," but this should refer to opinions and surmises *expressed* to the King, کَانَ being itself merely subjective].

کَم سَخَن "Quiet, inoffensive." (Sh. N., I., 461).

نخستین ز توران در آمد بدی که بر خاست از و فرّه ایزدی
شنیدی که با ایرج کَم سَخَن با غازی کینه چه افگند بن

First evil was brought in by Tûr, from whom departed the divine light.

You have heard how hostile he became early to (his) inoffensive (brother) Iraj.

کِنَارِ گِرَقَن (kinâr, with را) : "To embrace" (Sh. N., IV., 1794).

گرفتند مر یکدیگر را کنار پر از درد و مژگان چو ابر بهار

They embraced one another, full of grief, and with eyelashes like clouds in spring.

کُنْد (Kund) : "Discouraged, depressed." (Sh. N., II., 522).

به نیروی یزدان و دییم شاه ترسم من از جنگ توران سپاه
تو باشاه بر شو به بالای تند ز پیران و لشکر مشو هیچ کند

Under the might of God and the Prince's crown, I fear not battle with the army of Tûrân.

Go with the Prince to the top of a steep hill, and be in no wise discouraged at Pîrân and the army.

کندن "To cut off;" (e.g., the head). (Sh. N., II., 536).

بخواهشگری رفتم ای شهریار و گرنه سرش را بکندی زار

I interceded for him, O King, otherwise he would have cut off his head lamentably.

کُور "Lost, confounded, in a desperate condition." (Sh. N., IV., 1796).

سرانجام زانند یسئ نابکار شوی در جهان کور و بیچاره وار

In the end, through your wicked thoughts and suspicions, you will become lost and helpless in the world

کوه سر "The top of a mountain or hill." (Sh. N., IV., 1932-3).

نیا طوس و کستم و بندوی و شاه بیا لا گزشتند از ان رزمگاه

از ان کوه لشکر همی دید شاه چپ و راست و قلب و جناح سپاه

چو خسرو چنان دید بر پای خواست از ان کوه سر سر بر آورد در راست

Niyâtûs, Gustahm, Bandûy, and the King retired to a mount from the battlefield.

From that hill the King could see the army—left and right, centre, and wings.

When Khusrau (Parvîz, the King) saw (the fight between the two champions), he rose to his feet, and raised his head high on the hill top.

[کوه سر is explained by the Sh. N. Glos. as an abbreviation of کوه سار (a mountainous country), which in the above it is not].

کَهِتر A "subject, subordinate, inferior." (Sh. N., IV., 1775).

چنین گفت موبد که من کَهِترم ز فرمان شاه جهان نگذرم

The Mûbid said (to the Kaisar), "I am your subject, I shall not transgress the King's command."

کین

دگر اسپ شبدیز کز تاختن نمائی بهنگام کین آختن "To engage in hostility." (Sh. N., IV., 2015).

Again the (famous) black horse Shabdîz, which in the time of engaging in hostility did not lag behind in the charge.

کین خواستن "To exact vengeance" (for), (with اضافت of the person avenged). (Sh. N., I., 365).

وگر چون ستاره شوی بر سپهر
ببری ز روی زمین پاک مهر
بخواهد هم از تو بدر کین من
چو بیند که خشتت بالین من

And if like the star you mount upon the sky, and cut off the pure sun from the face of the earth—

Even then will my father exact vengeance for me from you, when he sees that the bricks (of the Tomb) are my pillow.

[Suhrâb's words to Rustam when mortally wounded by him].

کینه

کینه باز آوردن (with اضافت of the person avenged): "To exact vengeance" (for). (Sh. N., II., 488).

که تا کینه شاه باز آورم
سردشمنان زیر کا ز آورم
کله خود و شمشیر جام منست
بباز و خم خام دام منست

For until I have exacted vengeance for the Prince, and brought the enemy under the sword,

My tiara shall be the helmet, my cup the sword,

My hunting-snare the folds of the lasso on my arm.
[Rustam is vowing vengeance against Afrâsiyâb for the death of Siyâvash.].

"The sword"; lit., "the shears"

ک

کاویشه (gâv-e pîsa): "The world, time," as offering the two colours of day and night; lit., "the piebald ox."

Vullers, Steingass, and the glossary to the Shâh Nâma have گاویشه (gav-bîsha), which could signify only "ox-wood", and, of course cannot have the sense of

“world, time.” Macan has گاو پیسه (*i.e.*, gâve-pîsa.) (Sh. N., I., 461).

(گاو پیسه در حرم بودن) *i.e.*, گاو پیسه بچرم اندر بودن

“To have still the power, opportunity, or time to deliberate and act”; lit., For “the piebald ox to be (still) in (its) skin.” (Sh. N., I., 461).

سپهدار توران از آن بدتر است کنون گاو پیسه بچرم اندر است

The Leader of Tûrân is still worse, (but) you have still the time to deliberate and act.

[Afrâsiyâb sends his brother Garsîvâz to bring Siyâvash and his wife Farangîs (the daughter of Afrâsiyâb) to Tûrân. Garsîvâz, who is inimical to Siyâvash, tries to deceive him as to Afrâsiyâb's intentions.]

گذارش The “interpretation” (of a dream). (with اضافت or accus., and of the thing predicted). (Sh. N., IV., 1789, rubric.). (Cf. too گزارش).

خواب دیدن نوشیروان و گذارش بوزرجمهر آن راه پیدایش محمد

The dream of Nûshîrvân, and Buzurjmihr's interpretation of it as predicting the birth of Muhammad.

گذاشتن “To pass, traverse, travel.” (Sh. N., IV., 1745).

چو بگذاشتی تا سر آوردگاه نشستی چو فرزانہ بردست شاه

When it has passed to the end of the battlefield, it is established as a vazîr by the King.

[“It” is the pawn in chess; “the battlefield” is the chess-board, and “vazir” is the queen].

گذردادن “To let (one) pass.” (Sh. N., II., 530).

بدو گفت گیو آنچه خواهی بخواه گذرده که تنگ اندر آمد سپاه

Gîv said (to the toll-gatherer), “Demand what you wish, (but) let us pass (over the river), for the army has come quite close.”

[Afrâsiyâb is pursuing the young Prince Kai Khusrau who is accompanied by the hero Gîv.]

کدر کردن (with از): “To pass” (by), “to approach”; “to enter” (into). (Sh. N., IV., 1786).

هر آن کس که راند سخن برگزاف بود بر سر انجن مرد لاف

بگاهی که تنها بود در نهفت بشیمان بود ز آب سخنها که گفت
هم اندر زمان چون گشاید سخن به پیش آر دآن لافهای کهن
هنر مند گر مردم بی هنر کس از آفرینش نگیرد گذر

Whoever talks vainly and foolishly (and) is a boaster in the company of people,

(And) then when alone in private is repentant of the words he has spoken,

(But) directly he speaks (again). brings out his old bragging --

No person, whether learned or ignorant, will enter into praise of him.

گذر یافتن (with از) : "To pass " (beyond), "to exceed." (Sh. N., IV., 1853).

ز چیزی که بخشش کند دادگر چنان دان که کوشش نیابد گذر

Know that one cannot by one's efforts exceed the thing which the just one apportions.

[Lit., "that efforts cannot exceed "].

-(with بر) "To find place " (in), "to reach." (Sh. N., I., 430).

همی از تو جویند شاهان هنر که یابد بهر کار بر تو گذر

Kings seek and derive their merit from you, since in every matter it finds its place in you.

[Siyāvash is speaking to Afrāsiyāb].

کرائی گرفتن "To suffer depression." (Sh. N., II., 531).

اگر من شوم غرقه گر مادرت کرائی نباید که گیرد سرت

If I, or (even) your mother be drowned, you must not let your head suffer depression.

کراینده (with اضافت) : "Inclined, favourable " (to). (S. N., IV., 1769).

چنین داد پاسخ که یزدان پاک پرستنده را سر بر آود ز خاک
فلک را گراینده او کند جهان را همه بنده او کند

He thus gave answer, "The pure God raises the head of his worshipper from the earth ;

He makes the Sky favourable to him, and all the world his slave."

گرد (gard)

دل از گردشتن See under دل

گرد (gird).

گرد A "city." (Steingass). In this sense it is no doubt from the Pahlavî "kart," "made"; cf., e.g.,

ز دگرد دارا بگرد This too explains names such as

گردش تیغ "Sword-play, sword exercise, the use of the sword." (Sh. N., III., 1465).

سدیگر که چوگان و تیروکان همان گردش تیغ با بد گمان

The third (Mûbid to teach him) polo and archery, and also the use of the sword against the enemy.

[Treating of Bahrâm Gûr's education with Munzir in Hîra].

گرتن

گرتن (with به): "To subject" (to). (Sh. N., IV., 1805).

پرسش گرفت اختر دخترش که تا چون بود در زمان اخترش

He subjected his daughter's star to interrogation, to know how her star might be at the time.

[Huramuzd is told by Mihrân Satâd, then a very old man, of the fortune foretold about his mother, the daughter of the Khâkân of Turkistan].

(خواهش "To make"; (as, a supplication, خواش). (Sh. N., IV., 1743).

چو از مادر آگاهی آمد بگو برانگیخت آن باره تیز رو

پیامد و راتنگ در برگرفت بر از خون مژه خواهش اندر گرفت

When intelligence of his mother reached Gau, he spurred up his rapid steed.

Arriving, he embraced her closely; with tears on his lashes he made a supplication.

[Talhand, the favourite son of Gau's mother dies on the defeat of his army by Gau, as the King dies in chess when checkmated without being touched. In connection with this old Indian story is detailed the origin of chess].

— (with به): “to offer excuses” (to), “to ask pardon” (of). Sh. N., IV., 1907 and 1908).

1907 :

چونیمی ز تیره شب اندر کشید ز باره یکی بهره شد نا بدید
همه شارسان ماندزان در شگفت یزدان سقف پوزش اندر گرفت

When half of the dark night had elapsed, a portion of the wall disappeared.

The whole city remained in amazement; the bishop asked pardon of God.

[A Christian city had refused hospitality to Khusrau Parviz and his troops, and a portion of the city-wall disappears or falls down in reproof from the effects of a miraculous wind].

1908.

ز گفتار او ماند خسرو شگفت چو شرم آمدش پوزش اندر گرفت

At his words Khusrau Parviz remained in amazement, and being ashamed, he offered excuses (for his attempted deception).

گرم گو and گرم سخن in Steingass,

گرم “Impressive, earnest.” cf. گفتار گرم in Sh. N., III., 1409.

گزین کردن (with از): “To prefer” (to). (Sh. N., IV., 1735).

بدوده همه گنج نابرده رنج توجان برادر گزین کن ز گنج

Give him treasure untrammelled by toil; prefer the life of your brother to treasure.

[The adviser of Gau is speaking to him about his rebellious half-brother Talhand].

— “To choose, select,” (Sh. N., IV., 1735).

ز درد برادر پر از آب روی گزین کرد نیک اختری چرب گوی
بدو گفت رو سوی طلحند شو بگویش که پردرد و رنجست گو

With face bathed in tears in trouble at his brother, he selected a man of happy fortune. a fluent speaker.

He said to him, “Go, approach Talhand, and tell him Gau is full of troubles and pain.”

گستاخ

بد و گفت کیخسروای شیرفش روان راز سوگند یزدان مکش
کنون دل بسوگند گستاخ کن به خنجر و را گوش سوراخ کن
Kai Khusrau said to him, "O lion-like man, do not despair at your oath to God.
(Sh. N., II., 527).

Make your mind easy now as to your oath : pierce his ear with your dagger.
[Giv has sworn to shed the blood of Pîrân, the vazir of Afrâsiyâb, and Prince Kai Khusrau releases him from the oath by the above device].

گسسته

گسسته "Discontinued." (Sh. N., III., 1506).

بت آرای یبند چو ایشان بچین گسسته شود بر بتان آفرین
"If an idolater should see (beauties) like them in China, (his) praise of idols would be discontinued.

بد و گفت گیوای گسسته خرد
"Devoid of intelligence." (Sh. N., II, 530).

سخن زین نشان خود کی اندر خورد
Giv said to him, "O you devoid of intelligence, how can words of this nature be fitting?"

کش "Elated." See کش

کشی "Elation." See کشی

کشی کردن "To be elated." See گشی کردن

کشتن "To have passed, to be over." (Sh. N., I., 366).

مرا گفت کاین از بدریاد گار بدار و بین تا کی آید بکار
کنون کارگر شده که بیگار گشت پسر پیش چشم پدر خوار گشت

She said to me, "Keep this as a token and memorial of your father, and see when it will be effective."

It has now become effective when the fight is over, and the son has been held as naught by his father.

[Suhrâb is speaking to Rustam, after being mortally wounded by him, of a token by which he might have

recognised him had it not been shown too late].

— (with به) : “To be changed ” (into), “to turn ” (to). (Sh. N., IV., 1842).

همه رنج او سر بسر باد گشت همه داد و دانش به بیداد گشت

All his toil has been entirely nullified ; all his justice and sense have turned to injustice.

[Huramuzd is speaking of his rebellious general Bah-râm-e Chûbîn].

(with به) : “To be referred ” (to), “to be committed to the charge ” (of). (Sh. N., IV., 1808).

بدو گفت سالار لشکر تویی بتو باز گرد د بد و نیکوئی

(Huramuzd) said to (Bah-râm-e Chûbîn), “You are the general of the army : all things are committed to your charge.”

— “To hold back, to keep away.” (v. Neuter). (Sh. N., IV., 1770).

چو هنگامه رفتن آید فراز زمانه نگر دد به پر هیز باز

When the time of departure comes upon us, death does not hold back for (any) regimen.

— (with سوی) : “To be reconciled ” (with). (Sh. N., I., 422).

و گرباز گردد سوی شهریار ترا برتری باشد از روزگار

And if (Siyâvash) become reconciled with the King (of Persia), your exaltitude will be enhanced by Fortune.

[The above, however, may be intended literally : “And if Siyâvash return to the King ”].

گشن (gushn).

گشن کردن “To impregnate.” (Sh. N., I., 317).

شنیدم که چل مادیان گشن کرد یکی تخم برداشت از وی بدرد

I have heard that (the stallion) impregnated forty mares, and that (but) one conceived from him with difficulty.

کم (gum).

کم کرده “Dropped,” (as settled). (Sh. N., I., 420).

ز بهر تو اوم بیازداد و مخنهای کم کرده باز آرد او

He troubles me also on account of the indemnity and the hostages : he brings up matters that have been dropped, as settled.

گمان (now pronounced gamân): "Thoughts, mind."
(Sh. N., IV., 1788).

همیشه نرد با سبان تو باد همه نیکی اندر گمان تو باد

May wisdom always be your watchman ; may naught but goodness be in your thoughts.

کنج "Profit," as the result of رنج "toil." (Sh. N., II., 517).

کنون جان خسرو شد و رنج من همی رنج بدد رجهان کنج من

Now has the Prince's life been lost, and (all) my toil - my profit in the world has been (naught but) my toil.

گوهر "Stock, race," (in respect of national character).
(Sh. N., I., 461).

ز گوهر مراد دل اندیشه خاست که یاد آدم آن سخنان راست

نخستین ز تو را ندر آمد بدی که بر خواست از وفرة ایزدی

شنیدی که با ایرج کم سخن با غار کینه چه افگند بن

Apprehension has arisen in my heart as to race, for I remember those true accounts :

The evil started first with Tûr -from whom departed the divine radiance—

You have heard how he set out in the beginning with malice and enmity against (his) inoffensive (brother) Iraj.

[Tûr, the second son of Farîdûn, was given Turkistan and China ; Iraj, the third son, Persia. With these two began the hostility between Tûrân and Irân].

گیتی ("The world").

گیتی "The part of the world belonging to a King."
(Sh. N., I., 457).

اگر تو را دل نگشتی دژم ز گیتی با ایرج نکر دی سم

If the heart of Tûr had not become dissatisfied and antipathetic, he would not have wronged Iraj on account of his territory.

[Tûr is dissatisfied with his portion, Turkistan and China, and covets that of his younger brother, Iraj, which is Persia, and is supposed to give supreme authority].

گیتی فروز "The sun." (Sh. N., IV., 1901, *et passim*).

بایران نباشند بیش از سه روز چهارم جواز چرخ گیتی فروز
بر آید همه نزد خسرو شوند بدین بوم و بریش ازین نغنونند

Let them not remain more than three days in Persia ;
on the fourth, when in the sky.

The sun rises, let them all go to Khusrau Parvîz, and
rest no longer in this land.

[The reference is to such as should not be content with
the intended usurpation of Persia by Bahrâm-e Chûbîn.]

C. E. WILSON.

(*To be continued.*)

BOMBAY IN THE REIGN OF AURANGZEB

THE DOCUMENTS—(*concluded.*)

XXVII.

Extracts of a General Letter to Bombay
dated 19th March 1689.

OUR GENERAL OF INDIA &ca. &ca.

* * * *

We understand by Mr. Butler and others that there is a very good and usefull sort of Callicoe made at Bombay that will wear and wash better than most that comes from Surratt, and that they can make it of any Lengths and Breadths that shalbe desired, as also that there are come to you many Manufacturers in Silke that can make Silks of all kinds and Colours, having the Skill of Silk dyeing as well as throwing and weaving. They likewise say They can buy Silks and Callicoes made upon our Island of Bombay, for their own Apparrell, Stronger and cheaper there, than at Surrat. This is such a foundation for the beginning of a trade as is capable of a vast improvement; in order whereunto we would have you buy and send us some Bales by every Ship of such your homemade Callicoes and Silks, such as they are. In silks the nearer you can come to a resemblance of our Bengal Taffities, the better they will sell here, And in Callicoes, the longer your pieces are, if to 20 yards each, the more acceptable they wilbe, and Yard wide's better than Narrower. But to encourage your Manufacture, send Us some of both Sorts such as they be, and study

We understand there is an Usefull Sort of Callicoe made at Bombay of all lengths.

and Severall Silk Manufacturers there.

Send us by every Ship Some Bales as well of Silke as Callicoes.

Silks likest Bengall Taffaties and Callicoes of 20 yds. long and yd. wide.

all means within your power to promote the employment of those industrious Manufacturers, by which means you will have many more of them resort to you. And by degrees goe on to finish the Moat about our Fort, and to take into Enclosure of our Fort the great Tank as was formerly ordered.

We apprehend the best and cheapest way to Effect any of those works that depend on poor mens Labour is by Contracts with small Undertakers, as two or three Rods in length and breadth to one Undertaker, and as much more to another &ca. because you have no men of Ability to undertake a great work, and to do it all by day work we doubt will double the expence, because you may want diligent men to follow the Labourers so closely as they should be looked after, and as they wilbe followed by the Persons that shall undertake the work in part and parcells.

The manufacturers in Silk that are lately come to inhabit upon our Island, we suppose may be mostly from Chowl and the parts thereabouts, and that the Silks they make may be such as we commonly called Chowl Taffaties, of which you may send us five or 6 Chests for a Tryall, and for the encouragement of your new Inhabitants, but charge them to make them very good and Serviceable and of as great Lengths as they can.

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All knowing men now in England do agree with us that we have attained a great and growing point by settling our Estates, and the best of our Servants upon that Island ; and that if we hold our own, the world will come to us, That is the Banians and most sort of trading people, and the Island will in a short time become a greater Mart for Nations than Batavia now is or Ormus was formerly ; in Order whereunto it will be necessary that you should diligently pursue the making of those Conveniencies for Trade upon the Island, which we formerly directed *Vizt.* a Convenient Wharf for landing of Goods with two or more Cranes upon it, and convenient

make a good Wharf at Bombay and Cranes to land goods with as also Warehouses.

Warehouses, in some sort after the manner as the Wharfs between the Bridge, and the Tower of London, as also a convenient Mold or Peer for your Boats and small Vessells to lye quietly

and a Convenient Peer. in while they are taking in or landing of Goods. All these things we formerly writt to our Generall to effect, when the trouble of the war should be over, and Captain Wildey agrees fully with our notion concerning them; That is, that they are very necessary and may be effected to the Company's great Advantage and for every mans ease without any kind of Loss to the Company more than the present disbursement of the first cost. because you may farm out the said Wharf, Warehouses, Cranes and Mold to some Persons by the year, making a Law or Constitution that

and order no goods to be landed or Shipt off but at such wharfs under a Penalty.

no goods shalbe landed or shipt off at any place in the said Island, but at such lawfull Wharfs and Keyes as you appoint for that purpose, under

the penalty of forfeiture of the Goods, one half to the Company and the other half to the Informer as the Law is in England, and then you may settle a Tariff or Table of what the Wharfinger shall take for the Wharfige.

Settle a Terriffe for the Wharfinger.

The Prices here are 18d per ton for Liquors, Sugars, &ca. Heavy goods, 4d a small Bale, 8d a Pack or great Bale, 2d any small parcell, and the Merchants here pay

What rates are paid in England.

the Porters that work in the Cranes. For Warehouses they pay as they can agree from 5s per week for a small Warehouse to 10s for a great one. These hints we give you, not for certain Measures there, but you may take some light from them, and appoint some small Duty to be paid the Wharfinger or Farmer for every Boat that comes within the Peer TOTIES QUOTIES which we leave to your discretion, because we know not what the making of the Mold or Peer may cost us.

It wilbe likewise necessary that you should make convenient Buzars or Market places for Erect Buzars for Flesh, Fish, Herbs &ca. Flesh, Fish, Herbs and all other things, Such as you may be informed we have already at Fort St. George. And you must oblige all Persons to bring what they have to sell, especially Eatables, into your Buzars, where they may sitt conveniently on Market dayes to sell their Wares, sheltred from the heat of the Sun or weather, for which [each] Person having that Accommodation is to pay such a small Duty to the

farmer or Clerk of your Markets as you shall think reasonable ; and the farmer or Clerk of your Markets such an annuall Rent to the Company as you may reasonably compute will reimburse the Company's first charge in 3 or 4 years ensuing.

We think you ought likewise to have a publick Slaught-
 er house and to engage some Persons
 constantly to supply your Island with
 flesh meat at a certain Price, by which
 means Capt. Wildey tells Us the
 Island would be better and more regularly supplied with
 Flesh meat, and the Undertakers making it their busyness
 might gain considerably by it ; but we must leave this to
 your discretion.

However, fail not to pursue our former Orders to be
 greatly and constantly stored with
 Rice or Paddy which you may sell out
 to the Inhabitants at moderate rates
 to the Companies great Advantage : and by the means of
 such great Stores alwayes keep that necessary Food of the
 Island at a middlle Price, which is the interest of all Cities
 and Colonies.

In your generall by the *Modena* you gave us some, but
 very faint, hopes of taking in the
 overflowed grounds, which we are
 very fond of, if it can possibly be
 effected, for the sake principally of your own healths altho'
 we are of Opinion that all ground in a few years will come
 to be of such great value in Bombay, That that which is
 now overflown, if it can be made dry Land, would recom-
 pence our Charge, tho' it should cost us 5 or 6000 *li.* the
 Effecting. But these works can never be accomplisht for
 the publick utility without great care, study, Forecast and
 diligence, and therefore we must rely upon our President to
 be serious and thoughtfull how to con-
 trive every thing for the best at first,
 that we may not hereafter have cause
 to undo or alter your first Foundations. And we incline
 to make all Conveniencies at first larger than your present
 Occasion seems to require from the present numbers of
 your people or the Bulk of your Generall Trade, because
 we are apt to think those may double and treble within a
 few years. However, if you contrive them at present only
 big enough for the Circumstances you are now under, You

For which receive a duty
to the Company.

Keep a Publick Slaughter
house, that flesh may be
sold at a certain price.

Keep constant Stores of
Rice and Paddy.

concerning drayning the
overflown lands.

We rely much on the Pre-
sidents good contriving
things at first--

must cast in your minds how you shall have ground enough to inlay them hereafter, and with the least expence of pulling down any thing you shall now erect, and contrive as near as you can in all your new Buildings for decency, order and uniformity.

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Herewith we send you a large Engine for makeing Salt Water fresh, and are of opinion it will very much tend to the health of all that are in our Service if all the Water you make use of do first pass through this Still.

XXVIII.

General Letter to Bombay dated 18 May 1689.

OUR GENERAL OF INDIA AND OUR PRESIDENT & COUNCIL OF BOMBAY

Wee have received his Majesty's Warrant under the great Seal of England, Copy whereof Wee herewith Send You, By Vertue Whereof We doe hereby authorize and empower you to fight with Seize and take by force of Armes all Such ships as You Shall meet with belonging to the French King or any of his Subjects, and their Goods and Merchandizes trading or being in Our Port of Bombay, or in any other Ports or Places within the Limitts of our Our Charters, and also to give Commissions to the Commanders of all Our Ships now in India to fight with, Seize and take by force of Arms all such French Ships and Goods as they shall meet with at Sea in their respective Voyages, as Wee have given to Captain Browne now going out, and shall continue to give to all other Commanders in Our Service during the Present Warr with France. And You are to cause all Such Ships and Goods so taken to be condemn'd in Our Courts of Admiralty establish by Our Said Charters. We desire You will Send Copies of this His Majesty's Warrant unto Our President and Council of Fort St. George as also to the Bay &ca. by the first Opportunity,

have received the Kings Warrant under the great Seal about a Warr with France²⁸.

Seiz therefore all ships of the French you can and commission our Captain to do the like.

Send Copys of this Warrant to the Fort and Bay.

impowering them to put the Same in due execution accordingly.

Wee remain
Your loving Friends
BENJM : BATHURST GOVR.
JOSIA CHILD, DEPTY.
&ca. &ca.

XXIX.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay
dated 11th September 1689.

OUR GENERAL OF INDIA &ca. &ca.

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You may see by some of our printed papers, what a high esteem we have of Bombay and how we value ourselves to the King, Lords and Commons upon the National conveniencies we have made there for the good of this Kingdom. Now while we contrive and are willing to be at this charge, if you should neglect the performance of them. we Should justly be blamed by our King and Countrey, but the fault in you would be much greater who have only the trouble and care to lay out the money for us. which workes, our and your enemies tell all the great men of the Kingdom, you will never effect and that all we say of them is but boasting (which is a vanity we will never be guilty of). The inference from all this is you must make Buzars and all the other conveniencies directed, especially a mote for Boats, a Crane and Wharfe for landing goods, and above all things a dry Dock to repair and secure our Shipping and mens lives. Settle your Flesh Market and all other markets in a better order, that the Inhabitants may easily, constantly and regularly be supplied with whatever they want for their money, as it is in other well regulated Cities and Townes, and take especiall care that the Cooleys and other poor people employed in the Company's workes, be not cheated or delayed in the payment of any part of the wages the Company allow them.

Our Printed Papers shew the high Esteem We have for Bombay.

therefore cultivate it accordingly in making Buzars, Wharfs and, Dock &ca.

pay the Workmen Speedily and fully.

It is a scandal to our Nation that your Church should remain so many years unfinished, let that be dispatched forthwith, and what you cannot obtain by contributions towards the finishing of it we will be content to pay ourselves rather than it Shall remain such a shameful spectacle of our Sloth. or want of zeal in our Religion; which concluding you will have soon finished upon this order, if you have not done it allready, We Shall Send you another Minister by our next Ships, whom we shall bargain with to be a Schoomaster and assistant to your present Minister.....

XXX

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay dated 31st January
1689 [1689/90]

OUR GENERAL & COUNCILL OF
INDIA RESIDING AT BOMBAY

Wee received your melancholy Letter of the 9th of May last with the former of the 10th February and observed the Contents which made a great deal of noise here and thereby Raised the Spirits and Wings of our old Adversaries. the Interlopers and their adherents. who were so elivated on the first newes of the Invasion of Bombay, that some of them reported that all was lost and Fort St. George besieged, with other matters of like truth with the former. and thereupon applyed earnestly for a new Company to be established by Act of Parliament; whereupon the house of Commons appointed a Committee to consider of the East India Trade, and how it might be managed to the best advantage of the Nation. Severall meetings of that Committee were appointed and the Company were heard in answer to severall charges suggested against us as to the seizing of severall of their Ships and miscarriages at St. Helena, with which, and many other particulars, they had filled the ears of the House of Commons by scurrilous papers printed and given to the

We recd. your Melancholly Letter of the 9th May and that of the 10th February.

the invasion of Bombay made a mighty noise among the Interlopers.

who thereupon apply'd for a new Company to be Settled by Parliament.

They appoint a Committee to consider of the E. I. trade and how best managable.

The Company were heard to Severall charges against them Vizt. Seizing Ships and about St. Helena—& reply'd in Print.

Members ; unto which we made replys in Print. At length
 on the 16th Janry. The *vizt.* on the 16th day of January, the
 Committee came to the Committee of Parliament came to a
 Vote following— definitive vote in *hæc verba* That it is
 the Opinion of this Committee that the best way to manage
 the East India Trade is to have it in a new Company and a
 new Joynt Stock And this to be established by Act of
 Parliament, but the present Company to continue the
 Trade exclusive to all others, either Interlopers or permis-
 sion Ships, until it be established.

XXXI.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay
 dated 14th March 1689 [1689/90]

OUR GENERALL AND COUNCILL OF INDIA
 RESIDING AT BOMBAY

* * * *

Pray send us home as many Goods of the Sorts formerly
 advised for as can possibly be procured,
 and the rather because whatever
 arrives during the present Wars in
 Europe will come to an exceeding great Market, and we
 are of opinion that the most probable way for East India
 Ships to arrive safely during these
 Wars. is to come about by the North
 of Scotland in Company with the
 Dutch East India Fleet.

Send home all the Goods formerly advised for that you can.

the Ships during the Wars to come with the Dutch fleet by the N. of Scotland.

And therefore we do earnestly desire and enjoyn you to
 dispatch as many of our Ships as you
 can possibly, so early for the Cape,
 that they may be there ready to sail
 from thence with the first Dutch East
 India Fleet bound home for Europe ; and that you do
 accordingly give Instructions to all our Commanders of
 our returning Ships. that you can
 dispatch time enough. to make as
 early Summer Voyages home as the
 Dutch East India Ships usually do,
 which is a matter of such great
 importance to the safety of the Companyes estate at this
 time, as well deserves your utmost care, foresight and

to that end dispatch them early to the Cape.

ordering all our Commanders to make as early Summer Voyages as the Dutch.

diligence ; for besides the benefitt of the Company for so many great Ships, as the homeward bound Dutch Fleet usually consists of, whereby they will have the benefitt of Company and be out of the Way of the French. That Northern passage is a Tract never frequented by the French Men of War or Privateers.

XXXII.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay
dated 3d October 1690.

OUR GENERAL & COUNCIL OF INDIA
&ca. &ca.

* * * *

6. We shall not forget to give a just account to his Majesty and the Parliament at their meeting of the many English Pirates^{2^c} that are in India and to represent unto them how impossible it is to prevent Pyracys and all Sorts of villany in India if the Company be not establisht with the same Powers and authorities as the Dutch Company do enjoy and exercise in India. And altho' we knew this very well before, all men did not readily apprehend it. But now with much discourse, writing, printing, &ca. Pro and Con It seems to become the Generall Sence of the Nation. and we do hope will have a full effect in a short time to the perfect establishment of this Company by Act of Parliament.

Shall acquaint the King and Parliament of the many English Pyrates in India.

and that We can't suppress them if we have not the same powers with the Dutch.

* * * *

8. Captain Andrewes and Captain Wright shall likewise find from us the benefit of your just commendations of them.

* * * *

19. Peace being firmly Settled with the Mogull we hope you will encrease our revenue very considerably by letting out the Lands of such as deserted you in your troubles and by all other means reintegrate and encrease the Revenue of our Island.

Encrease our Revenue all you can.

28 Our President and Council of the Fort write us that the Armenian Nation at the Mogulls Court have been very forward and industrious in inclining the Courtiers and all persons concerned to make a pacification with the English and the truth is, our advantage here by the Contract has been very great already and would have been much greater if the Seas had been open as at other times. The Freight Permission & ca that you will receive from them before they can receive their goods from you that are to go per the *King William* will amount to about 20,000 *li.* for that Ship, and by their East India Goods return'd hither we shall be greater gainers abundantly if we accept them for our own Accounts on the terms you will observe, which we may do if we please by their Contract, and the King and Kingdoms advantage by turning the course of their Trade this way will be exceedingly more than ours : To the King by the encrease of his Customes, and to the Kingdom by the encrease of the Navigation by such warlike Ships as we Send for India and the vent of the Woollen Manufacture, which they by reason of their excessive diligence and thrift can do more and better and transport it further, even to Usbecktartaria and the backside Northward of India and China than any Europe people whatsoever, there being Scarce a Market Towne or great Village in those Countries, but some of them know very well by their pedling and peregrinations. And therefore we must inculcate to you our desires to have them treated with the utmost kindness and encouraged in their negotiations according to the terms of our Contract with them. Especially encourage them to bring any sorts of new goods they can procure in their travells within the land : superfine goods such as Superfine Baftas (of which we have Seen two pieces inclosed in a packet of letters from Mr. Charnock at Patana to Mr. Sheldon) and other superfine Muslins. A little of a sort will do extreemly well for [?selling] them to our great Ladys who will give any rates for Such fine things that other people cannot have. and no men in India can buy such fine things so well because none know them better, nor yourselves or our Brokers that have greater affairs to mind can intend to looke after the getting of such small quantities of Severall Sorts of unusual goods from the makers as they will do and attend the workmen *de die in diem* at the expence of about an halfpeny aday.

What Advantages We,
have and shall gett by
the Armenian Contract.

Treat them with the ut-
most kindness and en-
courage their bringing
in New Sorts of Super-
fine Goods.

XXXIII.

Extract of a General Letter to Surat dated
25th September 1691.

OUR PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL
OF BOMBAY AND SURRAT &ca.

* * * *

Our late most worthy Generall committed but very few Errors in his Conduct and never any of the least Infidelity, and we know very well that no man living ever was wise at all times: HUMANUM

EST ERRARE. One was his not fortifying Bombay according to our repeated Orders which came to him in due time upon our foresight of those Inconveniencies which afterwards did ensue to our great damage and his fatall grief and loss. The other was his not fortifying Returah in the Queen of Attinga's Country and not supplying that place plentifully which he might have done before the Excess of his troubles came upon him. But the poor Gentleman was loath to put us to expence because he knew we laboured then under many difficulties. But his goodness was such in other respects and his meaning So upright, that wee do not reflect upon his memory with any discontent, but only warn you from this instance not to neglect that important place of Retorah, but to Strengthen it all that possibly you can, for that at one time or other wee may most probably be forced to contend sharply for our Security there.

General in an Error for
not fortifying Bombay
as was ordr'd.

As also in not fortifying
Reyterah.

However he was upright
in his Actions.

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XXXIV.

Extract of a General Letter to Surat dated 29th February
1691/2.

OUR PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL
OF BOMBAY AND SURRATT.

1. Wee shall now give Particular Answers to your severall Letters of the 2d October 1690 receiv'd by the *Josia*, The 28th and 30th January by the *Royall James* and *Mary*, and the 25th February 1690/1 Over land, Wherein the first

Shall answer yours of the
2d. Oct. 1690, 28th and
30th Jan. & 25 Feb
1690/1 by the ships and
Overland.

* * * *

Materiall We find to Answer is about the forfeited Lands of Bombay³⁰ by such as deserted the Island in the late times of Invasion. The Law for such forfeitures, We have understood in the Ancient Case of Seigneur De Tavora³¹ That was debated about 18 or 20 Years Past before his Majesty in Councill here, was the Law of that Island long before the English had Possession thereof, and was so adjudg'd by his Majesty in Councill and was a Condition on

Concerning the forfeited lands at Bombay.

which those Lands were originally given by the King of Portugall in whose right We now stand. And therefore We have no reason to depart from the Possession of those Lands to any of the Inhabitants that were guilty of that desertion. But we would not by any Means that You should detain the Lands or give any trouble whatsoever to any Persons of the Portugall or Gentue, Parses, Moors or any other Nation whatsoever that were innocent, For we had unfeignedly rather suffer a great deal of wrong ourselves, than do the least to any Person whatsoever.

* * * *

5. Mr. Harris We have and do confirm our President of Bombay and Surratt, and shall allow him three hundred pounds per Ann. from the Death of our Generall, but for all the time before Our Generalls Death, no more than the usuall Sallary of Second of Surratt. And Mr. Annesley from the time of our Generall's death shalbe allowed the usuall Sallary of Second of Surratt, but before that time, no more than the usuall Pay of Third of our Councill att Surratt, For although both of them had a suffering time during the Warr, The Company were no less Sufferers, All their Estate almost lying dead in all Places during that unhappy Season, All which was occasion'd, as we have manifestly proved in severall Instances, by the Interlopers who instigated the Moors Governours to impose those Insolent Abuses Upon Us, which We could not bear. And we hope Mr. Harris will think himself well compensated by being made Our President, and Mr. Annesley next to be so in due time as hereby We do constitute and appoint him to be in Case of the Death or absence of Mr. Bartholomew Harris.

Mr. Harris confirm'd President at 300^{li}. per Ann.

and Mr. Annesley 2d of Surratt from the Generalls death.

The Company were Sufferers as well as they.

the Interlopers the Occasion of all those trouble [s]

Mr. Annesley to Succeed President Harris.

11. Wee can't think that while the Matter depends before his Majesty unto whose great wisdom the whole affair of the East India Company and trade is now left by the humble Address of the house of Commons That any Men will be so bold as to run out with Interloping Ships, at least not to any Port or Place of the Mogols Dominions unto whose Subjects their late Interloping occasiond such great Mischiefs as ensued to them by the late Warr. However, to prevent the worst and leave all Persons without excuse, Our present Charter being good Law untill it be reversed by Act of Parliament³² (That is of King, Lords and Commons) Or by writt of Error in the Exchequer Chamber before all the 12 Judges. And whereas likewise the House of Commons themselves have voted that the East India Company ought to be in a generall joynt Stock, exclusive of all others, We do now give all our Commanders the Commissions for the taking of Interlopers³³ as We did formerly and require You and all our Servants by all Possible Means within Your Power to defeat and disappoint their Voyages if any of them should be so fool hardy as to adventure again to India. And if any Interloper or Pyrate whatsoever shall offer any hostility to any of the Mogolls Subjects or any other People of India or Persia in Amity with his Majesty, Wee require You to command the Captains of our Ships to seize, take and destroy such Pyrates by force of Armes and to bring such as shall be taken to be tryed for their Lives in our Court of Admiralty, or our Court Martiall at Bombay and to condemn them if found guilty, but respite execution of such as shall be found guilty and condemned untill his Majesty's further Pleasure be known concerning such convicted Persons.

The House of Commons having left the affair of the E. I. Trade to the King.

We think none will interlope to India.

However, We give all Commanders the Usual Commissions to take Interlopers and require you to defeat their Voyages.

Seize and destroy all Pyrates: try them for their lives.

but respite execution.

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22. We are very fond of having a Fort at Retorah and hope You have taken such timely care thereof, that We shall not be depriv'd of it, especially now that We are in such a close Conjunction with the Dutch and have at the Instance of

Take this opportunity of our friendship with the Dutch to build a fort at Retorah.

their Envoy here the Lord Hopp order'd our Coast Fleet to joyn with theirs at Zeilon to pursue the 6 French Ships which We hear are gone or going for Bengall, and have lately had from their said Envoy very kind Expressions of Thankfullness for the Services We did their Ships last Year in Madrass road.

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32. We did formerly send You a Commission in our late Generalls life time for the placing or displacing a Judge and Assistants in our Court of Admiralty upon our Island of Bombay which We will have alwayes kept on foot, of which take notice and direct accordingly. A

Copy of the Commission for displacing Judges at Bombay, formerly sent, comes herewith; Put the same in execution.

Copy of that Commission we send You herewith and do now confirm that Commission to our President and Councill of Bombay and Surratt. We say Bombay first, For That We intend to be the Place of residence of our Chief Councill when our affairs will admitt of it, concerning which You have had many Letters from Us formerly, which We would

Bombay to be the residence of our Chief Council about which Let our President repurpose our former Letters.

have our President review and consider again, and by all the Means that he can to pursue our former intentions touching that Island without offending the Mogol or the Governour of

Surratt, who hath been very honble. and respective to Us, and We would reciprocally be as gratefull to him. Let all our Shipping, when not at Sea, ride in Bombay road as well Country Ships as others. It will be a great Security

All our Shipping to ride in Bombay road.

as well as Proffitt to our Island by the Money the English Sailors and Lascars will spend while the Ships ride

there and the trade for Provisions &c. that they will bring to the Island.

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41. We have been much surprized to find that not only Copies of some of our Generall Letters

Severall of our Letters having been deliver'd out to our Enemy's.

by Us sent to our Presidents, Agents and Chiefs in India, but even the Letters themselves signed by Us have

been delivered out by some of our Servants and made use

of against us to our prejudice. We would have you enquire strictly who hath been guilty of this great Breach of Trust and Infidelity, and who ever is or shall for the future be found guilty thereof or of corresponding with any Persons to our Prejudice, let them immediately be dismiss our Service; and time to come, let all our Letters be kept by our President himself or committed to such hands as may be charg'd with Secrecy, not to make out Copys of any one Paragraph of them, but what the President shall direct upon any Occasion whatsoever.

Turn out those guilty thereof or of corresponding with Interlopers.

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We are
Your Loving Friends
THOMAS COOKE DEPUTY
JOSA. CHILD
&ca. &ca.

XXXV.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay
dated 29th February 1691/2.

OUR DEPUTY GOVERNOUR AND COUNCILL OF BOMBAY.

Wee are now to give answer to your overland Letters of the Fifteenth of January 1690/1 and the ninth of February following. In the first you gave us a very good history of the beginning and progress of the Warr and the ensuing Peace with the Mogull. In the next Place you tell us of your designe of Walling in a Town about Bombay Castle which may doe well if the Charge be not so great or that you can find a way to effect it at the charge of the Inhabitants and that it will hereafter bring us in a Revenue of ground Rents that may defray our charge in Seaven years, which wee leave to the prudence of our President and Councill of Surratt to give such orders therein as they shall find reasonable and for our Interest.

Shall answer yours of the 15th Janry. and 9th February 1690/1.

You will do well to wall in Bombay town if can do it at the Inhabitants Charge, And it will bring in a good revenue of ground rents.

Letter Vc
p. 21

It was not our faults that our Souldiers were not lodged in Barraques many years since. Wee gave full ordersf or it long since as you will find by our former Letters which wee would have you to reperuse.

We order'd the Souldiers lodging in Barracks, by our Letters, which reperuse.

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You will find in all our former Letters that we have frequently inculcated to your predecessors, the encrease and improvement of the Companies revenue at Bombay, which is a matter that imports us more than any other thing what soever, being the only means to make a Fund to preserve and increase the strength of that place which we doe expect from the diligence and leisure of our present Deputy Governour and Councill now the Warr is over.

Improve our Revenues which We have often inculcated by our Letters.

If the Dutch had that Island they would in a few years bring up the Revenue of it to above one Hundred thousand Pounds Per Annum, but that nor the encrease of the Inhabitants by money'd Men is never to be hoped for unless Trade be as free there as water does run in the Rivers, to all People equally of all Nations paying the Company duties as if they were Native English men or the Companies owne Servants or Councillers, which is what we doe absolutely require and enjoync our Deputy Governour and Council and will noe longer endure any of them in our Service than wee Shall find them exactly to observe this Just rule.

which will never be unless Trade be free. This We absolutely require to all paying the Companys dutys.

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Wee remain

Your loving Friends

JOSEPH HERNE Governour

THOMAS COOKE Deputy.

XXXVI.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay
dated 1st April 1692.

OUR PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL
OF BOMBAY AND SURRATT.

We send you with this Copies of our former Letters
by your two Ships which sailed out of
the Downes the Sixteenth of March
last, and likewise Copy of a Letter
we lately received from the Be-
winthebbers of the Netherlands East
India Company, By which you will observe what a fair
Correspondence We have with them here, which we
would have you cultivate there in all places and upon
all Occasions.

Copy of our former Letters
now sent and Copy of a
Letter received from
the Bewinthebbers.

* * * *

We send you with this a Memoriall given into the
Lords of the Council and our Answer
thereunto concerning the forfeited
Lands at Bombay. Since our said
Answer we have heard no more of
that busyness, But however we
would have you send us a particular
of the said forfeited Lands, and who they did formerly
belong unto, and their severall yearly Values or which
and how much of them you have proceeded to condem-
nation of in our Court of Justice, and
send us Copies authentique of your
said Proceedings that we may be
the better enabled to defend them
before the Lords of his Majesty's most honble. privy
Council.

We send you the Portu-
gall Envoy's Memoriall
touching the forfeited
Lands at Bombay and
Our Answer.

Send us a Particular of all
Your Proceedings in
that affair.

* * * *

Wee remain

Your Loving Friends

JOSEPH HERNE Governour

THOMAS COOKE Deputy.

Mr. Harris, and our present Deputy Governour of Bombay, Mr. Weldon, that we think that matter may keep cold a little, as likewise because it's a matter of so much Consequence, that we ought to consider Shall well consider before make any New Man Governor of Bombay. very well of it and likewise of the person, before we put any man into that great Trust. It being very hard to find a person of such Principles and reall for our Service as our late deceased worthy Generall. But such a one we hope we have on the other side of India, where it [is] most necessary, in our late Choice of Sir John Goldsborough.

* * * *

Your very Loving Friends

THOMAS COOKE Governour
FRANCIS TYSSEN Deputy
&ca. &ca.

XXXVIII.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay
dated the 1st May 1693.

OUR LIEUTENANT GENERALL &
OUR PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF
BOMBAY AND SURRATT.

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Letter Book
Vol. 9
pp. 277,
279, 280,
281, 282,
288.

1. We have made choice of Sir John Gayer to be our Lieuttenant Generall Governour of Bombay and chief of all our Affaires and Factoryes up on the north of India next under Sir John Goldsborough (who we have now declared to be our Generall of India and to have his residence at Fort St. George) and have accordingly given the said Sir John Goldsborough and Sir John Gayer respectively Commissions under our larger Seal.

2. We have for many years had great Complaints of the miscarriages of persons employed in your Country Ships and others in the permissive Trade from Bombay and Surratt to Bengall, your

Permissive Ships from
Surat to the Bay com-
plain'd of

Country Commanders and other Officers and Seamen employed in those Ships looking upon themselves as lawless and paying no respect or obedience to our Agent and Council there, But on the Contrary by quarrelling and fighting with the Natives in their drink, giving great disturbance to our affairs, and by their irregular buying and selling of Goods make the Native Commodities dearer to us and to themselves considerably than would and might be procured, For prevention of which mischiefs for the future, as we have already ordered to Fort St. George, So we do now order you, That whatever ships or Vessells you shall hereafter send to Bengall for your own Accounts and others permitted by us, You do order their respective Loadings to be consigned in part (at least) to our Agent in Bengall, that is to say to him and one or two more, such as the Proprietors please to nominate and desire to trust, which persons so intrusted to dispose of such permissive Cargoes or Effects shall be under the regulation, advice and assistance of our Agent in Bengall to no other purpose, but that to Secure the Company's Dutys &ca. Disorders may be prevented, The Companies Duties secured, and your own Accounts come out the more to your Profit, as we are sure they will by such a regular Course of Proceedings: And we have appointed our Agent for such advising and Assisting all permissive trade to have to himself only the Commission of 2 Per Cent, the rest you may allow to whomsoever you or others concerned shall think fit to entrust after the manner that hath been long known to you in the case of Money shipt out from hence for the purchase of Diamonds &ca.

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10. We have in some parts of India been advised of some pride or stiffness in some of our Servants of Factors degree refusing or neglecting to perform writing worke upon a silly fancy, that such work belonged onely to Writers, To root out which presumptuous folly, We do positively require you immediately to

Turn out any factor refusing writing work.

discharge from our Service any Factor that shall refuse, neglect or delay to performe any Writing worke that shalbe enjoyed him by his Superiours.

11. We do continue to the Armenians the entire benefit of their Contract in all respects and require you to give them all just Encouragement for the Shipping of whatever Goods they will on the termes of their generall Contract. We have likewise further granted to them for the space of two years, That is, upon This and and also Scinda Goods for 2 years the next years Shipping to bring whatever Goods they think fit into England of the growth or Manufacture of the Province of Scindie upon the river Indus, paying permission as for Bay Goods. for which they are to pay us the same permission as they do for Bengall Goods.

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13. The improvement of our Revenue at Bombay we have writt so much of in many Peruse our former Letters touching the Revenue at Bombay former Letters that we reffer you and our Lieutenant Generall to a further perusall of them, always remembring that its one of the most essentiall Services We require from you.

14. And upon this Head we must again reflect upon the Lands forfeited to us on Bombay in our late War, which are the only recompence We have left for all that vast expence, and which we are resolved never to depart from while we retain that Island. So that if you have not already proceeded to a formall Condemnation of them for want of a Judge Adovcate, or by reason of the present paucity of English Shipping and Soldiers, We require you now to proceed according to Law to their Condemnation as President Angier did formerly against Don Alvaro Pirez de Tavera, in which Process, whereof you have Copyes, you will see the manner of his Proceedings. It's true that at the instance of the late Queen being a Portugueez Roman Catholick, his late Majesty King Charles the 2d did desire us to pardon the said de Tavera after we had been many years in possession of his Estate, which we did at his Majesty's

All the forfeited Lands at Bombay condemn, as formerly was done against Alvaro Pirez de Tavera.

instance, He confessing submissively his offence and the Justice of the Sentence against him, craving pardon &ca. as he did in our own Court, as well as in Whitehall.

15. But as to the meaner sort of Portugueez, we would use some commiseration to restock the Island again with working Inhabitants, so you may admitt such to their own Residencies and Estates after condemnation, They paying us for the fuure annually half the fruits of their Ortas or grounds, whereas at our first receiving that Island of the Crowne they ought to have paid us only the fourth part of their Fruites, and that Fourth for bribes to the then English Deputy Governor was commuted into a Money rent at a great under valuation to the Company's loss ever since, as we have more particularly informed Sir John Gayer, and for his further information have given him. with this, Copy of the Portugall Embassadors late Memorial to his Majesty and our Answer thereunto, as also Copy of your own Letter and Proposals last sent down to Bombay by Christopher de Sousa.

Admit the Meaner Portuguez to their Lands, they paying yearly half the fruit of their Orta's

have informed Sir John Gayer herein and Copy of the Portugall Embassadors Memorial & our Answer have given him with copy of your Letter to Bombay.

Embassadors late Memorial to his Majesty and our Answer thereunto, as also Copy of your own Letter and Proposals last sent down to Bombay by Christopher de Sousa.

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19. We have heard of shamefull Wasts and Imbezlements of our Stores of all Sorts at Bombay, and if it had not been so It's impossible you should have needed to crave such large recruits of Stores as you have done every year. But we trust our Lieutenant Generall, who is a frugall carefull man in his own affaires, will have the same care of our's, and for prevention of underselling what you can spare of ours as hath been done at mean rates to Country Shipping, We do hereby positively order and make it a standing Rule that for the future none of our Stores shalbe sold under double the Invoice price upon any pretence whatsoever.

Our Stores have been Sadly wasted

Sir J. Gayer to prevent it hereafter.

Sell none hereafter less than double the Invoice price

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26. Sir John Gayer will inform you more particularly than we have wrote by what a strange Accident the

Interloper Hudson got the Stop taken off which was laid upon him by his Majesty and his Honble. Privy Councill before his going for Holland. This Interloper We hope is the last you wilbe troubled with, And we would have you use all possible Means within your Power by Piscashes to the Governour and otherwise to obstruct her Voyage, as we do not doubt wilbe effectually done in Bengall by honest Mr. Charnock. And if you can do the like at Surratt, It wilbe a great proof of your Wisdom as well as of your fidelity to our Service, and shalbe accordingly rewarded by us.

Obstruct Hudson the Interlopers Voyage.

we shall reward so faithful Service.

27. Here is a flying report that an English ship was cast away at Mocha, which the Interlopers that sent her out think to be their Ship, the *Success*, James Jennifer Master. If the Men be saved, We think no Interloper deserves better Success, looking upon Interloping as a Crime against the Weal Publick of our Common Country and next to Piracy, from whence the late Pyracy in India had its first Rise, which may be an argument not improper for you to make use of as far as you have found the truth of the matter to bear by your own Experience. Besides you cant be ignorant, That the Interlopers in all times have left great Debts in the Country unpaid, there being none in the Country left to pay their Debts when they leave the Coast. And now we are credibly informed They doe owe a great Debt in Bengall since their last interloping there, Whereas we have formerly wrote you, since the first beginning of the Company in Queen Elizabeth's time, never any of India lost one Penny by the Company.

The *Success* Interloper reported to be cast away at Mocha.

Interloping is a publick Damage and has been the Rise of Pyracy.

they have always left Debts unpaid in India.

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30. We take notice of the large Accompt you have given us in severall Letters of diverse Pyrates in the East Indies, among which are mixt some English Saylers from the West Indies and New

Concerning English mixt with the Pyrates in India.

England, places so remote from us that we cannot prevent.

The Company can't prevent it. There are Rogues and some Rebels in the remote and wild ungoverned parts of all Nations, which wisdom

or politicall prudence can't restrayne, and such we believe there must likewise be in some parts of India, even under the Mogols own Dominions (tho' he

If the Mogol execute any the Company will not Revenge it. be so great and absolute a Prince). We look upon such Pyrates all

Rogues as worse than Highwaymen, and therefore if the Mogol hang those he hath taken, its but what they deserve and what we shall never revenge nor resent.

XL.

Extract of a General Letter to Surat dated 27th October 1693.

But the principall end of this Letter is to informe you that after a multitude of Conflicts with the Interlopers and their Adherents and all others that have

The Company have gotten their Majesty's Charter of Confirmation.

envy'd or emulated the Companies former prosperity, We have obtained

their present Majestyes King William and Queen Mary's Charter³⁴ of confirmation of our present, and all our former

whereof shall Send Copys by our Ships

Charters, and are in possession of it under the great Seal of England bearing date the Seventh of this Instant, of which we shall send you

Copies by our Shipping, and think it fit that before that comes to your hands, upon receipt of

make Solemn intimations of it to the Natives

this Letter, you should make such Solemn publick intimations of it to

the Natives as is usuall upon such Occasions

Another great end of this overland Letter is to acquaint you that we have obtained

The Company have leave to Send out 12 Ships

licence from her Majesty and her Council for the sending out of 12 Ships for India this Year, some of which we have already freighted,

and they wilbe ready to take in Goods the beginning of

Letter Book,
Vol. 9,
pp. 294, 295.

the next Month being by Charterparty obliged to be ready to sail from Gravesend by the 20th November now next comeing, and out of the Downes by the 20th December. But all our first departing ships We design according to ancient Custome, and the propriety of the Season for the Coast and Bay except the *Dorothy* which is designed for China.

It is fitt for us likewise to acquaint you that with Gods permission We do resolve to send out the full number of the said 12 Ships, and if we can two more purposing to drive the trade full untill we have replenished our warehouses which is the ultimate and never failing cure of the English itch of Interloping.

Upon the grant of our new Charter we have personally by bond engaged to their Company are obliged to send out 150000 *li.* worth of Manufacture &ca. Majestys that we will send out this year to the value of £ 150000 in the Commodities of the Growth and production of England, that being thought to be an affair that wilbe very gratefull to the approaching Parliament which We have great hopes may confirm their Majestyes Charter to us, the East India Trade having been these last five years so much and so long the Subject of Debate and Councils of the Nation, that Noblemen and Gentlemen have much improved their understanding therein.

Of the said Manufactures We have made a large Provision already, and shall therein We will fully comply with our Obligation fully comply with our Obligation to their Majesty's, So that if you have any Sort of English Manufacture by you after so many express Orders We have given you to sweep our Warehouses of such Goods you wilbe very much to blame.

Of the Cloth designed for your place we resolve the Value of 30 or 40000 *li.* shalbe dyed into Persian Colours and sent thither by the same Ship that brings them to Surratt; in order whereunto it wilbe fitt for you immediately

who are to be ready to depart the Downes by the 20th December, the first Ships to go to the Coast and Bay. The *Dorothy* for China.

We intend to drive a full trade which will effectually cure interloping

Company are obliged to send out 150000 *li.* worth of Manufacture &ca.

hope the Parliament may confirm Us

We will fully comply with our Obligation

keep no goods unsold in the Warehouse

30 or 40000 *li.* worth of Cloth shall be Persian Colours and sentt hither on the ship bringing them to Suratt

to send two or three Writers more to Persia to be bred up in that language that we may in time arrive at the vertue and wisdom of the Dutch in that Countrey to have a sufficient Stock of Persons of our own Nation that understand the Languages and Customes of Persia and not altogether to trust to such Syrian Knaves as Dowd and his Predecessors of the Syrian Cast have alwayes proved to the Company, as also the Banian Brokers, which you alwayes choose by the Parrack's nomination, and they commonly are the greatest Knaves of their Cast as the last was, which our

Agent, Mr. Gladman, did very honestly and prudently remove him from the place you had put him in, and we cannot think President Harris did well in writing to Mr. Gladman to continue such a notorious Rogue in our Service upon a Suggestion that the Parracks must not be displeased at this time.

Send 2 or 3 Writers more to Persia to learn the language, That We may have Servants of our own and not Doud &ca Brokers.

The Agent did well to turn out the last sent from Suratt

and Our President ill in ordering him to be continued

Binjees Son is the best and honestest of his Family, and him we would have you respect and make use of accordingly.

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(Signed) THOMAS COOKE Governour,
FRANCIS TYSSEN Deputy,
&ca. &ca.

XLI.

Extract of a General Letter to Surat
dated 3 January 1693/4.

OUR LIEUTENANT GENERAL
AND COUNCILL OF SURRATT.

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2. As to the forfeited Lands at Bombay, We think you are in a good way of composing them, and if there be occasion of a Judge Advocate to condemn those Lands to our use that were really forfeited, We leave it

Touching the forfeited Lands,

Letter Book,
Vol. 9,
pp. 341, 3

to our Lieutenant Generall Sir John Gayer to appoint some discreet person by Commission under Our Seal to that Office with such Instructions as he shall think most convenient to our Service.

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18. We send you Copy of our Letters and Invoices to our Agent and Council there, And as we have sent you by the first ships what Soldiers we possibly could, So we intend by our later Ships to send you above 200 Soldiers more to Bombay, if we can procure them, which we hope we shall send you more Soldiers by our next Ships. we have secured by Contract with some Undertakers or Captaines Conducters, who are to put them on board our Ships, and this matter of the Soldiers, We are the more earnestfully to accomplish because They are the best. Arguments or Cards you can shew to secure our forfeited Lands upon Bombay to the Company and their Successors for ever; for as we would not for any gain in the World injure any innocent Man, So on the other hand We will not part with any Revenue that is justly accrued to us by the present and Ancient Laws of that Island.

XII.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay dated May 1696.

Letter Book,
Vol. 9,
p. 476.

6. We were almost confident the Company would have been establisht this very Session by Act of Parliament; the Court, Lords and Commons seem to be as forward for such an Establishment as our Selves; and the more by reason of the Scotch Act of Parliament for an East India Company, which you will hear of. But towards the end of the Session the Parliament resolving to raise 2,500,000 li. towards the carrying on the present War by a Land Bank, as it is called, and was first meant by

Reason why the Company
was not settled the last
Session.

most that promoted it, but upon deeper and further Consideration it was found that so much Money could not be raised upon Land untill it was first advanced upon Loans of particular Men ; and the next thoughts, as we conceive and is very naturall for any man to think that knows England or the City of London, was That if the East India Company were now settled by Act of Parliament, with addition of a great summe of Money from the old and new Adventurers, this must needs obstruct the raising of the Land Bank at this time to the disappointment of the Government. And this we take to be the single cause of deferring the Settlement of the East India Trade untill next winter, when we have great cause to believe it wilbe done effectually, the whole Nation being in effect satisfyed that Interlopeing is unnationall, and indeed shamefull in the Judgement of all unbiast Men of all Nations that know any thing of India.

SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN.

(To be continued.)

THE HOME AND LIFE IN PERSIA

(Continued from "Islamic Culture" Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 421).

THE staple food being rice in Persia, the essential dish of both the meals consists of rice with different sauces served apart from it (*chilaw*), or rice cooked together with some kind of sauce and spices (*pulaw*). There exist scores of varieties of these two dishes. The most current of the *pulaws* is made of rice with minced meat cooked together with tomato and saffron sauce, which is called *pulaw-i islambuli* ("the Constantinople-*pulaw*"); I have, however, heard that the same dish is called "Persian pilav" in Constantinople.

Chilaw is a dish of rice cooked in water with which various sauces are served in separate small tureens; small pieces of mutton cooked in butter (more often in mutton fat) with plums, same kind of meat cooked together with unripe grapes, or with dry apricots and the like.

Kufta is a kind of balls made out of finely chopped mutton with aromatic herbs in such a quantity that it has a definitely greenish colour.

Sikh-kabab consists either of small pieces of mutton (or mutton-kidneys) fried on a thin iron spit or of finely chopped meat with turmeric (*zard-chuba*) pressed on to such spits. The former is eaten with fresh leaves of green mint (*na'na'*), the latter with powdered dry barberries known under the name of *sumaq* ("sumach").

The meal usually begins with soup (*ab-i gusht* or *suf*). The table-cloth is spread right over the carpet. All the dishes are served at the same time, and everybody starts with whatever takes his fancy. Neither plates nor knives or forks are supplied, only a huge spoon sticks out from every dish, with which the food is distributed. Everybody is squatting around the table-cloth, and in front of everybody there is placed an oblong piece of thin wheat-bread, resembling a thin pancake, called "stone-bread" (*nan-i sangak*) because it is baked on heated stones. This

piece of flat bread, some two feet in length and some 10 inches wide, serves several purposes : it is naturally, in the first instance, eaten with the food, it takes the place of a napkin to wipe the fingers with which one has to eat, it, to a certain extent, also takes the place of a spoon for eating soup, which is served for everybody in small tureens, mostly one for two people. The bread is torn into small pieces and thrown into the tureen. These pieces of bread are thus saturated with the liquid parts of the soup and fished out of it by means of similar pieces of dry bread together with the other, solid ingredients of the soup, like pieces of meat and vegetables.

Several kinds of sherbets are used to slake the thirst at meals. The most common are : *dugh* (" whey ") prepared from sour-cream diluted in water with a liberal pinch of salt in it. The kind of it known as " Arab whey " (*dughi-i'arabi*) is further seasoned with dry bunches of an aromatic herb growing in the hills of Persia and called *kakuti* (a mispronunciation of the Turkish *kelek-oti*, i.e., " partridge-grass "), which gives a peculiarly pleasant flavour. Owing to the presence of salt in its composition, the *dugh*, like beer, rather stimulates thirst than slakes it, and is, therefore, often taken in exaggerated quantities. A very much appreciated kind of *sherbet* is *iskanjibin* (a distortion of "*sirka-angubin*", i.e., " vinegar (and) honey "). Most usually, however, *sharbat-i bih-limu* (" Sherbet of quince and lemon ") is served at meals. These two last kinds are either prepared at home or bought at the bazar in the shape of thick syrups, which are diluted with water before being served. In summer all these *sherbets* are naturally served with ice, the use of which is extremely common in Persia : the poorest man in Persia will rather go without food than refuse himself a piece of ice in his water : a proverb says that " In Isfahan the very dogs drink water with ice."

A kind of portable wash-stand (*aftaba-lagan*), consisting of a copper ewer filled with lukewarm water (sometimes rose-water) and a basin of the same metal, is carried around after each meal to wash the hands and to rinse the mouth.

After what has been said, there arises the question, what and how do the poorer classes of the Persian population eat ? As has already been casually mentioned, the lower classes of the city population of Persia are hardly ever able to taste any of all the above described dainty dishes, and they are chiefly thrown on bread and tea. In summer and early autumn, when grapes are cheap and

are sold in all the streets, being carried about in whole donkey-loads, the sellers shouting: *yak charak angur sannar* ("one quarter of a mann grapes—half-a-penny") or simply *angur sannar* ("grapes—half-penny!") i.e., when more than three pounds of grapes can be had for a penny, a bunch of grapes is consumed by the poor man with his bread. At other seasons a journeyman (*'amala*), a soldier (*sarbaz*) or a street-porter (*hammal*) adds to his two pounds of bread a piece of cheese made from sheeps' milk, the size of a match-box. How seldom it happens for a man of the people (in the cities, of course: the diet of peasants being somewhat better) to partake of hot food, can be seen from the qualificative applied jokingly to what we should call one's "Sunday-clothes," which are called by Persians *sardari-i pulaw-khuri*, i.e., "the frock-coat worn when eating *pulaw*".—

Having mentioned the frock-coat, I may as well proceed with the question of clothes as worn by Persians. The chief and most essential part of Persian dress is a kind of cap, which is never and under no circumstances taken off. It is called *kulah*, assumes various shapes, which but slightly differ from each other, and is made of various materials. As regards its shape, the chief two types are the conical one, worn by the middle and upper classes, and the globular one, which is the head-gear of the lower classes. Both kinds of the *kulah* can be made either of felt or lambskin. The felt used for it is either white or black, the white felt being rather coarser than the other. White (of a yellowish hue) globular *kulahs* are worn only by the lowest class of the population, i.e., by soldiers, street-porters, journeymen, etc., so that even the generic name in current colloquial speech for the whole class of such people is *kulah-namadi* ("one who wears a felt-cap"). House-servants, coachmen, small traders and the like will be wearing the same globe-shaped *kulah*, but made of black felt or cloth of a finer texture, or, may be, of lambskin. A slight difference in form can be also noticed in the shape of a small hollow about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter and half an inch deep on the very top of the latter kind of *kulahs* of whatever material. The middle and higher classes, as already mentioned, wear conical *kulahs*, 6—7 ins. high, made either of the finest kind of black cloth or of different grades of lambskins (mostly morlings). The price of a cloth *kulah* is about a *tuman* (Rs. 3-6-0), whereas a good lambskin cap of that description costs often as much as 18 *tumans*, i.e., Rs. 60, but even at six *tumans* one can get a fairly decent kind of lambskin cap. Since a couple of

years, however, military looking caps with visors, resembling a shako and made of yellowish-grey cloth are being affected in Persia by the civil population as well. They are naturally very cheap and hygienic, as far as offering protection against the sun, but very inconvenient for the performance of the daily prayers, when they have to be turned sideways or backwards. Their shape, as compared with the above described kind of *kulah* leaves very much to be desired.

The other kind of head-gear worn in Persia is the turban ('*imama*, vulg. '*ammama*'). According to Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, s. v. "there are not fewer than a thousand methods of binding the turban" in Eastern countries. Of this great number Persia can boast of a comparatively small figure of kinds of turbans, yet, in the same way as we are able to guess by the shape and kind of a *kulah* as to the social status of its wearer, so also does the turban show more or less clearly who its owner is. From its colour we may draw the conclusion as to his being a descendant of the Prophet (if greenish-black or bluish-black), or to his having performed the pilgrimage to Mecca (if cream-coloured with pale yellow embroidery, —'*imama-i shakari* i.e., "sugar-coloured turban"). A dazzlingly white huge turban carefully wound points to a representative of the higher clergy (*mujtahid*). A green turban shows that its wearer, though a *sayyid*, is not a Persian. A white or blue turban with its end hanging down the back of its wearer ('*imama-i kabuli*') is sure to indicate an Afghan, a Sistani, a Baluch or an Indian. Bound crosswise above the forehead it shows that the wearer is a Sunni. A small many coloured (red, black and white) fringed turban denotes a Kurd, and so forth. Although not every turbaned man belongs to the clergy, a *mulla* cannot dispense with wearing a turban. However it be, courtesy demands that every person with a turban on his head should be addressed as *janab-i akhund*, should he even be a small trader who has no claim to any religious title. In the same way also there are great numbers of *sayyids* that never wear a turban, but every person wearing a black turban of the abovementioned hues is certainly a *sayyid*.—

Foot-wear plays in the East in general and in Persia in particular the same rôle as head-gear in the West, that is to say it must be taken off when entering a room. The general name for foot-wear is *kafsh*. There are many kinds and shapes of shoes besides shoes of European make affected by the higher and middle classes of Persian society. The clergy generally wear narrow-toed heelless slippers

green or yellow in colour. The mercantile class generally wear ordinary slippers with heels, provided they are easy to take off. It is the fashion among the lower middle class to wear light-brown shoes of European make. In summer, however, almost the whole of the Persian population discard every kind of leather shoes in favour of a special sort of slippers made of white cotton cloth, of different shapes, which are called *give*. The more current shape is with round toe and the Isfahan-*gives* known as *maliki* with a pointed and slightly raised toe. The soles of all kinds of *give* are made of compressed rags strengthened at both ends with pieces of raw-hide. Silk-*give* are rather expensive and are worn only by ladies at home.

As regards clothes the tastes of the middle and higher classes of Persians as to their colour are extremely sober, not to say austere. Black and dark-brown (also other quiet colours) are the predominant colours in Persian dress. The national Persian mantle '*aba*', worn by all the classes except the lowest, is of the natural colour of the camel-wool from which it is made. It consists of two square pieces of cloth sewn together, with holes in place of sleeves. During the days of Muharram some persons wear as a sign of mourning a black mantle of the same shape. In summer the same kind of mantle is worn, only of a lighter tissue, merely as protection against dust.

Sometimes the upper front part of the '*aba*' is lined with light-brown velvet, whereas summer-'*abas*' are often trimmed with narrow strips of silver—and gold-crown lace between the shoulder-part of it, which makes it even more resemble the chasuble of the Christian clergy, to which it is already somewhat similar in shape. It is said that the '*aba*' can serve for thirty different purposes: it protects the clothes against dust; it is a protection against cold; it takes the place of a dressing gown at home; it serves as a blanket on a journey; when folded it is a substitute for a praying-carpet; during rain one pulls it over one's head to make up for the absence of an umbrella; any smaller purchases may be carried under its skirt so as not to attract undue attention; things too bulky to be carried in that way may be tied up in the '*aba*' itself and carried over the shoulder.

The '*aba*' is dispensed with by street-porters, journey-men, soldiers, and, in general, by the lowest class of the city population, as well as by that less steady part of the younger generation, which, having got superficially acquainted with European civilisation, affect European

ways and manners and are therefore called *firangi-ma'ab*, i.e., "one who has turned himself into a European," or *focoli*, i.e., "one who wears a stiff collar."

The best quality of 'aba is produced at Na'in (near Isfahan), the price of which is about Rs. 100 a piece; they are called *si-ta sad tumani* ("three for a hundred tumans.") An ordinary 'aba, however, ranges in price from 6 to 10 tumans, i.e., rupees 20 to 35. Summer 'abas are considerably cheaper.

The common people wear a *qaba*, which is a kind of long frock-coat without buttons, open at the throat. It is seldom of a dark colour, but mostly of the gaudiest green or red or sky-blue.

The middle and upper classes, especially persons connected with Government service, wear a *sardari*, a garment very similar to a European frock-coat, but displaying a row of narrow folds or ruffles from the waist downwards. It is made either altogether like a frock-coat, that is to say with a turn-down collar, open throat and double-breasted, or else with a stand-up collar and a single row of buttons in the middle. Classes less affected by European civilisation, like the clergy, most of the *guebres*, etc., wear instead of a *sardari*, a *labbada*, which is a long gown reaching to the ankles, and of quiet colours, mostly dark grey or pigeon-blue. It is buttoned by means of small steel hooks and eyes and held together by a shawl wound round the waist (*shal-i kamar*). This shawl is generally white, the *sayyids* wear a green shawl, the *hajis* a cream-coloured one with yellow embroidery, that is of the same material as their turban.

The common people wear a kind of very wide trousers, (*zir-jama* or *shalvar*), the other classes ordinary trousers of the European pattern.

The fair sex have two kinds of dress; one for the home, another for the street. Up to quite recent times the home-dress of a Persian lady consisted of a shirt (*pirahan*), a bodice (*rakht*) and a short skirt (*tuman* or *tumban*). The latter, closely resembling the European ballet-dress, was introduced by Nasur'ud-din Shah after his first journey to Europe, but has since been little by little discarded in favour of more ordinary dresses of the European pattern.

To go out, a lady puts on a kind of extremely wide trousers (*chaqshur*) tight at the ankles, where a pair of socks is fitted on to them. These trousers are tied at the waist with a string, which results in their falling into innumerable folds and taking a balloon-shaped appearance.

The head is covered, leaving open the face, by a black cotton, woollen or silken cloth (*chadur*) the size of a large bed-sheet. The lower ends of the *chadur* are tucked up into the girdle of the *chaqshur*. Finally, a white veil (*ruband*) covering the face, is put on. It has the shape of a thin and narrow cotton or linen towel with a ribbon at its top part, mostly adorned with a buckle behind, which, keeping the *ruband* in its place, prevents also the *chadur* from sliding down from the head. On the place of the *ruband* which comes opposite the eyes, a narrow strip of lace is fitted in. Some twenty-five years ago some women in Tehran started wearing instead of the *ruband* here described a stiff square-shaped kind of visor made out of black horsehair or black foundation-muslin, about a foot square in size, which only partly covered the face. This innovation was at first severely condemned by the authorities, who even inflicted slight penalties on women so dressed, but the fashion held good and at the present moment the white towel-shaped *ruband* has been altogether discarded in the cities. In recent years the street-dress of the Persian woman has been besides very much simplified: the heavy-looking *chaqshur* has been abandoned altogether, the *chadur* has been considerably shortened (about the length of the ordinary present-day European ladies' dress) and is not tucked up any more in the girdle (which is no longer there), as ordinary European dresses are worn under the *chadur*. Women of the people naturally still dress very much in the old style, as described above.

To conclude the question of female dress, we have to mention the so-called "night-*châdur*" (*chadur-shab*) or "prayer-*chadur*" (*chadur-namaz*), which is exactly of the same size and shape as the ordinary *chadur*, but is generally of light colours, sometimes with a flower-design, and is loosely thrown on the head without being tucked up and does not necessitate the wearing of the *chaqshur*. This kind of *chadur* is worn by Persian ladies at home, when they are compelled to step out into the reception rooms (*birun*). Women of the common sort often use the *chadur-namaz* when going out on some short errands somewhere in the neighbourhood of their own houses. As regards Persia, the current opinion about the seclusion of Muhammadan women and their having no freedom whatever is very much exaggerated. In spite of a few exceptions which seem to confirm this opinion, we may take it that, as a rule, the woman in Persia is no more deprived of freedom than her European sister. There are, naturally, certain rules of propriety and good manners obligatory for every

Persian woman, which take the place of certain rules and conventionalities of the European etiquette unknown in Persia.

The other current opinion about polygamy being the rule in Persia is also erroneous. Monogamy in fact is the rule, and polygamy rather an exception than otherwise, although sanctioned by religion. Several wives can be found only in houses of rich old voluptuaries or persons who are more or less compelled by their social status to have a show of several wives. As regards concubinage and illegitimate children, such do not exist in Persia owing to the existence of temporary marriage (*sigha* or *mut'a*), which is concluded for any period of time, even for a day, if so desired, and any children from such unions are considered to be legitimate. Such matrimony is automatically dissolved at the expiration of the period stipulated by the marriage-contract. Sometimes, however, (and not seldom) a *sigha*-wife, especially if she bears children, remains a legitimate consort of the man for life. Persians are very fond of their children, although they treat them with great sternness, which seems, however, to be more the outcome of the Persian etiquette than to have its source in real rigidity of temperament. Thus, even a grown-up son before sitting down in the presence of his father, has to wait for the latter's permission or rather orders to do so, whereas small children never dream of sitting down in the same room with their father, but have to stand somewhere near the door with their hands folded in sign of obedience. I have never seen a grown-up Persian smoking in the presence of his own father. As far as I can judge such respect towards their parents is not merely a thing of outward appearances with Persians, but a very real innate feeling of reverence.

The same kind of patriarchalism prevails also in the relations between servant and master and *vice versa*. It may be mentioned here that it is the fashion amongst Persians to have as many servants as possible. The wealthier a person or the higher his social standing, the more numerous attendance he is compelled to have. In these circumstances, the duties of the various servants become naturally highly specialized. I shall try to enumerate the kinds of servants a Persian grandee may have in his house. In the first place, a cook (*ashpaz*); further, several footmen of various denominations: valets (*pish-khidmat*) who attend to the rooms and serve at table, when they are sometimes called *nawkar-i sar-i-pa wu dawr-i miz* (lit. "servant on foot and around the table")

who are really remarkable for their ability to stand at the door in a room with their hands folded (in sign of their readiness for any work) for hours at a stretch, watching for an opportunity of lifting up something from the floor, of offering a lighted match, of taking away an empty glass or refilling the same, and so forth. And, in general, the Persian servant is the most willing and serviceable man, who is always on the look-out for an opportunity of doing his duty without being reminded of it and trying to do it to the best of his ability. Then come the *farrashes* who are employed chiefly for errands and heavier kind of work. At the head of all the servants of a house there is the *farrash-bashi* "the head *farrash*" or, as we should say, the "majordomo." As correctly pointed out by the Count de Gobineau in his "*Les Religions et les Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*," who says: *les domestiques principaux des grandes maisons sont en Perse les plus fiers des hommes*, the servants in Persia pride themselves far more than their master on the latter's wealth or high position.

Every Persian nobleman would have carriage and saddle-horses. A coachman (*kalaskachi*), several stable-grooms (*militar*), mounted orderlies (*ghulam*), a postillion (*jalandar*), who rides in front of the master's carriage,—all these are necessary to keep up appearances in Persia. The *qalyanchi* is only in charge of the smoking requisites of his master, the *sharbatdar*, otherwise called *chaychi* or *qahvachi*, serves only beverages. A Persian grandee would probably also have a *fanuschi* ("lantern-bearer") whose sole duty is to carry a lantern in front of his master should the latter take it into his head to go out at night on foot. If we add to the number several kitchen-scuillions (*khana-shagird*), gardeners, etc., we shall get a staff of some 20 to 25 servants at least. There would of course be in such a house as that described also a private secretary (*munshi*), who is generally trying his best to ingratiate himself with the majordomo, whose favours are also sought by many hangers-on and clients of the master of the house. The latter are a feature without which the house of a Persian nobleman would be unthinkable. Some of them stay in the house for years, trying to make themselves useful in one way or another.

When one sees in the street a crowd of some thirty people following a sauntering gentleman lazily moving along with the help of a walking-stick, one guesses that it is a noblemen out on a walk accompanied by his attendants

The *farrash-bashi* has mostly an absolutely free hand in dealing with the servants under him : he engages and dismisses them, he metes out penalties and rewards. All the servants get the same food as eaten by the master they are clothed, and receive very small wages in cash. They have, however, (at least some of them) certain indirect revenues (*madakhil*) from purchases made by them for the master. This kind of proceeding is sanctioned by custom in Persia and is considered normal. At the same time, should a servant try to exaggerate his bills, the master (or the *farrash-bashi*) is entitled to take any measures he considers right in order to protect his interests.

A more legal source of income is the so-called *in'am* i.e., "tip," the more so as it is considered as a voluntary gift on the part of a superior. An *in'am* is to be given on the occasion of a holiday (like the New Year) to all servants, to the water-carriers, who supply drinking-water to the house, to the police-inspector of the particular quarter of the city where one lives, who all come to offer their congratulations, everyone bringing some offering of fruit or flowers. An *in'am* is given to the servant of a friend who brings a letter, to a cabman whose services one engages. Nay, even a merchant in the *bazar* at whose shop a purchase has been made, asks the buyer to give something extra besides the actual price of the commodity purchased, as *in'am*, although he often happens to be by far the wealthier man of the two. In short, I can do no better than refer those interested in the question of the various kinds of gifts and offerings customary in Persia to the most concise and interesting excursus on the subject in E. G. Browne's *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 67-69.

The ladies' apartments naturally possess their own staff of female servants, as numerous as the male servants of the *birun*, although a part of the latter work for both divisions of the house, like the cook with his assistants, the *farrashes*, who run on errands and accompany the ladies in the street, the gardeners, the coachmen, the grooms, and so forth. Yet, on the other hand, the gynæceum needs the services of certain categories of servants which are not required in the male section of the house, like wet-nurses (*daya*), nurses (*taya* or *dada*), washerwomen, seamstresses, etc. Maid-servants (*kulfat* or *khidmatgar*) do for their respective mistresses the same kind of work as is done by a *pishkhidmat* in the outer rooms of the house. Slave-maids (*kaniz*) are also found in greater houses, where one also can expect to find a eunuch (*khaja*

or *khaja-saray*, or *agha-saray*), who is mostly an African negro bought and brought to Persia in his youth, although cases are not rare of Turkish or Persian boys, having been converted into eunuchs. A greater *andrun* would also possess a female private secretary (*munshi-baji*) and hangers-on and clients similar to those of the men's apartment.

The subject of education being of a nature to demand a special monograph, should one want to deal with it more or less in detail, I shall have to limit myself to a few hints merely in connection with that vast question. The cornerstone of education in Persia is a good handwriting, which can be acquired only by hard and unremitting practice. I shall quote one example to illustrate the difficulties of this art considered in Persia a science in itself. I had a teacher of calligraphy, who used to come and initiate me into the intricacies of his art in 1905 in Tehran. He was known by his honorific title as *Katibu'l-Khagan* and reputed to be one of the best calligraphers of the Persian capital. At the moment when I made his acquaintance he had been teacher of calligraphy for some 25 years, used to give lessons the whole day long, but still it was his custom to practise for himself a couple of hours in the early morning and a couple of hours before going to bed. He told me that if he omitted practising one day, the next day already he was able to notice that his handwriting "had slid back" (*khattam 'aqab rafta*). Writing a good hand and being somewhat acquainted with poetry, gives a person in Persia the reputation of a well-educated man; and a good scribe, should he, besides, possess some other qualities, can hope to become one day a cabinet-minister, as has already often been the case. Yet, in order to be considered a scholar one must possess a first-rate theological education.

Of the arts and crafts practised in Persia carpet-making occupies naturally the first place. The limits of the present sketch not allowing me to go into details with regard to this most fascinating subject, I may refer those interested in it to special works dealing with the matter more or less fully, like Walter A. Hawley's "Oriental Rugs," J. K. Mumford's "Oriental Rugs," etc.

Most beautiful shawls, very much akin to those made in Kashmir, are produced at Kirman. They are generally either square-shaped or oblong. The sizes vary. They are either cream-coloured, or red, or green. The design is always the same, comprising a border about six inches wide, four flowers (*badamcha*)—one in each corner and a

star-like design (*buta*) in the middle. The ground is made of the finest wool, the design embroidered in silks.

Stencilled chintzes (*qalamkar*) of different kinds and designs are made at Isfahan.

A special kind of embroidery on cloth is made at Resht. They are mostly of two shapes : either square to be used as table cloth, or made to fit a horse's back and used as a horse-cloth.

Of arts the most important is water-colour painting. Persian artists are very little concerned with producing a general impression in their work, but devote all their effort to the minutest details of their pictures, whereby quite peculiar and well-known results are attained. Their queer treatment of perspective coupled with the most elegant delicacy of detail impart to the Persian water-colour paintings their special charm so highly valued both in Persia and abroad by connoisseurs.

The art of water-colour painting, as we find it at present in Persia, is generally said by Persians to have been introduced by Shah 'Abbas the Great (end of XVI—beg. XVII c. A.D.). We know, however, that one of the greatest miniature painters of Persia Bihzâd flourished under Shâh Isma'îl I, the great-grandfather of 'Abbâs, *i.e.*, almost a century earlier and left numerous pupils who became instrumental in continuing and developing the art under Shâh 'Abbâs.

The most common kind of water-colour paintings in Persia are even nowadays the so-called "Chinese faces" (*suratha-i chini*), which, when executed in ink (*siyah-qalam*), are still more highly prized. Whether the pictures of this kind belong to the older masters themselves, or to their immediate disciples, or to the school in general, the prices for them are rather high, as even a quite indifferent picture of that sort cannot be got under 5 tumans (about Rs. 18½), whereas a good one fetches two or three times as much. It is very difficult to say, unless the picture is signed by a well-known name (which by the way also might be a forgery), whether it actually belongs to the reign of Shâh 'Abbâs, or his immediate successors, because everything artistic in Persia, whether ruins of a caravansarai, or old arms, or pictures, is generally ascribed to that epoch.

Of a different style are the miniatures by Ustâsâdiq, one of another group of artists of the reign of Shâh 'Abbâs the Great, to whose brush belongs a series of portraits of Sufis and Sufi-poets, some of these portraits being, so to

speaking, made from imagination (in the case of the older poets and Sufis), while others represent his contemporaries and could have well been drawn from life. I have come myself across two different pictures by him representing Hâfiz sitting under a tree, a picture of Sa'dî standing upright, a picture of Bâbâ Tâhir the Naked, and portraits of several of his contemporaries, like Mîr Dâmâd, Mîr Findariskî, and others.

The signature of this artist is generally found *above* his pictures and is disguised in the shape of the pious formula *ya sadiqa-l-wa'd* (O, Thou, Truthful in promises!"). —E. G. Browne, in an arid list of names on p. 110 of his "History of Persian Literature in Modern Times", mentions amongst the artists of the time of Shâh 'Abbâs the Great one Sâdiq-Beg, by whom, for all I know, he might have meant the artist we are discussing. Cl. Huart, in his "Calligraphes et Miniaturistes de l'Orient Musulman" also mentions (p. 332) one "Câdiqî—(probably misprint, as his Index of names has correctly "Câdiq")—beg Eshâr," of whom he merely says that he flourished *a la meme epoque*, meaning by it the epoch of the immediate disciples of Bihzâd (*i.e.*, the XVIth century A.D.).

Water-colour portrait painting had already reached a great perfection in older times; as regards our day and the period closely preceding, we may mention in the first instance the Court portrait painter of Nâsiru'd-Dîn Shâh (1848-1896), the famous Sanî'u-l-Mulk, to whose brush belongs a series of portraits of all the ministers of the time of that sovereign.

In accordance with the principle generally applied by Persian painters, only the faces of the portraits were drawn by the great artist himself, the other parts and accessories being executed by his pupils. For each such portrait Sanî'u-l-Mulk used to receive from the Shah one hundred tumans in cash and an honorific robe (*khal'at*), which plays the same rôle in Persia as decorations in other countries. The following story is told of the last days of this great artist. The first news of photography having reached Persia, the Shah one day told his Court-painter that by means of a photographic camera faces of several persons could be reproduced on paper in ten minutes' time. Sanî'u-l-Mulk replied that he also was able to do it, and, to prove his words, he immediately in ten minutes drew the faces of six *farrashes* of the Shah who were in the room. Very soon, however, photographic art was imported into Persia and more became known about its achievements.

When the illustrious artist, who seems to have been very proud of his own proficiency, heard that a whole crowd can be actually reproduced photographically in a moment, he considered himself beaten, and breaking his brushes and throwing away his colours, abandoned his profession altogether.

A less prominent artist was Musavviru'l-Mulk, the court portraitist of Muzaffaru'd-Dîn Shâh (1896-1907), to whose brush belong portraits of the prominent men of the latter's reign.

Besides the above discussed water-colour paintings (whether meant to illustrate literary works, or made as independent pictures, or portraits of persons), we find also a subsidiary branch of water-colour work on different objects made of *papier-mache* (*mugavva*). This kind of miniature painting may be considered in present-day Persia as having a certain preponderance over all the other kinds of water-colour painting; there is in fact no house in Persia, however poor, where one would not find some object ornamented in such a manner, be it a hand-mirror framed in *papier-mache* or a *qalamdan* made of that material. The first place amongst objects of that kind is occupied by the *qalamdan*, which roughly corresponds to the pen-case used till lately by school-children in other countries, but which in Persia is—or was, until fountain-pens (*qalam-i khud-navis*) of American and European make found their way into the country—an implement possessed by every literate man and mostly carried in one's pocket carefully enclosed in a kind of silk-knitted purse or cover. A *qalamdan* is a *papier-mache* case some 8 to 9 ins. long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins. wide and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high, with rounded off corners. Its contents comprise: a silver inkstand (*davat*) fitted in its left hand end several reed-pens (*qalam*); a small penknife (*qalam-tarash*) (mostly of Persian make and specially designed for mending the above reed-pens); scissors (*qaichi*) for cutting paper also of Persian workmanship and specially adapted to enter into a *qalamdan* by being folded); a flat piece of ivory or bone (*qattzan*), some $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in length and $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch wide, on which the nib of the reed-pen is placed to be trimmed; and finally, a tiny silver spoon (*ab-davat-kun*) with a little bent spout, which is used to add a few drops of water to the ink, should the latter become dry. We cannot enter here into the interesting question of the composition of different Persian inks and the ways of handling the same as well as using the reed-pens, etc. The prices for *qalamdans* range from 2

qirans (a little more than a rupee Indian) to 100 *tumans* (Rs. 335 approximately), according to the quality of the material of which it is made, to the merits of the paintings, and, last but not least, to the manner in which the said painting is reproduced. The fact is that on cheap *qalamdāns* the pictures are often merely pasted on, having been previously made on paper, which one easily can notice whereas the real kind of work is made on the surface of the *qalamdan* itself. The subject of such miniature pictures are of the most various descriptions but the "rose and nightingale" motive along with pictures of battle and hunting scenes are the most usual. Very common are also pictures of feasts. Between such self-sufficient pictures framed generally in some delicate oval gold tracing one often encounters round medallion-heads filling up the spaces between the fundamental pictures. In these medallions some influence of European (may be Venetian) art can be clearly noticed. Obscene pictures are met with more seldom and sold at extremely high prices. *Ceteris paribus*, the greater the number of faces on the miniature pictures, the more they are prized. Sometimes one comes across *qalamdan* on which the picture on the top-part is far superior to those on the side-parts; this is due to the fact that the more conspicuous picture on the upper part of the *qalamdan* is made by the artist himself and the two sides are covered with work executed by his disciples. This kind of mixed work, as has been already pointed out, is extremely common in Persia.

Small (8-5½ in.) mirrors in frames of the same material as *qalamdāns*, generally also supplied with a lid, which are very often covered with a similar kind of miniature painting, are also very common. The pictures on them differ from those on *qalamdāns* by their size (especially on the inner side of the lid where they are mostly of the size of the lid itself) and by the motives of the pictures: these looking-glasses are naturally meant for the ladies-apartments, so that we cannot expect to find on them war or hunting pictures, but rather love-scenes or pictures of mothers with their children, and the like. The outward part of the lid as well as the framing and the back of the mirror, are mostly covered with variations of the "rose and nightingale" motive, which finds its best expression in the work of Aghâ Bâqir and his school. Exactly the same kind of work is also often seen on the original book-covers in which certain old MSS. are sometimes bound.

Very common are also various kinds of small boxes, more especially snuff-boxes (*anfiyadan*).

Quite rare in our days have become the small cases for strips of adhesive paper which was used in Persia before the introduction of envelopes, for closing letters : a letter was rolled up to form a scroll and a small slip of that sticky paper was pasted around it. These small *papier-mache* cases (*jay-i chasp*) are considerably smaller than *qalamdāns*, smaller even than a case for spectacles, their dimensions being approximately : $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in length, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, and less than $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch thick. The work on these cases is of the same kind as on *qalamdāns*, sometimes of exquisite taste, as is also that on the above-mentioned snuff-boxes, which is only natural : the smaller the object the finer the work of ornamentation on it must be.

To the same class of work, both as material and as painting, belong also old Persian playing cards (*as*). Their size is generally 2 to $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. A pack contains twenty cards in all, each denomination being repeated four times. The names of the cards are : *as* ("the ace"); *shah* ("the king"); *bibi* ("the queen"); *sarbaz* ("soldier" i.e., "the knave"); and *raggas* ("the dancer"). The representation of these different categories may slightly vary, but they mostly are in tune with their names, and the ace is generally represented in the shape of a lion. The reverse side of the cards is covered with arabesques exquisitely traced in gold. Sometimes the pictures are of an indecent character. Old cards are very highly prized, owing to the fact that each card is in itself a diminutive self-contained picture mostly of the highest workmanship. The lowest price at which one could hope to obtain a pack of old *papier-mache* cards is therefore not less than 10 tumans (about Rs. 35).

One of the best representatives of miniature painting on all the above described kinds of objects where whole scenes are represented, is considered to be Aghâ Najaf and his school.

From the technical point of view a water-colour painting is either covered with varnish ("*rughan rush kashida mishavad*") or left as it is. Both methods have their advantages and their drawbacks. Anyhow, miniatures on *qalamdāns*, mirror-cases, snuff-boxes, and all the other kinds here described, must be covered with varnish. A picture on paper can be left as it is, but if it is covered with varnish it is not so easily damaged ; once spoiled, however, it cannot so easily be repaired. The varnish itself is sometimes apt to crack, which is already sufficiently bad for oil-paintings, but which spoils the appearance of a

water-colour miniature sometimes beyond recognition, when the picture is seen as if through a netting of such cracks.

Besides *papier-mache* work ornamented with pictures, one often finds in Persian houses *qalamdars*, mirrors, cases for combs (*joy-ishana*) or simply caskets covered with inlaid work (*khatam*) of walrus-bone (*ustakhan-i shir-mahi*) (or supposed to be such), tiny pieces of copper and of multi-coloured pieces of wood. This work is of two kinds : it is either executed on the object itself, when it is called " real inlaid work " (*khatam-i asl*) or else a thin piece of veneer-wood is used as base for the work and is afterwards cut into strips of the necessary dimensions which then are glued on to the surface of the object. It is clear that work of the former kind is by far the more complicated and of greater worth, which is the reason why " real inlaid work " is several times more expensive, than imitation. Generally speaking, however, inlaid work is comparatively cheap in Persia, although the sight of the workmen suffers very much, to the extent that after some ten years of work many of them become half-blind and cannot continue it any more. I cannot say whence and how the supposed walrus-bone is imported into Persia. Maybe, the bone used for that purpose is only so called as a technical term in the craft.

L. BOGDANOV.

(*To be continued.*)

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM

23. THE FESTIVALS.

(Continued from "Islamic Culture" Vol. VI. No. 1. pp. 152.)

THE festivals show how thin was the Islamic varnish over the popular life. The Muslims celebrated all the Christian festivals—most of which were nothing more or less than revivals of much older practices. Indeed many Christian places of pilgrimage in Mesopotamia and Egypt were old heathen places of worship. The festivals of patron saints of the Christian cloisters, which grew up, were merely new labels on old pagan celebrations. The local Muslims insisted on celebrating the days which had brightened the lives of their heathen and Christian ancestors. But in contrast to the church they generally disdained to forge new legends and left the Christians to settle their religious affairs as best they could. They simply shared in the social side of the festivals. The festivals, as, for example, of the Baghdadians, were almost all positively Christian festivals. Of them the feasts of the patron saints of the various monasteries were the most popular. Even on ordinary days these pious centres were not free from worldly visitors.¹ With their fine gardens and cool drinking-places they were popular rendezvous of the Baghdadians, intent on pleasure. Cloisters and taverns are often and often mentioned in one and the same breath: "On a rainy day it is delightful to sip wine with a priest."² And particularly commended is the sacramental wine (*Sharab al Qurban*).³ Things were not very different in Cairo. At the end of the 4th/10th century the favourite pleasure-resorts of the Cairenes are mentioned:

(1) Sabushti, 8 a

(2) Ibn al-Mu'tazz, II, 46 (The old Arab preferred sipping wine with a girl "in a tent" on a rainy day. Tr.)

(3) Ibn al-Mu'tazz, II, 50. Schiltberger found the Greek priests in the Muslim empire as innkeepers. (Bibl. des literar. vereins, 50). In the Syrian villages also Christian priests brought wine for us concealed in their mantle.

The gazelle-hunt near the Pyramid monastery; the Bridge and Taverns of Gizeh; the garden at Maqs with a view of the canal and the palace; the play-ground at the Mar Hanna monastery and, above all, the monastery of al-Qusair, high up on the Muqattam with its delightful prospect: "how often was I day and night at the monastery of al-Qusair without recovering from the effects of wine."¹ The Tulunid Khumrawaihi had a watch-tower built there with four bow-windows, one for each point of the compass.²

Palm-Sunday (Sha'nin-Hosannah) was a day of universal festivity for the people. It must have been an old feast of the trees, notably of olive-trees.³ In Egypt it was simply called the "Olive festival."⁴ At the court of Baghdad slave-girls appeared on Palm-Sunday in gay dresses with palm and olive branches.⁵

In Jerusalem of the 4th/10th century an olive-tree was carried in solemn procession from the Church of Eleasor to the Church of the Resurrection—the *wali* of the town with his entire staff heading the procession.⁶ All the churches of Syria and Egypt were adorned with olive leaves and palm branches which the people took home for a blessing. Hâkim forbade this. He would not see any olive-branches or palm-leaves 'in the hand of a Believer or Christian either.'⁷ In Egypt the Maundy-Thursdays were called Lentil-Thursdays because all ate lentils on that day. Lentils were a mourning food and, hence, the

(1) *Irshad*, I, 291.

(2) Abu Sâlih, *Churches and Monasteries*, ed. Evetts, fol. 49 a.

(3) Already in the 4th century A.D. children used, on this day, to go round and round the mount of Olives at Jerusalem with branches of palm and olive-tree in their hand (*Silviae Peregrinatio* 91). And even to-day among the Maronites a finely decked out tree is brought on Palm-Sunday into the church and is auctioned. The purchaser places his son or some other youth on it and carries him round the church amidst the acclamation of the people. After this the people rush at it to get some of its twigs which bring a blessing. The Copts (p. 395, line 6 from the bottom) weave twigs of palm and olive into a large olive-tree which the Patriarch places on the altar on Palm-Sunday—he then takes it to the four corners of the church where each time the Palm-Sunday service is read before it. Similarly the olive is taken in procession round the monastery mill and baking oven. *Mashriq*, viii, 342. In the Western churches the holy oil is consecrated on Palm-Sunday.

(4) *Maqrizi*, I, 264.

(5) *Aghani* XIX, 138.

(6) Yahya ibn Sa'id, 194.

(7) Yahya, 194. It was a special Christian practice to wear white garments on this day (Radi, Diwan, 917).

Egyptian Christian ate lentils every Friday.¹ On this day (Maundy-Thursday) the mint turned out gold carobs² and distributed them at Court.³ The Alexandrians celebrated this festival at their light-house where they held a banquet.⁴ In Syria this day was called blue or egg Thursday. Coloured eggs were sold in the streets; slaves, boys and fools gambled with them.⁵ At Baghdad on Easter-day Muslims and Christians marched in procession to the Samalu monastery at the Shammasiyah gate, at the north-end of the Eastern town, where a lively carouse took place: "until I took the earth for a ship and the walls danced round us."⁶ On the last Saturday of September was held the feast of the Monastery of Foxes (Dayr-ath-Tha'âlib) at the Iron Gate on the West side of Baghdad. It was fondly frequented by Muslims and Christians alike, for in the midst of the town it possessed its own park, trees and flowers.⁷ On the 3rd of October, at the monastery of Ashmuna, was celebrated one of the great festivals of Baghdad. This monastery was in the Kat-rabbul District to the north-west of the Round City (Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 209). People came there—according to their position—in 'flyers,' barks or ordinary

(1) Razi translated by Steinschneider in Virchows Archiv 36, p. 574.

(2) Name of a coin, one-fortieth of a dinar.

(3) Maqrizi, *Khitat*, I, 450.

(4) Maqrizi, I, 157.

(5) Maqrizi, I, 266: *Mudkhill*, 305.

(6) Sabushti, 4 b. (In the early days of the Abbasid Caliphate the Samalu monastey occupied a considerable tract of ground beside the river. . . . The Dayr is described as a magnificent edifice, inhabited by many monks, and it took its name from Samalu, a town of the Armenian frontier, which Harun had captured in the expedition of the year 163/A.D. 780. The Caliph caused the whole population of this place to be transported to Baghdad, for by the terms of the capitulation it had been stipulated that none of the families were to be separated and they were settled on the lands to the north of East Baghdad, where was built the monastery which afterwards went by the name of their native place. With the lapse of time the monastery fell to ruin, and the author of the *Marasid*, who wrote about the year 1300 A.D., states that all trace of its buildings had then long since disappeared. Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad* pp. 202-314, Tr.)

(7) Sabushti; 8 a; Beruni, 310. (There was much dispute concerning the position of this monastery. Some authorities state that it stood nearly two miles distant from Baghdad on the Kufah highroad towards Sarsar and near the village of Harithiya; while according to others the Monastery of the Foxes was the building that stood near the shrine of Ma'ruf Karkhi and hence was either to be identified with the Dayr-al-jathilek (the monastery of the Catholicos or Patriarch), being merely its other name, or else was a second monastery which had stood alongside of it. Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 210, Tr.)

boats (Sumariyyât) with wine-skins and singing-women. The well-to-do pitched their tents and caroused for three days and nights on the banks of the Tigris "amidst candles and pretty faces" (Sabushti, 18 a, b; Beruni, 310). A stranger, who enquired of the sights worth seeing at Baghdad, was consoled with the promise of this feast which was to take place within a month. (*Kit. alsin ect.* Florence Laurent, fol. 99a). St. Barbara ushered in the winter. Her day, the 4th of December, was celebrated alike by Christians and Muslims, and Mukaddasi thus states the maxim of the peasants: "when the Barbara Day arrives the masons should take to the flute."¹ He also boasts of having taken part in this feast.² Christmas, the 25th of December, the Nativity of Christ (al-milâd) and the feast of the Sun was celebrated with bonfires. Why do the Christians light up fire on Christmas night and play with nuts? asks the Shi'ite Babagwaihi al-Qummi (d. 381/991) and thus answers: To warm Mary when in travail, Joseph lighted a fire and cracked nine nuts for her which he found in his saddle-bag and he fed her with them.³ The Muslims also celebrated the yule-feast (*Sadaq*, Arabic *Lailat el-wuqud*, Night of the fire)⁴ which according to the Canon of Mas'ûd⁵ was celebrated on the 5th or the 10th of Bahman⁶ but which, according to Ibn al-Athîr and Abulfida coincided with Christmas.⁷ Ibn al-Jauzi, speaking of the year 429/1038 says: "People lighted fires on Christmas Day as usual."⁸ In the 4th 10th century they used "to fumigate their houses to keep off mishap,"⁹ so that finally it has become one of the customs of the kings to light fires on this night and to make them blaze, to drive wild beasts into them, and to send the birds flying through the flames, and to drink and amuse themselves round the fires. May God take vengeance on all who enjoy causing pain to another being, gifted with sensation and doing no harm!" The most famous Christmas feast of its time was that of the year 323/935. The Condottiere Merdawig—Prince of the west Iranian mountain tracts—caused fagots to be collected in the *Wadi* of Zerinzuz at Isfahan, set up huge candles and gathered together a

(1) p. 182.

(2) p. 45 (Eng. tr. p. 77, Tr.)

(3) *Kit. al-ilal*, Berlin, fol. 82 a.

(4) Misk, V, 479.

(5) Name of a work of Al-Berûni.

(6) Beruni, tr. 213.

(7) Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 222 ff: Abulfida, *Annales*, 328.

(8) fol. 192 b.

(9) Berûni, 226.

large number of naphtha throwers and marksmen. At every elevation about the town a huge castle of trunks of trees was built and was filled up with oakum and fagots. He had birds captured and caused nuts, filled with oakum and naphtha, to be tied to their beaks and feet. In the hall of his castle he set up powerful wax-pillars and figures made of wax for illumination. He arranged that the fire might be lighted up simultaneously on the hills, in the desert and in the castle. The birds, too, were to be released in the darkness of the night. He arranged for a great feast for which 100 horses and 200 cattle—apart from sheep—were slaughtered. But when he inspected the arrangement he found it all petty and trifling, for to the eye—set on the wide, wide expanse—everything seems small and petty. He became angry; wrapped himself up in a mantle and uttered not a word¹. On Christmas Day the Fatimid Caliphs presented their officers with sweets, rose-water and codfish. They illuminated shops and streets with lanterns² (fânûs) and gave them to beggars at a cost of one dirhem for a lantern.

In Egypt Epiphany was specially celebrated with great splendour. It was called the "Feast of Diving" (*Id al-Ghitâs*) because the Christians bathed in the Nile. Even to-day on the very same day the Greek church blesses holy water. It was an old custom for the Commissioner of Police of the Lower Town to go about the streets in the evening in a gorgeous dress with candles and fire-baskets proclaiming: "On this night Muslims should not mix with Christians." At dawn the Christians proceeded in a splendid procession to the Nile singing Psalms and carrying crosses and burning candles. Many actually dived into the Nile. "Officials and savants had greater pleasure and fun at this feast than on any other day of the year."³ Mas'ûdi states: "The 'night of the diving'⁴ is a great night for the people of Misr. They do not sleep at all that night. In 330/941 I took part in this festival at Misr.⁵ Ikhshid Mohammad Ibn Tughj was in his residence called 'the chosen one' on the island of the Nile. He had the banks of the island and of the town lighted up by 1,000 fire-baskets—the people themselves adding their own candles and fire-baskets to this illumination. There were 100,000

(1) Misk, V, 479 ff: Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 222: Abulfida, anno. 323. gives the figure of animals slain as 100 horses and 2,000 cattle.

(2) Maqrizi, I, 265.

(3) Maqrizi, I, 265.

(4) Ibn Sa'id, 196.

(5) Mas'ûdi, II, 864 ff.

Muslims and Christians on the Nile that night—some on boats, some in the neighbouring houses, some again on the banks. They vied with each other in eating, in drinking, in gaudiness of dress and apparel, in gold and silver ornaments, in precious stones, in music, in piping and in dancing. It is the most beautiful and the most enjoyable night at Misr. The streets are not closed. Most people bathe in the Nile and think that they thereby secure immunity from illness.” Specially the candle-market was lighted up on a grand scale. It was, as a rule, open till midnight,¹ was much frequented at night and was a resort of prostitutes distinguished by special attire, pantaloons of red leather.

In 415/1025 the chief police officer of Cairo pitched a tent on the Nile bridge on the Epiphany for the Caliph and his women-folk to see the festival. The Caliph himself gave the signal for the lighting up of fire and lanterns and “it was a beautiful, and prolonged illumination.”²

The night of the first Sunday in Lent was also a great day of festivity for Muslims at Baghdad. It was celebrated with great *eclat* at the *Dair-al-Khawwet* (monastery of the sisters) at Ukbara, a village noted for wine. The pleasure-making reached its culminating point on the *Lailat-ul-mahsus* (night of the touch) “when women mixed freely with men, no one shrinking from anything. There was plenty of drinking, dancing and fun.”³ The later Ibn Khaldûn even knew of men, dressed up in women’s clothes, riding wooden horses, with faces turned towards the tail, and having mock fights.⁴ On the fourth Sunday of Lent people of the two faiths went to the monastery of Durmalis and gave themselves up to festivities for several days.⁵ A great Christian festival of the Egyptians was unhesitatingly adopted by the Muslims: The deliverance of Joseph from prison at Gizah. Previously people, with trumpets and drums, went round the bazars and the streets collecting subscriptions for the festival. But in consequence of a rise in prices the merchants in 415/1024 refused to pay subscription. The Government, thereupon, consented to double its usual grant. Everywhere amusement, acting and shadow-plays were arranged. For two days the Caliph himself came to inspect the show.⁶

(1) Maqrizi, *Khitat*, II, 96.

(2) Musabbihi (d. 420/1029) in Becker, *Beitrage*, I, 62.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) Sabushti, fol. 87 b.

(5) Mashriq, IX, 200.

(6) Sabushti Ia : Musabbihi in Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 1, 207.

He also was present, three months before, at the dedication of a church when Christians and Muslims pitched tents on the banks of the canal and enjoyed themselves with food, drink and other pleasures. Women, on this occasion, drank so heavily that they had to be carried home in baskets.¹ On the 8th of May was the martyr's feast in Shubrah near Cairo. A box containing the finger of a martyr, which was kept in the Christian church at Shubra, was annually thrown into the Nile.

All Cairo and the whole band of Egyptian musicians joined this celebration—often, indeed, wine, worth over 100,000 dirhems, was sold that day. Only in the 8th/14th century was this festival done away with.²

There were three New Year feasts :

- (a) The Persian and the Syrian which fell in spring ;
- (b) The Coptic in Egypt which fell at the end of August ;
- (c) The beginning of the Muslim year which varied from year to year.

(d) Besides these, —there are traces of the ancient Persian New Year which occurred at the summer solstice.

Generally the pre-Islamic New Year's day, at the beginning of the solar year, was celebrated by mutual gifts. Among other things the Caliph at Baghdad distributed objects made of amber ; as for instance, red roses.³ The Samanids in Bukhara presented summer clothes to their soldiers ;⁴ the Fatimids robes and eatables to their folk.⁵ Even before the Caliph they acted with masks at Baghdad. The Caliph flung money at the actors and it so happened once that one of the actors actually looked for a stray coin under the flaps of the royal coat. This provoked the displeasure of an old courtier ; for this close intercourse with masked people offered too many opportunities for assassination. Henceforth the Caliph witnessed the performance from a height.⁶ It was customary both at the Persian and the Coptic New Year for people to sprinkle water over each other. In 282/895 this was forbidden in the East⁷. But Berûni, about 400/1008, testifies to the

(1) Musabbihi, apud. *Khitat*, II, 1355.

(2) Maqrizi, I. 60.

(3) Sabushti, 22b.

(4) Berûni, 217.

(5) Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 268 f.

(6) Sabushti, 15 a, b.

(7) Tabari, III, 2144.

renewal of this practice.¹ The Chinese traveller Wang Jente, who travelled westward between 981-83 A.D., observed this practice even in Turfan (Kan-tschang): The inhabitants of Kan-tschang make silver and copper pipes, fill them with water and sprinkle each other with it. Sometimes for fun they do so with their hands. They assert that they, thereby, cool the humours and thus keep illnesses away.² In Egypt people nominated a prince for the new year (amîr un-naurôz) who besmeared his face with flour or lime, went through the streets on a donkey, in a red or yellow coat, with a copy-book in hand like a *Muhtasib* (market-inspector) collecting money from the well-to-do. He who did not pay had water and dirt thrown at him. They hit each other with straps (*julûd*) and twisted leather-ropes (*anta*), the poor in the streets, the rich in their houses. The police, therefore, entertained no complaint on that score. In the school the teacher was attacked by his students and sometimes thrown into a fountain where he remained until he redeemed himself by payment. In 335/945 the Governor forbade the "throwing of water." In 363/974 the Caliph prohibited the feast, but, despite the prohibition, it was celebrated with greater zest than ever, for three days—the punishment proving ineffectual.³ Only in the eighties of the 8/14th century was this festival suppressed by the Sultan Barqûq.⁴ The Egyptian custom can easily be recognised as the Carnival: celebrated on the intercalated days which everywhere came at the end of the old year, were under the dominia of a King of fools, and faithfully followed the migration of the new year⁵—through the calendar.⁶

Of the old Persian New Year, at the beginning of the summer solstice, the sprinkling of water still survived about the year 400/1009.⁷ To-day it is associated with the Christian Feast of Ascension which falls about this day and the day is named the "sprinkling Thursday."⁸ (*Khamîs er-rishâsh*). I have witnessed this custom myself

(1) pp. 215, 218.

(2) JA, 1847, I, 58.

(3) Kindi, 294: Maqrizi, *Khîtat*, I, 266. The New Year in Egypt falls in August. People light fire and throw water at each other. *Kalendar of Cordova for the year 961 A.D.* ed. Dzy, p. 85.

(4) Maqrizi, *Khîtat*, I, 269, 408.

(5) This seems to be the sense.

(6) Even in Europe; Saturnalia, time between X'mas and Epiphany etc., etc. In some parts of Germany on the 4th day after X'mas children give a beating to their parents and kinsmen. In Bulgaria on the New Year's day, servants do likewise to their master.

(7) Berûni, 266.

(8) *Mashric*. III. 668.

at Baghdad. A "Prince Carnival" is also at Al-Kausaj (the thin bearded man). His day, once at the end of February, now falling at the beginning of November by reason of the shifting of the Persian calendar, coincided with the five intercalary days of the Persians. He rode about the streets of the Mesopotamian and Persian towns on a mule and he who would not give him something had his clothes smeared with red glue. "On this day God was said to fix the good and evil fortune of man"¹—as was the old belief, concerning the New Year's day. These were days of jubilation and rejoicing for the Persians.

About three months later followed the old winter solstice of the Persians (Mihrrjan)—now falling at the end of September—which, along with the *Nauroz*, has always remained their most important feast. It was, like the *Nauroz*, celebrated by mutual gifts—the Court and the army donning the winter uniform.² The people, on this day, too, "changed carpets, utensils and clothing."³ It is specially noticed as a peculiarity that on this feast-day even subjects made presents to their Prince. The *quondam* State-Secretary As-Sabi sends to his prince presents from jail on the Mihrrjan day—a Khusrowan dirham and a book "as big as my prison and as firmly bound as myself."⁴ On the other hand the constantly shifting Muslim New Year never became a popular festival but remained merely a court-holiday on which mutual gifts were made.⁵

The custom of the Abbasid Court to strew roses is also traceable to nature-worship. The splendour-loving Mutawakkil is said to have had five million dirhems struck and painted in various colours: red, yellow, black, etc., etc., for showering upon court officers.⁶ They built for the Cairene ruler at Qalyûb—where was special rose cultivation—a castle of roses where a great banquet was held.⁷

The two canonical festivals are the sacrificial festivals at the conclusion of the month of Fast. They, along with the *Nauroz*, constituted the three principal festivals of the people of Baghdad.⁸ At Basra sheep were fattened

(1) Berûni, tr. 211. Mas'ûdi, III, 413: Tha'libi, *Book of the Props.* ZDMG VI, 389: Qazwini, on the margin of Damîri, I, 127.

(2) Berûni, 223: Yat. IV, 65. *Diwan Kushajim*.

(3) Mas'ûdi, III, 404: *Sukkarlan* on the margin of *Mikhlat*, 163.

(4) Yat. II, 58.

(5) For North Persia, Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 41: for Egypt, Maqrizi, *Khitat*, I, 490.

(6) Sabushti, 68 b.

(7) Maqrizi, I, 488.

(8) Tabari, III, 1170.

for a year for the sacrificial feast and were sold at 10 dînârs each.¹ At Cairo, amidst a huge crowd, the state-table of the Caliph was carried through the main streets under the guidance of the Trade-Inspector and Chief of the Police. The table was adorned with many mounted pieces as for instance in the year 415/1024 with seven huge towers; in 439/1047 with an orange-tree—all made of sugar. Chains of cracknels and other dainties were heaped up in the tower which the people were allowed to plunder². These two *Ids* were the only great festivals which could be celebrated as Islamic festivals with official Muslim splendour. They were most solemn where Muslim sentiment was at its highest such as in Tarsus,³ where Muslim warriors from the entire empire streamed in. After the loss of Tarsus—Sicily later became renowned for its most beautiful *Id* celebrations.⁴ The sacrificial feast, by its wholesale slaughter of defenceless animals, must always have been repulsive.

Ramadan was the time of the greatest hospitality. The Wazîr Ibn 'Abbâd entertained some thousands on these nights in his house and gave more away in one month than he did during the rest of the year put together.⁵ The growing veneration for the Prophet, in the pietistic circles, introduced about the year 300/912 his birth-day celebration—a vexatious innovation to the faithful of the older type.⁶ The pious Karaji (d. 343/954) broke his fast only on the two *Ids* and the birth-day of the Prophet. In the 6th/12th century the Fatimid Caliphs even forbade four birth-day celebrations as unlawful; those of the Prophet, of Ali, of Fatima and of the reigning Caliph.⁷

But the first to celebrate the birth-day of the Prophet on a grand scale is said to have been the Prince Abu Sa'îd Muzaffur-ud-dîn of Arbela (d. 650/1233)⁸. At this feast,

(1) *Aghani*, III, 62.

(2) Musabbihi in Becker, *Beitrage*, I, 70 : cf. Nasir Khusru, tr. 158 : Maqrizi, *Khitat*, I, 387 : Abul Mahâsin, II, 473.

(3) *Tarikh Baghdad*, Paris, 14 b : Abul Mahâsin, II, 67.

(4) Muk. 183.

(5) *Yat*, III, 36.

(6) Goldziher, *Moh. and Islam*, p. 298 Tr.

(7) Maqrizi, I, 432.

(8) To the celebration, arranged by him, streamed in from Baghdad, Mûsul, Jazirah, Sinjar, Nisibis, even Persia, Sûfis, preachers, Qurân-readers and poets and remained at Arbela from Mohurram to the beginning of Rabi' I. The Prince had 20, finely adorned booth shows, 4 or 5 storeys high, erected in the principal streets and manned them throughout with singers, musicians and shadow-players. The people, at this time, did nothing but roam about and enjoy the pleasures offered to them. On the night of the *Milad* * the Prince himself rode through the streets. Many burning candles—each tied to a mule—waved to and fro in front of him. The festival concluded with a parade and a banquet. Ibn Khall. ed. Wustenfeld. n. 16.

legends relating to the Prophet, notably the history of his night-journey to heaven (mi'râj) were fondly recited, leading inevitably to the luxuriant development of his biography.

Of the family feasts the circumcision was by far the most important. It had not yet become a 'private' feast; for it still retained many features of the old feast of puberty. They felt shy of circumcising one child alone. The Caliph al-Muqtadir had five of his sons circumcised at the same time, besides a band of orphans whom he loaded with rich presents. The entire cost is said to have been 600,000 dînârs (Jauzi, fol. 10 b). Isma'îl Ibn Qâ'im (the Fatimid) ordered that the sons of the Commanders and Superintendents—nay, even those of the slaves, soldiers and poor-folks of Qairwân and other towns should be registered for circumcision and gifts. The figure showed more than 10,000. Every day 500 to 1,300 were circumcised, fed and rewarded. He gave to everyone according to his position from 100 dînârs to 100 dirhems and even less. The feast lasted for 17 days. "I have heard a courtier say that the total cost was 200,000 dînârs. Such expenditure and extravagance had never been experienced before."¹ And so also was the greatest court-feast of the 3rd/9th century—the circumcision of the Caliph al-Mu'tazz. It cost his father the fabulous sum of 86 million dirhems.² But fates had willed that the son, so blessed with his father's joy, should be murdered after a brief reign and that his son should end his days in poverty and indigence.

Along with these circumcisions, weddings were the most renowned court-feasts of the olden times. The wedding of Hârûn cost 50 million and that of Mamûn 70 million dirhems.³ In 310/922 the Chief Stewardess fell into disfavour for celebrating the wedding of her niece with an unheard of splendour.⁴ On these occasions people liked to show themselves richer than they actually were. They hired⁵ ornaments, carpets and utensils.

(1) *Kit. al-uyun wal-hadaïq*, IV, Berlin, 252 a.

(2) Sabushti, 66 a ff.

(3) Sabushti, 66 b.

(4) *Zubdat al-Fikrah*, 192 a.

(5) *Aghani*, V, 119. At Baghdad the first wedding dish, according to the custom there, always was the *Harisah*, a kind of mince. Ibn al-Hajjâj, X, 70. The throwing of confetti was also a custom at weddings there. *Yat*, II, 20.

Finally an important feast was the feast of cupping, when presents were received and a special meal was served. (Irshad II, 141). The operation was done by a barber who, about the year 300/912, received half a dirhem as his remuneration.*

**Irshad*, 1,870. Distinguished people had a barber of their own. *Misk*, VI, 247.

S. KHUDA BUKHSI.

(To be continued.)

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

OLD HYDERABAD.*

As the translator says in his foreword, this autobiography "is an epitome of the political and social history of Hyderabad between 1869 and 1897, the years respectively of his arrival and departure" from that place. No one who is interested in the history of the Nizam's Dominions can afford to ignore this book of which the writer was one of the makers of that history; though his part was mostly played behind the scenes, necessarily as he was tutor to His Highness the late Nizam and afterwards Peshi Secretary. His historical memories actually begin in the time of the Mutiny when, as a child, he was living in Delhi. There was a set of people in the Delhi of those days which is now extinct—they were the descendants of the old Mughal families and were called the "Aka." They were totally ignorant and quite illiterate, but being chivalrous, straight-dealing and good-looking they were welcome in the houses of the rich. The city was very prosperous, the King having an allowance of a lakh of rupees monthly from the Company, and other princes receiving allowances in proportion to their rank. The people were so contented that they knew nothing of the happenings outside, and thought that the Mughal rule still existed throughout India. They had a rude awakening when the mutineers from Meerut murdered the English Commander at the Fort and, entering the City, behaved like savages. That, and the six months of fighting which ensued, was the ruin of Delhi.

After the taking of Delhi by General Nicholson, the writer's family moved to Sitapur to live with his uncle Mirza Abbas Beg, who was afterwards created a Talukdar of Oudh. Later the boy, Agha Mirza Beg Khan, went to the Canning College at Lucknow under the special patronage of General L. Barrow, Chief Commissioner of Oudh

*"My Life," The Autobiography of Nawab Server-el-Mulk Bahadur, translated by his son Nawab Jiwan Yar Jung Bahadur B. A. (Cantab) Judge of the High Court, Hyderabad, Deccan. London, Arthur H. Stockwell (Ltd.)

and a great friend of his family. He was not content to stay there long, however, but decided to travel to the Deccan and try his fortune in Hyderabad. He was supported in this idea by his friend Syed Hussain Bilgrami, and no doubt inspired by the sight of Sir Salar Jung, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, who happened to visit Lucknow as the honoured guest of General Barrow, and to whom the boy was introduced and recommended by the General.

He made a leisurely journey, occupying nearly ten months, which is amusingly described. On his arrival at Hyderabad he presented several letters of introduction to influential people, including one from General Barrow to Sir Salar Jung, and another to Mr. Trevor, First Assistant Resident. But it was only after much delay and disappointment, and money spent in bribing servants, that he managed to get an interview with the great Minister, who soon afterwards entrusted him with the education of his two young sons. He was also engaged to read Urdu with Captain Clark, Superintendent of Education to the Nizam, then eight years old. Not long after that he was promoted to be one of the tutors to teach English to His Highness, which speaks well for his abilities. This post he retained until the day his pupil's education was completed—the day on which His Highness, Mir Mahbub Ali Khan, was installed on the Gadi. Throughout his long connection with the Court, loyalty to the Nizam was undoubtedly his ruling passion. He was in the heart of every palace intrigue, and has described them in a most lively way.

The book is very well written and translated. The background of conspiracies, court customs, gorgeous pageantry, the clash of old and new ways, the change from Persian into Urdu as the language of the Court, and the rise and fall of Ministers and Residency officials—all this is presented in a manner which makes fascinating reading.

Contrasting the present condition of the City, with its many hospitals, its sanitary arrangements and its splendid roads, with the condition here described, one realises the immense advance which has been made in a comparatively few years. A full index would increase the value of the work, but as it stands, and whether one shares the author's views or not, it is the best book ever written about Hyderabad.

TWO SUFI POETS IN FRENCH TRANSLATIONS.*

The fame of Al-Huseyn bin Mansûr al-Hallâj (and also, we may add, the fame of Professor Louis Massignon) gives the book that bears his name precedence at first sight over the other book which lies before us, Monsieur Emile Dermenghem's version and Nablusi's Commentary of Ibn al-Fârid's poem which begins

شربنا على ذكر الحبيب مدامة
سكرنا بها من قبل أن يخلق الكرم

(We have quaffed in remembrance of the Beloved a wine which made us drunk before the vine was created) and to which he has given the rather misleading title of *L'Eloge du Vin* (In praise of wine). Yet it is only his cry *Ana'l-Haqq* (I am the Truth), and the martyrdom which befell him in consequence, which exalt Al-Hallâj. Ibn al-Fârid is a very much better poet and a better Sufi; and Monsieur Dermenghem's introduction of him is complete, whereas Professor Massignon, in his collection of poems written by, or ascribed to, or associated with, Al-Hallâj, has confined himself to bare translation of the more important poems and to abbreviated annotations useful only to the learned. The poems which he has classified as authentic, no less than the others in the book, abound in colloquialisms which seem to us more often those of Syria than of the lands in which the famous mystic lived and died. The poems generally, in rhythm and style, remind us of the chap-book poetry ascribed to men of note which used to be hawked about in Syria and Egypt; and we should guess that most of them are versions written down only after the poems had long been handed down by oral tradition.

However, it is not improbable that Al-Hallâj himself, a sort of Oriental preaching friar, may have preferred the people's speech to literary niceties. That preference, with his affectations and his choice of company, would go a long way towards explaining Al-Bîrûnî's dismissal of him as a mere posturing, often blasphemous, charlatan. Al-Bîrûnî was an academic personage, and Al-Hallâj was

Le Diwan d'Al-Hallâj. Essai de reconstitution, édition et traduction. Par Louis Massignon. Paris. Paul Geuthner, 13 rue Jacob. 1981.

L'Eloge du Vin (Al-Khamriya). Poème Mystique de Omar ibn al-Faridh. Les Editions Vega. Paris. 43, rue Madame. 1981. Price 20 francs.

the reverse. The poems are none the less attractive, and at times affecting, for being couched in homely language. Their appeal is direct like the preaching of the aforesaid friar ; and Professor Massignon has conveyed their meaning in good French, though sometimes rather by a paraphrase than a translation ; but more latitude is allowed in French in this respect.

There is no heterodoxy whatsoever to be found in these poems. They are perfectly orthodox Sufi productions. For example :

قل لي فديتك يا سمعي ويا بصري
لم ذا اللجاجة في بعدى وإتصاى
إن كنت بالغيب عن عيني محتجبا
فالقلب يركك في الإبعاد والنائي

(Say to me " I have redeemed thee, " O my Hearing,
O my Sight !
How long this persistence in my banishment and far
exile ?
If Thou art curtained from mine eyes in the Unseen
Still my heart seeth thy light in distant places
and afar)

عبارات لأقوام تساوت لديهم هذه الدنيا وفس
وأصوات وراء الباب لكن عبارات الورى في القرب همس
وآخر ما يؤول إليه عبد إذا بلغ المدى حظ ونفس
لأن الخلق خدام الأمانى وحق الحق في التحقيق قدس

(Phrases for folk for whom this world and bankruptcy
are one

And voices behind the door ; but phrases of men, in
the Approach, become a murmur.

And the last thing of which the adept thinks, when
he reaches the term, is fortune and self.

For creatures are the slaves of vain desires and the
truth of the Truth, when ascertained, is Holiness.)

يامن رياض معانيه قد حوت كل فنى
وإن تمنيت شيئا فأنت كل التنى

(Thou the gardens of whose emblems embrace all
my science.

And if I desire anything, it is Thou who art all the
desire !)

and this last quotation which expresses the state of mind
in which a man might cry "Ana'l Haqq" (I am the
Truth)

بغيت مستسلا إليه حد قيادي بكف سلمى
قد وسم الحب منه قلبي بميتم الشوق أى وسم
وغاب عنى شهود ذاتى بالقرب حتى نسيت اسمى

which Professor Massignon has translated thus in French :

*Je m'avancai, pour faire ma soumission, tenu en taise
au poing de ma capitulation. Et déjà l'amour avait
grave de Lui, dans mon coeur, au fer chaud du desir, quelle
empreinte ! Et l'intuition de ma personnalité me déserta,
et je devenais si proche (de Lui) que j'oubliai mon nom.*

It goes more literally into English : —

"Then I came to make surrender unto Him, the end
of my head-rope in the hand of my submission.

Already love from Him had branded me with the
brand of longing, what a branding !

And consciousness of my self forsook me in the App-
roach till I forgot my name !"

The desert Arabs brand their thoroughbred horses
when they break them in.

Every poem and fragment of a poem in the book is
worth reading, and Professor Massignon is a thoroughly
competent editor.

In *L'Eloge du Vin* Monsieur Emile Dermenghem has
given us, in addition to a faithful as well as elegant trans-
lation of Ibn al-Fârid's *Khamriya* and Nablûs's com-
mentary thereon, an *Essai sur la Mystique Musulmane*
which is the best short account of the origin and nature
of Sûfism since Ibn Khaldûn's.

"The theses of the Persian or Hindu origin of Sûfism,"
he writes "tend, it seems, to be more and more discarded,
or at least cannot be maintained with certainty, pro-
bability or even verisimilitude according to what we
know. That does not mean that there is not a profound
analogy between Muslim Mysticism and Hindu Mysticism,
whether by virtue of the unity of the human mind (to
the extent to which certain concepts are "true" and

certain ideas adequate) or by virtue of a community of origin (what a Joseph de Maistre, for example, calls the Primitive Tradition, of which Revelation is the reminder and the flowering). One way, as we shall see, of comprehending Oriental thoughts is just, with caution and tact, to make comparisons between Hindu, Muslim and Christian thought in the Middle Ages, all three corresponding to traditional forms of civilisation. A profound unity, in spite of certain shadings and divergences, will appear rather impressively. The Muslim element will form the bridge between the Far East and the West...."

He insists upon the independent and Islamic origin of Sûfism. He also insists upon its orthodox Islamic character. "The majority of Sûfis took good care prudently to reconcile their inner life and orthodoxy, the 'truth' and the 'law.' Juneyd and Tostari insisted on respect for the canonical injunctions. Nor has orthodox Islam ever excommunicated Sûfism (to which the great Ghazâlî gave 'the freedom of the city' of orthodoxy), which has supplied it with so great a part of its moral life and its devotion."

He strongly rejects the theory, put forward by so many Occidental writers, that Sûfism is indistinguishable from Pantheism :

"The mystic throws back the veil which hides the reality from him; he 'realises' that God is the essence of his being; he renounces the accidental 'me' to find 'the truth of existence'; he arrives by various degrees of orison at contemplation of things divine and at the transfiguring union which 'annihilates in God as the lights of the dawn are annihilated in the Sun's light when the sun appears.' (Maître Eckhart)

"Some misguided mystics fell into 'illuminism' or pantheism, just as some theologians failed to recognise what a much needed response mysticism gave to the most profound exigencies of the spiritual life. The essence of this last, besides, is not bound up with the formulæ, sometimes ungainly, which have claimed to express it. But no-one could see the least pantheism in the doctrines of the Unity of Being and the Transfiguring Union which we find among mystics of widely different kinds. They are no more pantheistic with the Sûfis than with the Christians of the Middle Ages, the Fathers of the Church, or the Mystics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

"Such and such a formula of Saint Ignatius or St. Thomas would raise a cry of pantheism if found in an authentic Sûfî or Hindu text. But in both cases it is generally only a matter of analogous experience or of a similar tradition."

The author's sympathy is in proportion to his understanding.

"The reforming movement—the radical and 'protestant' puritanism of the Wahhabis, the moderate reforming spirit of the disciples of the Egyptian Sheykh Muhamamad 'Abdu, the extreme secularism of the Turkish Kemâlists—protests against these abuses energetically to-day. Unfortunately Muslim modernism is in danger of uprooting the good corn with the tares and of attacking, together with Sûfism, the fine flower, the deep life-giving soul of Muslim civilisation—that is to say, the metaphysical and mystical tradition. In the very delicate and difficult adaptation to contemporary life, the Muslim world, if the evolution is not made on the lines of its true traditions, is in danger of taking from Europe only Europe's defects and of losing, to speak plainly, its soul."

This Essay on Muslim Mysticism forms the best imaginable introduction to the translation of Ibn al-Fârid's mystic poem and the commentation thereof.

We recommend this book *L'Eloge du Vin* to every reader who knows French. *Diwan ul-Hallaj* is designed for Arabic scholars only.

M. P.

NEW TURKEY.*

It seems doubtful, after reading Monsieur Pittard's admirable book, whether the sense of superiority has even now been hammered out of the Turks. Rather, one imagines that the "miracle" of Turkish regeneration, so amazing to our author, to be due to mere impatience of the very shadow of inferiority and determination to excel under quite new conditions. Of the greatness of the effort of regeneration there can be no doubt. The Turks were never lacking in sincerity of purpose. But the author

**A Travers L'Asie Mineure. Le Nouveau Visage de la Turquie.* Par Eugene Pittard, Conservateur du Musée d'Ethnographie de la Ville de Geneve, Paris, Societe d'Editions Geographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales, 184 Boulevard, St. Germain 1931.

errs in thinking that it is due entirely to Mustafâ Kemâl Pasha. It began with the Committee of Union and Progress and derived a good deal of its inspiration from a group of passionately patriotic Turkish writers, *e. g.* the poet Nâmiq Kemâl, which sprang up in the sixties of last century. The saviour of the nation from destruction has preserved it; the remembered peril, the country's trial have convinced everyone of its necessity; and the chief obstacles in capitulations and concessions to the Powers and the presence of a disloyal minority have been eliminated. It has been generally thought that the loss of the Greek Anatolian population, the commercial element, would prove a very serious loss to Turkey. But it is not so. It caused much inconvenience for a year or two, but the gap caused by the deportation is no longer noticeable, the place of the Greeks of Turkey having been taken by the Turks of Greece, particularly in the great tobacco industry. Monsieur Pittard shows us how the agriculture, trade and industry of Turkey have, without assistance from outside, been brought back almost to the pre-war standard, in spite of the fact that the most fertile regions had been devastated by the enemy, the cattle killed, the villages destroyed. It is a story which, though told in terms of economics, borders on romance as does everything heroic. But it is very far from the romance of Turkey as we knew it; and the present writer must plead guilty to having felt a thrill of pleasure, which the author evidently shares, at the survival of the old Turkish life and character in all essentials. Exaggeration in the course of such an effort there was bound to be. The changing of the head-dress and the script are unimportant, provided that the national characteristics of honesty, sobriety and love of beauty remain unimpaired.

What does cause Monsieur Pittard some anxiety is the indifference of some of the present leaders of Turkey to the antiquarian and artistic riches of their country.

He does not tell us the reason why "one can no longer visit" the green Mosque at Broussa. But in other cities he has told us of mosques and madrasahs, world-famous for their beauty, turned into barracks.

Monsieur Pittard is a skilled ethnographer and anthropologist, and it is with astonishment that we read his statement that the Turks are from their origin a white race, unrelated to the Mongols. We had always understood that the Turks when they first appeared in Asia had

marked Mongolian features and that they have been changed into a white race by intermarriages. The portraits of the very early Sultans certainly support this view, and so does the allegedly pure Turkish type still, before the war, to be found in villages especially in the vilayet of Adana.

M. P.

ISLAMIC SHARIAT AND PARSI RELIGION.

"An Introduction to the study of Muhammadan Law"* by Dr. Asaf A. A. Fyzee is a very useful little work. Mr. Fyzee has a double qualification : He is a Musalman traditionally trained in a sectarian group which has preserved a profound knowledge of Arabic, some of whose members, like Mr. Fyzee, have kept themselves abreast of the results of modern research. His little book is not confined to the Sunni tenets. It include an account of the Shia doctrine also, new to most of us. Very much and very useful information is packed into a few pages, and for extended and more detailed information copious authorities are cited.

I should like to comment on the book from a single standpoint,—that of Islam as viewed by Persians. To-day the womanhood of Asia is awakened. The greater part of Asia is supposed to be awakening from the deadly stupor solely generated by Islam. I have combated this calculated heresy for years with special reference to Persia ; and it gives me pleasure to find a new auxiliary with whom to fight the fanatical, especially those who have begun to deal or dabble in things Persian.

To put the matter in a nutshell ; for now over 20 years a few untruths have been sedulously dinned into the ears of the public by semi-educated, really ignorant lawyers, Parsi doctors with double-barrelled military titles, missionaries with more piety for the vulgar mob than reverence for truth and others helped by salaried sycophants, belonging both to the Zoroastrain and the Islamic religions of Persia. One of these intentional fibs is that the downfall of Persia is due to Islam, and mainly on account of the position to which the Shari'at condemns woman. I believe this is a deliberate calumny, for the position of women in Islam has always been an elevated one. A lover of truth, who is not a Musalman either by

*"An Introduction to the Study of Muhammadan Law" by Asaf A.A. Fyzee Oxford University Press, 1931. Price Re-1-4-0.

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There may be a question of the correctness of the interpretation here and there. As Dr. Bogdanov puts it, "Parsi scholars are very much inclined to overvalue the goodness of the Pehlavi texts and to undervalue the difficulty of their translation." The passages cited, however, are of a character to leave no room for doubt as to the real meaning of the author.

Let me quote a few authoritative dicta from this social code of the Sasanians. They evidence the extraordinary and peculiar moral niche to which women were consigned by the then state religion of the Parsis.

"The Sasanian Law places the wife in such a dependent position with reference to the family authority of the husband that no legal litigation can be undertaken and conducted by her or against her."

As a wife she is subordinate to her husband, and a special chapter discusses the consequences of her insubordination. But read further. Polygamy is repeatedly and incontestably established as common in the Zoroastrian period which preceded the Islamic domination of Iran. The chief wife is often referred to as distinguished from minor wives. A chapter deals with main wives and "collateral wives." The Pehlavi text, supported by later Persian writings called *Rivayets*, detail five categories of married women !

Limitation of polygamy certainly did not exist in Persia in Zoroastrian times. "Whether a man did keep a collateral wife—or several such—or not : that, certainly, depended only on his personal tastes, as well as on his economic circumstances." Religion had nothing whatever to do with it. The matter is not confined to the Pehlavi period. It goes right up into the Avesta epoch. There is a definite technical term in Avesta for co-wife, *babami*. It corresponds exactly with the Sanscrit *sapatni*. It is laid down :—

"When two women have one husband, each one of them is a *vasni*, with respect to the other. Not only a man was entitled to have along with a main wife one or several collateral wives, but he even could have, and at one and the same times, two main wives."

Having established polygamy, we proceed just to hint at that strangely barbarous institution of "Intermediary marriages," during the Sasanian period. Still more amazing was the practise of "*loan-wives*." Wives

were leased according to set rites. The reason of the lease was the intense Aryan desire to beget a son, or rather to be the father of a son before death.

I do not deny that, as against these, there are certain sections which seem to give women peculiar privileges. But they are more than counterbalanced by the hideous practice of looking upon women as chattels. There is only one redeeming point about it all. The decisions given in the *Matigan-i-Hazar Dastan* are contradictory. There was, therefore, considerable elasticity. But no casuistry nor anathema of independent publicists, determined to speak and preach reality, can wipe out blots that some regard as semi-sacred. Here is a sample :—

“The husband is entitled to give his wife to another who is in need of children and expresses his demand for the wife in a suitable manner ; and this can be done ‘even without her (the wife’s) consent.’ ”

As contrasted with these Zoroastrian injunctions based on authorities which have not been shaken, Mr. Fyzee shows that the Muhammadan wife has rights which the Christian wife has not against her husband. (P. LL.)

As regards *Muta* or temporary marriages, especially common in Persia in pre-Reza Shah days the practice was at one time tolerated by the Prophet Muhammad for a short while, but was plainly prohibited later. Such illicit marriages are in vogue only in Persia. Why ?

I am not sure whether Mr. Fyzee is right in confining *Kitabi* women to Jewish and Christian. The authorities include in the term also Zoroastrian.

By an oversight, Mr. Fyzee does not seem to have noticed that Juynboll’s “Handbuch des Islamischen Gesetzes,” which he rightly values, has not remained untranslated. As a matter of fact, I think Dr. Juynboll himself informed me that it is a German version of the original article contributed to the “Encyclopædia Britannica.”

The little book of Mr. Fyzee should be studied at least by the sociologists who have been brought up in the traditions of looking upon the teachings of Islam as hard upon women in general.

G. K. N.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

The Philosophy of Fakirs. Notes of Talks on Vedantism *alias* Sûfism. By Sir Ahmed Hussain (Nawab Amin Jung Bahadur) Hyderabad, (Deccan). Government Central Press. A pamphlet in which matters extremely abstruse are made plain without mystification of verbiage. It may be recommended to would-be students of the subject as an easy text-book.

The Peacemaker. The Advocate of Islam in Southern India. March 1932. A little Magazine founded to spread the truth about Islam, devotional rather than controversial in tone. It is well edited and well printed.



“ There ought to be two lives for a skilful and wise man ;— one for learning and gaining experience, the other for putting into practice the knowledge and experience he has acquired.”

(From an inscription in Persian on the reverse of the picture.)



Portrait of Aurangzeb as an Old Man.

Sir Akbar Hydari's Collection.

MEMOIRS OF THE LATE RT. HON'BLE SYED AMEER ALI

(Continued from our last issue.)

THE MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE.

THE wrench involved in leaving my work and old associations in India in order to spend a few years with my sons before they went out into the world, was mitigated by our acquisition of a charming home in Berkshire. It was a modest little country-house, nestling against a wooded hillside. The sloping lawns leading from a rose-clad verandah to a small lake added a great charm.

It was said to have been the dower-house of Ufton Court, the beautiful gabled home of Arabella Fermor after her marriage. She was the lady who figures as the heroine in Pope's "Rape of the Lock." This little property was part of a large estate called Englefield, after a battle fought there in Saxon times between Angles and Danes. At the other extremity of the valley lay the battlefield of Newbury, and in the lanes round the neighbourhood, where there had been many a scuffle between the contending armies, were found within recent years pieces of armour and accoutrements of the Civil Wars.

One of the charms and interests arising within the narrow confines of Great Britain is the constant reminders of historical episodes met with not only in the cities but often in the remote parts of the country. Another among the points of attraction in our neighbourhood was the well-known triennial performances of classical Greek plays acted in the open-air Greek theatre in a sylvan chalk-pit by the boys of Bradfield College. Their inauguration was due to the erudition and energy of the head-master, the Rev. Dr. Grey.

In the years following, our pleasant life was varied in the late summer months by visits to that mountainous region of Switzerland lying between Austria and Italy—where the invigorating air from the glaciers seemed to give new life after years of work in hot climates. In this

happy valley, so high that even elderly walkers like myself could reach the glaciers, tired men from all parts of the world came in search of the refreshing breezes. One met from countries near and far statesmen, diplomats, scientists and men of arts and letters with whom an interchange of ideas and knowledge was a benefit greatly to be prized. From their conversation one could almost feel the political temperature of the different countries of Europe, which rose to the fever-heat of 1914. Here an Imperial Prussian of high ministerial degree, there an Austrian diplomat, Italian military men, Hungarian nobles, Professors of International Law from here and there, German makers of big guns, —not to speak of American politicians, Egyptian pashas, and Argentine millionaires.

Among them I once found Lord Reay, an acquaintance of former years. We had much talk about his Governorship of Bombay and his strong belief in the progress of the people of his Presidency. He expressed appreciation of the qualities of the men with whom he had worked and of their political aspirations.

The first task to which I set myself was to launch the London Moslem League. Friends in India had urged me for some time to establish an organisation which might not only be the exponent of Moslem feelings and give constitutional expression to the legitimate sentiments of the Moslem subjects of the King on political matters affecting their interests, but also serve as a training-ground for good and loyal citizenship for the Moslem students who were coming in large numbers to the United Kingdom. Accordingly in May 1908 the London Moslem League was established.

Subsequent events have proved how necessary is a coherent and important organisation of this kind for the protection of Moslem interests under the fluctuating conditions of British politics.

The object of our organisation appeared from the following prefatory remarks on its constitution :—

1. To promote concord and harmony among the different nationalities of India.
2. To work in advancement of the general interest of the country in harmony and concert with the other Indian communities.
3. To advance and safeguard by all constitutional and loyal methods the special interests of the Moham-medan subjects of the King.

4. To bring the Mohammedans so far as possible into touch with the leaders of thought in England.

The inaugural luncheon of the London Moslem League was held on 23rd February 1910. Lord Reay, Lord Avebury (Sir John Lubbock) and Lord Ronaldshay (now Lord Zetland) and other notabilities were present. Mr. Valentine Chirol, as he was then, also sympathised with the Moslem cause.*

* The following was the Syed's speech on this occasion.

"We are on the eve of great constitutional changes in the administration of India, which will undoubtedly alter its character, by giving the educated classes a larger voice in the internal government of the country. The Mohammedans consider the moment of great importance, because they feel that if they do not keep their claims well forward before the government and the people in England and in India they may permanently and seriously prejudice their interests. They have welcomed the principles of the reforms, in the conviction that their legitimate rights will be adequately and substantially safeguarded. They have not put forward any undue claims or made any demand which can be regarded as encroaching on the just rights of any other community. They ask for their legitimate share in the political privileges about to be extended to the peoples of India—a share "commensurate," to use the language of the Government of India, "with their numbers and their historical and political importance." (Hear, hear.)

The Viceroy assured them that their political rights and interests will be safeguarded in any administrative changes in which he was concerned. The Musulmans take their stand on that assurance. Their claim, based on historical and political importance, has been assailed from many not altogether uninterested quarters. With reference to these attacks, may I venture to make one answer? Barely 200 years ago, the East India Company acquired its rights to hold three of the richest provinces in India, under a grant from a Mohammedan Sovereign, and when British power extended towards the North and the West, the Mohammedan Sovereign still was the fountain-head of all legitimate right. The East India Company acknowledged his titular rights by placing his name and insignia on its coins as late as 1832. Many of the Mahratta and other Hindu Chiefs were proud to bear titles granted by Musulman Sovereigns, and I am very much mistaken if they do not bear them even now. It is idle to say the Mohammedans of India possess no historical importance. They are connected by ties of religion, traditions and race with the whole of Western Asia and Northern Africa, right away to the Atlantic—countries where the prestige of England stands high now, and where England is recognised as the champion of justice and fair play. (Applause). The Mohammedans of India expect to gain most by the present concessions. I may say again, without presumption, it is idle to say they are of no political consequence. In the social economy of the country, even in those provinces where they are numerically inferior, their upper classes occupy an acknowledged position of weight and influence beyond their actual numbers.

They all feel that the happiness and development of India depend upon the co-operation of all her children—co-operation not only among

The necessity of an organisation of this character in London was soon proved by the violent controversy which arose in connection with the Indian Reforms started by Mr. Morley, then Secretary of State for India. Until recently, in fact until Mr. Morley and subsequently Mr. Montagu set to work on the "Unification" of India, Hindus and Moslems had lived together side by side in villages and towns generally in peace and harmony, and without friction. They were friendly neighbours but for the slight domestic disputes which occur in every country, and occasional outbreaks of rioting over some purely religious question that raised the passions of the ignorant to more than an ordinary degree. Such outbreaks were, however, very much less frequent than during the last few years.

Both Hindu and Moslem had prospered under good Government, both had suffered equally under misrule. Both remembered the hardships of Mahratta and Pindari raids, and both received with equanimity the schooling of British political scientists.

Now there is bitter feud between them. And why? They both recognise that the ideal of self-government—of an independent India governing itself—can never be realised unless they are united in their material interests

themselves but also with the servants of the Crown, which has assured to the varied races and peoples of that great continent a peace and prosperity it never enjoyed at any other period of its history. (Applause). At the same time, they cannot shut their eyes to the divergencies which have divided and still divide the rank and file of the two people—divergencies which ramify in all directions, which enter into the very minutiae of life. The two great communities of India are sometimes likened to the Roman Catholics and Protestants in England and Ireland. I am afraid that analogy is absolutely false. Hindus and Mohammedans are not the followers of two sects or communions, but of two wholly different systems. Roman Catholics and Protestants follow one Faith and one Gospel. They differ in dogmas and ritual, but their habits of life and modes of thought, their laws, their customs and conventions are the same—there is nothing to debar them from eating at the same board, or drinking from the same cup. They can intermarry, they can change from one communion to the other. All this is different in the case of the Hindus and Mohammedans. Two absolutely antithetical systems have existed side by side for ten centuries with, on the whole, great toleration to each other without amalgamation. And why? Hinduism is not merely a religion, but a complex social system of immense antiquity whose institutions have, through the observance of ages, acquired a sacredness which nothing at present foreseeable can break or alter. It is a vast conservative Federation, hedged round by stringent rules of caste. No outsider can ever enter its pale. To think it has any democratic tendency or ideal is a mistake. Its ad-

and their natural sympathies. And yet they are profoundly divided in their political aspirations. The responsibility for this disastrous climax must be laid at the door of the well-meaning reformers who in their zeal forgot that India was inhabited by two great communities with two divergent outlooks, social and religious, which can never be reconciled. The greatest of Indian sovereigns had endeavoured to bridge the gulf by introducing a new cult which might unite the two peoples. What had succeeded in Egypt under Ptolemy Lagos failed in India under Akbar, the great Mogul Emperor who was a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth.

The attempt of long ago was re-started by one Secretary of State of acknowledged ability and taken up by another by no means his equal in genius. Both laboured under the impression that the smaller populations could be overlooked once the ball was set rolling.

This idea apparently gave rise to the proposal to do away with the separate representation of the Moslems on all elective bodies, and to create a system which would unify both communities in electing their representatives in common.

mirable organisation, its very exclusiveness has enabled it to preserve through ages its ancient usages from contamination by foreign influences. Mohammedanism on the other hand, is democratic, tending towards socialism. It opens its doors to all comers.....

It is only people who are ignorant of the situation, who do not understand the situation, that talk of common citizenship. (Applause). Any attempt to drive the smaller into the bigger camp will only lead to discord and strife. A Mohammedan Sovereign tried to fuse the two people by introducing a new electoral system. He failed. Do you think it possible to attain that end by driving them in common to the hustings?

It is only by remembering that the two elements deserve equal consideration, that both of them are important factors in the administration of the country, by endeavouring to understand the idiosyncracies of the two nations, by not allowing the interests of the one to be subordinated to the interests or ambitions of the other, that you will make the projected reforms successful. It is in this conviction, and not in any spirit of antagonism or racial prejudice, nor any feeling of jealousy or desire to take anything from the others, that the Muslims have pressed their case.

It is essential that the majority should know that the minority has sufficient weight and influence to make it worth while to seek its support and deal with questions in a spirit of compromise and toleration. So long as they feel that they can override the claims of the others, there will be no peace, no accord, and no satisfactory dealing with public

I pointed out in a letter to the "Times" what this proposal if carried into effect would mean to the Moslem population. The day after my letter appeared I received a visit at the Reform Club from a friend who at the time held an influential position. It is not open to me to embody here our conversation which was, in certain respects, personal. In the event he persuaded me to see Mr. Morley and I agreed on condition that my visit would be welcome. I made this condition as I had been informed by an Indian friend who haunted the "coulisses" of the Secretary of State's Council, that he had been told by one of them that the India Office had lost its confidence in me.

Two days later I received an intimation from the Private Secretary that the Secretary of State would be glad to see me. I took with me for the interview a sheaf of telegrams and a number of letters I had received from India representing the Moslem side of the question, which I handed to Mr. Morley and he promised to study them carefully. The interview lasted for an hour and a half and the question was examined from every point of view. I do not think it necessary to recapitulate the course of the discussion. One remark of his, however, should be recorded. He said "I am glad your people are not opposed to the Reforms in principle; I was told you were going to move Lansdowne to throw out the Bill." To this I replied: "My people wish to participate on equal terms in the constitutional changes; if their right to equal participation is accepted, they will not oppose them."

questions. The amount of juggling on the subject of Mohammedan representation seems to me amazing. First of all there are vast masses of people in India, who either disclaim all title to being Hindoos, or who are included under the word "Hindoo" for the sake of convenience. (Applause). It is contended that they should be included in the Hindoo figures and the question of representation should be dealt with on the basis of those figures. Well, the injustice of the proposal does not seem to strike biased minds, but it shows how impossible it is to apply to India a doctrine which is workable with any approach to equity only in countries inhabited by a homogeneous population.

Allow me to say that, in placing before the Secretary of State the views of the Musulman people on this most important question, the League had no *arrière-pensée*, no "tactics" in mind, "dubious" or otherwise. On the contrary, our object was to give whatever assistance we could in the solution of a great problem. An Eastern sage has said that it is treason to keep the Truth from the King. (Hear, hear). We would have been false to our loyalty to our Sovereign, if we had not expressed clearly and emphatically the feelings and opinions of the Musulman subjects of His Majesty to the Minister of the Crown. (Loud Applause)"

On the 27th January 1909 I took a Deputation to him. Our objections to the proposed measure were set out in the following Memorial :—

“ Whilst offering their loyal and cordial support to the general and animating principles of the Scheme, the Committee feel bound to state that some of the proposals are viewed with serious apprehension and mis-giving by their people as likely to prove detrimental to Musulman interests. They, therefore, beg to place before his Lordship as explicitly and clearly as possible the Musulman case. . . .

“ The claim of the Mohammedan community to adequate representation on the Imperial and Provincial Councils ‘ commensurate with its numbers and political and historic importance ’ has been admitted and urged with considerable force by the Government of India in its circular letter dated 24th August 1907, and its letter to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State, dated the 1st October, 1908.

“ In its circular letter referred to above, the Government of India further pointed out that ‘ under the system of election hitherto in force, Hindus largely predominate in all or almost all the electorates with this result that comparatively few Mohammedan members have been elected. These have been supplemented by nominations made by the Government. But the total representation thus effected has not been commensurate with the weight to which the Mohammedan community is entitled ; and it has, moreover, been strongly urged that even the system of nomination has frequently failed to secure the appointment of Mohammedans of the class by whom the community desires to be represented.

“ In his Despatch of the 27th November, 1908, paragraph 9, his Lordship gives emphatic expression to his agreement with the opinion of the Government of India that the Mohammedans should be adequately represented on the enlarged Councils. His Lordship says :—‘ I agree also that the Legislative Councils should reflect the leading elements of the population at large, and that no system of representation would be satisfactory, if it did not provide for the presence in the Councils of sufficient representatives of communities so important as are the Mohammedans and the landed classes.’

“The Committee beg respectfully to state that the entire Mohammedan people view his Lordship’s suggestions with grave misgiving as calculated to subject Musulman representation to the good will of a rival community—and place Musulman interests in their hands.

“In common with other well-wishers of India the Committee look forward to a time when the development of a true spirit of compromise or the fusion of the races may make the principles indicated by his Lordship capable of practical application without sacrificing the interests of any of the nationalities or giving political ascendancy to one to the disadvantage of the others. But the Committee venture to think that, however ready the country may be for constitutional reforms, the interests of the two great communities of India must be considered and dealt with separately as is indeed admitted in theory by his Lordship.

“In order that Mohammedan representation may be real and not merely nominal or illusory, it is essential that the Mohammedan representatives should voice their feelings and sentiments and advocate the policy which commends itself to the best minds of their own community. Under the system of an electoral college consisting of say 75 Hindus and 25 Mohammedans, the Mohammedan who would be elected would be a mere nominee of the majority.

“Moreover, in places where the influence of the *Mahajan* and legal classes is preponderant it would, in any circumstance, be used in favour of Mohammedan candidates whose views are not acceptable to the general body of their people; the mischief would be intolerably aggravated in the case of joint electorates.

“The Committee have noticed a statement that Mohammedan apprehensions in respect of joint electoral colleges are unfounded inasmuch as if one Mohammedan was returned by the collective votes of the Mohammedan electors, and another was returned by a larger number of votes from the majority, the result would be that there would be two Mohammedan representatives instead of one. Whatever may have been the intention, the Committee find no warrant for this contention in the wording of his Lordship’s Despatch. Judging from the context they conceive the only effect of the Mohammedan having a large number of votes either entirely

composed of Hindu votes or partly Hindu and partly Mohammedan votes would be to put out of the field the candidate who relied on Mohammedan votes alone.

“Assuming, however, that the view suggested is correct it implies a serious danger to the Musulman people. A nominee of the majority professing to represent the Mohammedan community but out of harmony with their general sentiments and opinions would be the cause of constant friction and the advantages anticipated from the Electoral Colleges will be more than counterbalanced by the complaints and heart-burnings that are certain to result therefrom.

“The Committee believe that if just and equitable considerations were to demand the grant to their community of a double vote, His Majesty's Government would not be deterred from that course by the apprehended resentment of other interested classes of the population. Save as regards University representation in which both communities have the privilege of double voting, the Mohammedan subjects of His Majesty, so long as they can obtain adequate and substantial communal representation on the Councils, the Rural and District Boards and Corporations, with the right of electing their own representatives, do not ask for double votes. Musulman representation on such basis is more likely to lead to concord between the two communities and harmonious working on representative bodies, than if it were merely nominal; for the majority would in such a case be more inclined to conciliate and regard Musulman opinion than when in a position to override it.

“The Committee, on behalf of the Musulmans of India, wish to disclaim all idea of racial prejudice or any desire to seek special privileges. They wish to affirm their anxiety to work in cordial co-operation and harmony with all loyal classes of His Majesty's subjects in the promotion of the general interest of the country. But they cannot ignore the divergencies which still divide the races of India, and which they believe time and general progress under a sympathetic and enlightened rule can alone remove.

“The Political and Historical position of the Musulman community has been spoken of recently in somewhat slighting terms. With reference to that the Committee desire to offer no remarks. But they beg

humbly to observe that the loyalty of the Musulman people is an asset to the Empire and merits some consideration. The Musulman population numbering 53 millions can hardly be dealt with as a minority, or have their status regarded as analogous to that of the minor communities of India. Though living intermixed with the non-Moslems they form a distinct nationality divided by traditions of race, religion and ideals. However much their presence may be deprecated by some of their neighbours, they are important factors to be reckoned with in the administration of the country.

“The principle of proportional representation, whatever its value in Western Europe where the people are in the main, homogeneous and animated by common ideals and sentiments, is unsuited, the Committee respectfully submit, to a country where the rank and file are still so sharply divided. What is part of the religion of one people is abhorred by the other, whilst in places, the touch of an outsider, if not his very shadow, amounts to pollution.

“The Committee beg to affirm most emphatically that their people ask for nothing in derogation of the just rights of any other class or community ; they seek simply to obtain a fair and just recognition of their legitimate claims that they may in future occupy a position in the Councils of Government consistent with their numbers and political status. Whilst anxious to work in a spirit of compromise, and in concord, harmony and in co-ordination with the Hindu community, they are not disposed to place themselves in subordination to any class or people in India, or to consent to follow any policy that may be dictated by the majority.”

I supplemented these grounds in my Address :—

“My Lord, whilst we welcome these reforms, we welcome them in the conviction that, in their practical application, our status and interests will be kept in view. We do not wish, and cannot consent, to be placed in a disadvantageous position. We are anxious that whatever boons are conferred on, whatever political concessions are made to, the people of India, we should have our legitimate share in those concessions. We ask for nothing in derogation of the just rights of any other people. We seek no special privileges ; we want only our legitimate share in political rights and political privileges, and nothing more.....

“ If the vast masses of low caste people who are nominally Hindus were excluded from the Hindu figures, certainly the disparity which now appears between the Hindu and the Mohammedan populations would not strike as so great or disproportionate. These tribes and communities, nominally Hindu for the purpose of census, have nothing in common with the real Hindu, to whom their touch, often their very shadow, is pollution. They can never rise out of the degraded state in which they live, and have lived for centuries. Save the British official, they have no representative or protector

“ I now come to the specific points which we wish to place before your Lordship for consideration. The first is the question of joint electorates. We feel that to confide the election of our representatives to mixed electorates would be most detrimental to the Musulman people. Your Lordship is aware of the sharp cleavage that has taken place recently between the political conceptions of the Mohammedan people and some sections of the other communities. You are also aware of the other divergencies which exist between the Mohammedans and the non-Moslem people in India, divergencies which ramify in all directions. It might perhaps startle people in England if they were told of the trifling incidents which often inflame passion on both sides. I do not wish to dwell particularly on the character of these incidents. I only refer to them to show the gulf which still separates the rank and file of the two communities, and which the administrator must keep in view and the statesman take into consideration, when dealing with general questions affecting both the races. Having these divergencies in view and the cleavage which has recently taken place, the Musulmans of India consider it extremely important that their representation should not be dependent on the good-will of any other people.

“ We say, further, that the principle of proportional representation would be fatal to our interests. The Government of India recognises, if I am not mistaken, the difficulty of meeting the requirements of the Musulman people, if its representation is to be based on a consideration of numbers. Whatever may be the value of the system of proportional representation in countries where the people are in the main homogeneous, we submit it is wholly unsuited to India. Save and except in the Punjab, where the Musulmans preponderate in

numbers, there is hardly any approximation between the two races. The Mohammedans say, if proportional representation happen to be introduced into India, their representation would be completely swamped. In answer to this, it is said the Government can hardly take into consideration the political and historical importance of any community in judging of the question of representation, and the Mohammedan position is compared to that of the Sikhs and the Parsees. We submit respectfully, but emphatically, that the position of the Musulman people has no analogy to that of the minor communities of India. Neither bear the burden of defending the Empire to the same extent as our fellow countrymen, and we probably supply to the Indian Army a larger number of soldiers than most others. It is easy to say, if representation is to be conceded to Mohammedans.....

“ My people will not be content with any representation which is less than adequate and substantial. On general questions racial and religious differences will probably not enter into competition, but contingencies are certain to arise in which the interests or the views of the two communities do not coincide. On these occasions it would be necessary to take into account the balance parties. We submit that in the constitution of the Councils it should be the aim of His Majesty's Government, and of the Government of India, to have them so balanced that not only the administrative machinery should run smoothly, but also that no party should be able to outvote the just claims of a less powerful party. We, therefore, submit as a standard of adequate representation that the number of Mohammedan members on the several Councils should be so fixed that if the Mohammedans were to join a certain number of what may be called non-partisan members, or to receive their support on any particular question the issue may be decided accordingly. Unless some standard of that kind is adopted, and our position sufficiently assured on the reformed Councils, our representation will be anomalous, and our representatives will exercise little influence or weight.....

“ The chief point we are bringing to your Lordship's notice is the subject of communal representation. We are perfectly confident, having once placed the matter before you, that your one consideration will be to dispense equal justice, and to hold the balance even for all

parties. What we mean by communal representation is the representation of Mohammedans by Mohammedans, elected by Mohammedan electorates, at all stages of the elective system. I am perfectly certain, once the principle of communal representation has been accepted by your Lordship, there will be found many administrators of great skill and experience, who would be able to evolve the best measure for putting it into practice."

The reply of the Secretary of State was as follows :—

Lord Morley in reply said : " I have listened to the very able speech of my friend Mr. Ameer Ali and to the speech which followed, with close attention, not merely for the sake of the arguments upon the special points raised, but—what is more important than the special points very often and, I am sure, in this case—because the underlying feeling and the animating spirit of those two speeches are to me full of encouragement. Why ? Because instead of—as I rather anticipated, or did till a few days ago—a rather hostile attitude to our reforms as a whole, I find that you receive them and welcome them cordially and with gratitude. I cannot say with what satisfaction I received that announcement, and how much it encourages me. If you will allow me, I will, before I come to the special points, say a few words upon the general position, because it is very important—very important to you and to us of His Majesty's Government....

" Now the first point Mr. Ameer Ali made was upon the unfairness to the members of the Mohammedan community, caused by reckoning in the Hindu census a large multitude of men who are not entitled to be there. In short, I cannot for many reasons follow that argument. I submit that it is not very easy—and I have gone into the question very carefully to divide these lower castes and to classify them. Statisticians would be liable to be charged with putting too many into either one or the other division, wherever you like to draw the line. I know the force of the argument, and am willing to attach to it whatever weight it deserves. I wish some of my friends in this country would study the figures of what are called the lower castes because they would then see the enormous difficulty and absurdity—absurdity—of applying to India the same principles that are very good guides to us Westerns who have been bred on the pure milk of the

Benthamite word—one man one vote and every man a vote. That dream, by the way, is not quite realised yet in this country ; but the idea of insisting on a principle of that sort—and I should not be surprised if my friend here (Mr. Buchanan) heard something of it before he is many weeks older—is absurd to anybody who reflects on the multiplicity of these varied castes.

“ Then there is the question of the joint electorate—what is called the mixed electoral college. I was very glad to read this paragraph in the paper that you were good enough to send me. You recognise the very principle which was at the back of our minds when we came to the conclusion of the mixed electoral college. You say : ‘ In common with other well-wishers of India the Committee look forward to a time when the development of a true spirit of compromise or the fusion of the races may make the principles indicated by his Lordship capable of practical application without sacrificing the interests of any of the nationalities or giving political ascendancy to one to the disadvantage of the others. But the Committee venture to think that, however ready the country may be for constitutional reforms, the interests of the two great communities of India must be considered and dealt with separately.’ Therefore to begin with, the difference between us in principle about the joint electorate is only this. We are guilty of nothing more than that we were premature, in the views of these gentlemen—we were impatient idealists. You say to me, ‘ It is very fine ; we hope it will all come true, but you are premature ; we must wait.’ But though premature I observe that your own suggestion in one of those papers adopts and accepts the principle of the scheme outlined in our despatch. . . .

“ You see it was merely a suggestion thrown out for the Government of India, not a direction of the Medes and Persians stamp. You say, ‘ That for the purpose of electing members to the Provincial Councils, electoral colleges should be constituted on lines suggested by his Lordship composed exclusively of Mohammedans whose numbers and mode of grouping should be fixed by Executive authority.’ This comes within the principle of my despatch, and we shall see — I hope very speedily—whether the Government of India disclose objections to its practicability. Mark, electoral colleges constituted on lines ‘ composed exclusively of Mohammedans whose members and mode of grouping should be fixed by

Executive Authority'—that is a proposition which is not outside the despatch, but whether practicable or not is a matter for discussion between us here and the Government in India.

"The aim of the Government and yours is identical—that there shall be (to quote Mr. Ameer Ali's words) 'adequate, real, and genuine Mohammedan representation.' Now, where is the difference between us? The machinery we commended you do not think possible. What machinery? Mixed electoral colleges. Well, as I have told you, the language of the despatch does not insist upon a mixed electoral college. It would be no departure in substance from the principle of our suggestion that there should be a separate Mohammedan electorate—an electorate exclusively Mohammedan....

"I go to the next point, the apprehensions lest, if we based our system on numerical strength alone, a great injustice would be done to your community. Of course we all considered that from the Viceroy downwards—and whether your apprehensions are well-founded or not it is the business of those who call themselves statesmen to take those apprehensions into account and to do the best we can in setting up a great working system to allay and meet those apprehensions. (Hear hear)....

"If you take numerical strength as your basis, in the Punjab and Eastern Bengal, Mohammedans are in a decisive majority. In the Punjab, the Moslem population is 53 per cent. to 38 per cent. Hindu. In Eastern Bengal 58 per cent. are Moslem and 37 per cent. are Hindu. Therefore, in those two provinces, on the numerical basis alone, the Mohammedans will secure sufficient representation. In Madras on the other hand, the Hindus are 89 per cent. against 6 per cent. of Moslems, and, therefore, numbers would give no adequate representation to Moslem opinion—in fact, no representation at all. In Bombay, the Moslems are in the ratio of $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 14 millions—20 per cent. to 77 per cent. The conditions are very complex in Bombay, and I need not labour the details of this complexity. I am inclined to agree with those who think that it might be left to the local Government, either with the assent of the Central Government or otherwise, to take other elements into view required or suggested by local conditions. Coming to the United Provinces, there the Moslems are $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions to $40\frac{1}{2}$ Hindus—14 per cent. to 85 per cent. This ratio of numerical strength no more represents the

proportion in the elements of weight and importance than in Eastern Bengal does the Hindu ratio of 37 per cent. to 58 per cent. of Moslems. You may set off each of those two cases against the other. Then there is the great Province of Bengal, where the Moslems are one-quarter of the Hindus—9 millions to 39 millions—18 per cent. to 77 per cent. I do not know but the case of Bengal deserves its own consideration.”

The Viceroy (Lord Hardinge) who had just succeeded Lord Minto sent over the Moslem member of his Council to persuade me to withdraw my opposition ; but conscious of the fact that Moslem opinion and feeling were dead against joint electorates, and convinced that the Moslem element in British India would be absolutely submerged if communal representation was abolished, I remained firm and the Government gave way.

A Central Moslem League was later started in Lucknow, when the Committee in London thought it advisable to style the London organisation a Branch of the Lucknow League. In 1913, however, extreme elements among the Moslems, excited at the somewhat cynical attitude of certain British Ministers towards the Tripolitan and Balkan Wars, captured the organisation of the Lucknow League and compelled us to break our connection with it.*

*The following letters will show the opinion of some who understood the situations.

Lord Roberts wrote :

ENGLEMERE, ASCOT, BERKS.
4th November, 1918.

Dear Mr. Ameer Ali,

I was much concerned to read in Friday's "Times" that you intend to resign your position as head of the Moslem League in this country. I know how much you have done to restrain any angry feelings of your co-religionists in India towards England, on account of what they considered her attitude all through the Tripoli and Balkan Wars, and I deeply regret your resignation. Is it too late to recall it—followed as I understand it is to be by the resignation of the Aga Khan of the Indian Branch.

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) ROBERTS.

During the controversy over the Morley-Minto Reforms His Highness the Aga Khan was in full agreement with my views and loyally collaborated with me. In 1909 he

From Mr. George Lloyd, M.P. (now Lord Lloyd) :—

99 Eaton Place, S.W.,

14th December, 1913.

Dear Mr. Ameer Ali,

I want to send one line to convey to you my warm congratulations on the outcome of your difficulty in the All India Moslem League. I have watched it all with the deepest interest not untinged with anxiety for many of us feel that, your influence removed, things might have been much more difficult.

It is only what I believe was bound to happen that the true feeling of the League would rapidly re-assert itself so that you could continue the work you have so long done both in the interests of Islam in India and of Imperial interest at large.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) GEORGE LLOYD.

From Sir Valentine Chirol :—

PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION,
CAMP, DELHI,

20th November, 1913.

Dear Mr. Ameer Ali,

Though I am afraid I have not always been able to see eye to eye with you, as far as I could judge from your public utterances in your attitude during the last year or two towards British Foreign Policy, I must send you a line to assure you of my sincere sympathy in the controversy which some of your co-Religionists have so unjustifiably raised at home. Their action not only shows a most unseemly disregard of your long and conspicuous services to your community, but it is calculated to alienate from their Indian co-Religionists whose representatives they claim, though no doubt wrongly claim, to be, the regard and good-will which the Moslems of India have so largely enjoyed. I am glad to see, however, that what appears to be a considerable majority of the community are determined to dissociate themselves from such mischievous action, and I hope it will end in destroying or at least greatly curtailing the influence which such intemperate spirits had been too long allowed to exercise.

With kind remembrances,

Believe me, dear Mr. Ameer Ali,

Yours very truly,

(Sd.) VALENTINE CHIROL.

took a Deputation to the then Viceroy, Lord Minto, on the subject of separate electorates for Moslems. The Governor-General's reply to the Deputation was so weighty that I quote in full his words summarising the permanent need and justification of separate electorates for minorities in India :—

“ The pith of your Address,” he said, “ as I understand it, is a claim that in any system of representation whether it affects a Municipality, a District Board, or a Legislative Council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an Electoral organisation, the Mohammedan community should be represented as a community. You point out that in many cases electoral bodies as now constituted cannot be expected to return a Mohammedan candidate, and that, if by chance they do so, it could only be at the sacrifice of such a candidate's views to those of a majority opposed to his own community, whom he would in no way represent, and you justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength, but in respect to the political importance of your community, and the services it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely in accord with you.”

Lord Minto did not change his opinion in any particular after he made his reply. This clear statement should be thoroughly comprehended by all who claim knowledge of, or serve, in India ; as well as by those who legislate for her. Above all it should be memorised by that small but vocal section of Indian Moslems whom love of opposition, or notoriety with a powerful and well organised majority has driven into the so-called Nationalists camp.*

Nationalist politicians and propagandists often succeed in implanting a prejudice against separate electorates by

* The following extract from a letter from Mr. Shafi (now Sir Mohammed Shafi) dated Simla 22nd August, 1912, to the Syed, summarises the standpoint taken by the majority of reasonable Moslems : —

“ As you say we are not separatists in any sense of the term. We are always ready to co-operate with the sister communities in everything calculated to promote the true interests of our country. But the only sound basis of co-operation, to quote a passage from your letter of the 14th November last, is ‘ a modus vivendi ’ by which the two Nations (*i.e.*, Hindu and Moslem) may work together for the common good whilst retaining their own communal existence and their communal rights.

I entirely approve of the answer you gave to Mr. Jinnah in connection with his offer of the Congress Presidency to you.”

their use of axioms culled from Western political science, by playing on the love of uniformity in the bureaucratic mind, and above all by claiming that the building of India as a nation is obstructed by separatism.

Imagine all Europe excluding Russia, a population and area approximating that of India, under the beneficent sway of an idealistic Government in the United States of America ! How would the northern races of Europe care to come under a constitution for a " United States " of Europe based on the voting power and nimble wits of the Southern European and Slav ? And Europe is a far more homogeneous cultural entity than is our artificial unit, India. There is at all events the common bond of Christianity divided though it may be into sects.

Present day India is an artificial unit. In Mogul times large portions of Afghanistan were Indian Provinces ; while kingdoms in the Deccan were independent. As recently as the commencement of the nineteenth century large tracts of the Punjab acknowledged an Afghan king.

As yet the only binding force of an " Indian Nation " is the English language and the ideas conveyed by its medium, superimposed on the very small proportion of the population who can take advantage of secondary education.

Three hundred millions of her three hundred and twenty-five millions depend on agriculture, and have no use for a system of higher education which unfits them for the soil. Such education is, therefore, largely sought for as an avenue to the Government services or the professions, of which the law comes easily first. It is mainly " caste Hindus " of the towns, and the few Moslems left with a competence, who send their sons to High Schools. Untouchables are taboo, and Hindus from the lower or non-literate castes are frowned upon. Trade is largely in the hands of castes or hereditary traders or guild workers, manual work is scorned.

If a modern constitution, with a single electorate and without safeguards, is superimposed on a mediæval economy, the " caste Hindu " will find himself in permanent power merely by the dead-weight of votes which he can command from low caste Hindus by his spiritual influence, and from them as well as from Moslems by the lever of

monetary credit. Tradition, prejudice, and the obligations of caste will oblige him to use power for his own benefit. In Southern India there are signs of revolt against these tendencies—but in other parts the “caste Hindu” element is so numerous and well organised that its accession to and retention of power will be certain, and unavoidable, under the above circumstances.

An attempt to point out facts such as these, which are patent to any one with knowledge, evokes a torrent of argument from the party described as “Indian Nationalists,” and their well-meaning but blind supporters in England. Neither can see that the acquisition of the sweets of power by an oligarchic section will lead to permanent discord, probably in the end necessitating Imperial intervention.

A recent instance of how the factor of caste operates in daily life may be of interest. Workers in leather are regarded as untouchables. The shoemakers of a historic city of Northern India had been debarred by pressure of the higher castes from using the ordinary wells of their locality. Tired of their women having to trudge a long way to draw water, their caste council took corporate action and demanded the right to use the common wells. This was refused, upon which the shoemakers stated that if their request was not peacefully acceded to they would, as a caste, become converts to Islam the next week. The higher castes immediately waived their scruples rather than lose religious and political adherence.

Ordinarily the attachment of the low-caste man to the Hindu hierarchy which keeps him permanently in his place is pathetic. To a question what is his caste, his first reply is “I am a Hindu man.”

It must not, however, be thought that caste is wholly an evil institution. Its discipline is often an instrument of effective moral control, and the caste bond commands intense loyalty.

THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REFORMS AND SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS.

Mr. Montagu became Secretary of State for India whilst the Great War was in progress. He was an enthusiastic and clever man, with a thorough belief in his own genius and capacity to make India a country with democratic institutions that would be a marvel of history. He was

an idealist and was surrounded by men of the same tendencies. He knew nothing of India and drew his impressions from people who helped to rivet his determination to democratise India without waiting for the evolution of the spirit of democracy in a country which has for ages been ruled by caste.

Although I have every sympathy with the desire for political progress, I could not help feeling that in the prevailing conditions of the country and the sharp differences which still exist between the various communities, the British Government should proceed with great caution in the concession of self-government. Mr. Montagu threw himself with ardent enthusiasm into the work of constitutional development for India. It has been observed by some harsh critics of the so-called Reforms that his "Dyarchy" really spells "Anarchy." I do not venture to go so far, but I am quite sure that the Reforms introduced by Mr. Montagu have not proved an unmixed blessing to the country. They have sharpened differences and given rise to communal strife excited by manoeuvres for position and power on the part of different communities, which would not have taken place had the people been allowed to develop spontaneously.

When Mr. Montagu went to India to confer with Lord Chelmsford on his proposed Constitutional Reforms, and to acquaint himself personally with the prevailing conditions, I took the liberty of sending him a Memorandum submitting for his consideration my views on the subject.

My study of the problem had extended over half a century and my actual experience of the people and their mentality had not been confined to one Province, or merely derived from High Court briefs. I was acquainted with the initial difficulties which commenced as early as 1880, and with the history of the controversy which convulsed political circles in the time of Lord Morley.

In this Memorandum I pointed out to Mr. Montagu the necessity of bearing clearly in mind the importance of the agricultural population in the social economy of India, and of not allowing them to be pauperised by money-lenders. I also laid stress on the absolute need of maintaining a just balance between the two great communities and of proceeding by slow degrees. The development of the vast and multifarious population was not uniform; and what could be applied with advantage to one province was not suitable to other parts of the country. I urged

him to deal with the problem by provinces ; for example, to treat as more fitted for constitutional advance, provinces where the people as a whole had learnt the lessons of compromise and toleration...

This advice for caution was repeated by me when presiding at a luncheon given by the Indian Community in England to His Highness the Maharajah of Patiala, and to Mr. (afterwards Lord) Sinha. I said that from the nature of our work on the Judicial Committee, we found India from Burma to Baluchistan, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, spread out before us like a chart, and we could not but notice the diversity of interests between races and creeds. We knew how India under British guidance, albeit with many lapses and swingings back of the pendulum, had progressed from Cornwallis to Chelmsford. And I ventured to point out the necessity of so adjusting the machinery of Reform, that any mistake could easily be corrected. I again dwelt on the importance of "going slow" and proceeding by provinces.

It was apparent to me that the idealistic Secretary of State did not like these views.

Mr. Sinha lavishly praised Mr. Montagu's great work. It must be said to my noble friend's credit that he never recanted from his faith in Mr. Montagu, and whenever he happened to be in England he always, as he told me, placed a wreath on his patron's tomb, which was somewhat different from another who was then a warm supporter of the Reforms, but who since has come to the conclusion that "Dyarchy" spells "Anarchy." That my views on the question were shared in some high quarters, was proved to me by a gracious appreciation of my letters to the "Times" on this subject.

I have often marvelled at the mental pliability of the Brahminical Hindu. It enables him to adapt himself to the conceptions of foreigners who come to his country in positions of influence. This was so under Pathan Sovereigns and Mogul Emperors. It has continued ever since. He has now adopted the letter but not the spirit of the great XIXth Century sages, Bentham, Mill, Herbert Spencer and others more advanced. To quote an instance, an English-educated Brahmin was recently expounding the theory of Home Rule for India with many well-known *cliches* such as "self-government is better than good government," and "political liberty is the most precious boon of mankind;" but closed with the proviso which

embodies all the claims to privilege of the "twice-born" higher caste Hindus, "EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL MEN—THAT IS ALL NONSENSE"!

When Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford proceeded on their tour to ascertain whether the peoples of India were advanced enough to receive the boon of democratic government, the oligarchic castes met them with pre-eminent zeal, and were ready to accept projects for Indian constitutional development in the firm belief that any advance would eventually bring them power.

During his tour in India, Mr. Montagu came under the influence of one of the most remarkable of my countrymen. He was one of the subtlest lawyers of the Hindu persuasion, with an ingratiating manner and an acute intellect. He succeeded in convincing the Secretary of State that he had to provide for a homogeneous nation and not, as is the case, for heterogeneous races and communities. He acquired ascendancy over the minds of many of the men who were striving to give India a constitution.

His influence over the enthusiastic statesman was, to many, inexplicable. He claimed to have selected Mr. Montagu's peers who were introduced into the House of Lords where considerable opposition was expected. The one was Lord Sinha whose recent death is mourned by the whole of India; the other Lord Meston, a British I.C.S. officer who now seems to see the dangers inherent in the principles inculcated by Mr. Montagu in 1917.

The Secretary of State's confidant claimed even to have provided Mr. Lloyd George with a Viceroy versed in the technique of Neo-Radicalism and in full sympathy with Mr. Montagu's aspirations for India's democratic development; and apparently succeeded in instilling into the mind of his friend that once the Reforms were launched all difficulties would disappear.

In spite of asseverations to the contrary, Radical statesmen are essentially idealists. Without regard to the difference in development of the several parts of India, or the communal divergencies between creeds and the different mental outlook of races, the Act was passed.

Had the Secretary of State in 1918 been as cautious as his predecessor in 1908 intended to be, I have personally little doubt that the Reforms which he inaugurated would have borne better fruit, but whether I am right or wrong avails very little in the settlement of the question whether India as a whole was prepared for the Reforms. To my

mind the whole difficulty arises from racial and communal differences which from the nature of things exist in the country.

There are many ruling Princes of separate Feudatory States. In Southern India the Nizam holds a territory more populous than Spain. Mysore and Travancore come next. Rajputana is a mosaic of states large and small, and Northern India as a whole contains many such principalities owing to circumstances which developed after the fall of the Mogul Empire. The powers of ruling chiefs are guaranteed by treaties with the British Government.

Apart from these facts, over the vast tracts of British India the people are divided amongst themselves in every part of the country, even from village to village, into races and communities differing vastly from each other in their history and development. Many of the peoples inhabiting India owe their differences to distinctive origins.

Hindu Aryans—by which I mean the castes marked out in the beginning of Indian History—occupy a pre-eminent position in the social economy of Hinduism. As the Aryan Hindus progressed towards the East and South they absorbed many of the ideas of the aboriginal races whom they conquered and enslaved. It is natural that they should now desire to utilise modern political institutions to regain their domination over all the other races of India. Mr. Montagu failed to perceive this tendency.

The depressed classes number 52 millions or more, and are those who were rejected by the Brahmins from communion with ancient Brahminism.

The Moslems who came to India in the tenth century of the Christian era and acquired mastery of the North in the twelfth century, have a totally different outlook and political aspirations. In 1765 a Moslem Sovereign assigned to the East India Company the right of the collection of the revenue of Bengal, Behar and Orissa the then richest Mogul provinces. In 1802 the Great Mogul granted title to the Company as virtual rulers of India.

In 1761, as I have said before, four years before the East India Company obtained the right to collect the revenue of Bengal and the other provinces, of Behar and Orissa, in the name of the Mogul Emperor, the great Mahratta Power was shattered as a confederacy never to rise again.

From 1765 to 1865, in spite of the great convulsion of the Mutiny, the Moslems enjoyed a fair share of state

patronage. I have described elsewhere the disastrous effects of the changes then made by the Government, in an article already mentioned which I wrote for the Nineteenth Century in June 1882. This article was followed by the Memorial from the Central National Mahommedan Association to Lord Ripon's Government in 1883. Two years later, under Lord Dufferin, the Government of India realised the necessity of dealing with the Moslem question in a spirit of broad statesmanship and with justice.

The Resolution which was issued in March 1885 is naturally regarded by them as their Magna Charta.

When Lord Ripon was leaving India he asked if he could do anything for me. I answered that I should be quite content if Government would accord a favourable consideration to the Mahommedan Representation.

The Moslems, unfortunately, all over the world have short memories.

The communal feuds which unhappily are now rampant all over India began with the Reforms. The real fact is that one community sees in the alleged democratisation of India, or rather British India, the chance of predominance by weight of numbers and better political organisation over the other communities ; whilst the less organised sections fear the fate which was meted out to the Buddhists by Hindu reaction in mediæval India.

And now that many provinces, districts, townships and villages, are seething with racial, religious, or sectarian hatred, British officialdom as the true inheritor of Mr. Montagu's ideals, is inclined to take the line of least resistance in dealing with the difficulties of the situation. The *pariah* is weak, the Moslem has few votes ; in a riot they must, therefore, be presumed in the wrong.

No one can accuse me of partisanship. I have never exclusively supported one creed, one people, or one sect. I have always pleaded for justice and fair play for all. Over 150 sects and peoples with different dialects and languages inhabit India. It would be monstrous to let one community dominate the others because it possessed by its numbers, a larger voting power. I remember a time not so very long ago when all the communities lived together in peace and harmony, but that was before votes were made the subject of administrative policy.

In a later article in the Nineteenth Century, after Lord Morley had upset the political equilibrium, (besides the

one of 1882 already mentioned), I have traced the stages of the decadence of the Moslem people under British rule. In all these years I have not changed my views ; on the contrary I am confirmed in the belief that Governments by encouraging the idea that numbers and votes prevail, favour the present discord and agitation. So long as this attitude is maintained, there will be no peace in India.

THE COMMUNAL QUESTION.

I venture to think that few who are not acquainted with India realise adequately the origin or the gravity of what are called " intercommunal conflicts," which have become in recent years rampant almost all over India, unless they know something of the causes that have fostered the racial hostility.

In my early days there was unquestionably more goodwill between Englishmen and Indians, and more friendly feeling between the races and nationalities of India than is now observable. This may have been due to the better breeding of the Englishmen, or to the lesser consciousness of power on the part of the militant sections of the population. There was also undoubtedly less hostility between section and section.

There was no " Communal Question " to divide the Hindus from the Moslems. The hand of Government was not stayed by clamorous factions ; each community was free to exercise the rights of its religion without interference by the other ; and as I have said before there was often much friendly feeling between individuals and families of the different communities and religions.

The political situation which has arisen in India within recent years, is in one sense, no doubt, a protest against racial arrogance. The violent agitation to pull down a fabric for which at present there is no substitute, is largely due to lack of breeding and good manners among a proportion of persons going from the West to hold office or to work among races and communities with old civilisations of their own.

The idea, however, of substituting one trained bureaucracy by another, inexperienced, narrow in its vision, and without prestige to maintain its power, does not strike inflamed minds as fantastic. It has been wisely observed by a real friend of the country that " the crude wine of rapid reforms may work like poison in the veins of India."*

* Sir Walter Lawrence " The India we served." p. 190.

I cannot help observing with some anxiety that the Central and Provincial administrations are not so strong as two decades ago. Nor can I forget 1921, when the peasantry of a part of the United Provinces arose in mad revolt against the exactions of their landlords and when crimes were committed over which racial or caste pride has thrown a veil. "The sun-dried bureaucrat" of Lord Morley shewed laxity of grip, but others were found to be more wanting.

Moreover in the anxiety to placate the majority, more pressure is brought to bear on minorities than was the case in previous years. It is the story of the daughters of the horse leech, to those who clamour the more the more is given. What astonishes me most is the fact that even when the Moslems are within their rights and desire to carry out the dictates of their religion without interfering with the rights of others, the Government is sometimes weak enough to give in to the majority, and evade making for the protection of the members of the weaker and less clamorous community. This in the end leads to serious trouble for the administration and to the imperilment of public security.

I greatly fear that "rapid reforms," though they may satisfy idealists who wish to write their names as constitution-makers on the pages of history, may lead to a convulsion in which the whole fabric of the Indian Empire may stand to lose what it has gained since the Mutiny.

My fear that "rapid reforms" and administration by an inexperienced bureaucracy, wanting in the spirit of collaboration for the national good, will lead to the undoing of India, is supported by the strong indictment the Bengal Government has levelled at the Calcutta Corporation. The charge is not only of incompetency but of extravagance and waste of public funds with neglect of duties. The Memorandum is so important and sheds so much light on *swarajism* in action that I am tempted to quote the summary telegraphed from Calcutta and published in the "Times" of the 29th June 1928 :—

"CALCUTTA CORPORATION.

"Swarajist Extravagance—Calcutta, June 27th.

"The Government of Bengal in a Memorandum on "the working of the Reforms, strongly criticises the
"Swarajist regime in the Calcutta Corporation.

“ It says that there is little check on extravagance, consequent upon the authority of the Chief Executive Officer being reduced to a shadow, that there is growing indiscipline among the staff, and that no progress has been made in the solution of the urgent problems of drainage and water-supply. There is a most objectionable relaxation in the matter of building rules and in the collection of unpaid taxes, and the balances are consequently depleted and the borrowing capacity reduced. Until the administration is conducted in the interests of the inhabitants of Calcutta and not of a political party, the chances of improvement are small.”

The desire for change, no doubt, springs in large part from the natural objection of the higher races of India to be treated as inferiors by overseas strangers. Swarajism is only a revolt against the domineering cult of the “ white man’s burden.” In my early days, the outward manifestation of this cult was kept within bounds by good breeding and good instincts. The continuous influx of strangers who owe no responsibility and possess no traditions, has led to a deplorable deterioration of manners. And yet, although the “ revolt ” is natural, it is in my opinion hopelessly misdirected.

The Central Government has, in its anxiety to conciliate the discontented classes, lost some of its authority. It is refreshing to see that one of the provincial governments has had the courage to condemn in unhesitating language the flood of calumny that has poured on public servants. Again the Bengal Government has broken the recent traditions, and carried the war into the enemy’s quarters. “ The Times ” of the 5th July 1928 published the following telegram from its Calcutta correspondent, under the heading of “ Press Licence in Calcutta ”:—

“ The official report of the Bengal Administration for 1927, which was published to-day, in discussing the unrestrained licence of the Indian Press, says that the Government in the eyes of these newspapers, can do nothing right, and throughout the year had to face the ordeal of a ‘ morning hate ’ from the Editorial forces of almost all the newspapers of Calcutta.

“ This campaign of unscrupulous misrepresentation, says the report, has now gone to such lengths that it is difficult to justify further tolerance, and the evil results of its persistent vilification on an ill-balanced

“community have already manifested themselves in ugly and ominous forms. The reputation of the official classes and of the Government has been seriously undermined by the unending repetition of falsehood, and it is idle to hope that ultimately the truth will prevail through its own inherent strength. Before that comes about irremediable mischief may have been done, and the existing state of things should, therefore, be brought to an immediate end.

“The report pays a high compliment to the European press saying that ‘the serene confidence of its editorial columns kept it far above the sordid clamour of its rivals.’ In justifying its difficulties the report refers to the verdict against ‘The Statesman’ obtained by Mr. Bose, a former political prisoner, on account of its leading article on Lord Lytton’s speech, and says that to the lay mind it is incomprehensible that the public utterances of a privileged person may be quoted in full, however libellous, but on any attempt to draw obvious inferences a newspaper may be called on to produce proof which is not available to the public, although there is full assurance that it exists, and widespread confidence exists in its truth.”

The latest instance of the recklessness of the Calcutta Swarajist Press is supplied by “Forward,” the Berlin correspondent of which asserts that British agents distributed photographs of Queen Sorayya in European evening dress in Afghanistan, and in Persia during the royal visit, in hopes of stirring up a rebellion among fanatical Afghans.

India has never been a homogeneous country. From the earliest times it has been inhabited by diversified races, differing in customs and religions and languages. When the Aryans burst into “the land of the five rivers” it was not uninhabited. They either slaughtered the original children of the soil, or enslaved them and they formed the nucleus of the lowest castes who became the hewers of wood but not the drawers of water, for their touch was defilement and pollution. The three superior castes formed the kernel of the nation. There was an impassable barrier between the several ranks of society or castes, and *caste* has remained for ages the quintessence of Hinduism and still governs the lives of the people who accept its rules.

Among the three castes who form the aristocracy of the Hindu social system the Brahmin occupies the pre-eminent position ; he is not only the expounder of the law and the counsellor of the King, but he furnishes the avenue that leads to heaven. The worshippers' part in the worship of the gods is all in the hands of the officiating Brahmin. It is he who lights the fire, offers the perfume, and recites the incantations which cause the divinities of the pious Hindu to descend to earth.

As the Brahminical Aryans advanced eastward and southward and reduced to slavery the indigenous population who formed the *Sudra* castes, they amalgamated the divinities of the new converts with their own, in order to secure uniformity. And yet the *Sudra* was considered so low that in the Institutes of Manu, that " hoary sage whose identity is lost in the mist of ages," it is declared that if a *Sudra* by chance heard the Vedas (the sacred books of the Brahmins) recited, " molten lead was to be poured into his ears." And if a *Sudra* unwittingly sat down on the same seat as a Brahmin, " he was to be branded on the offending part with a hot iron."

It can hardly be said that Brahminism received the taint of intolerance from its Moslem rulers. As a matter of fact the *Mitakshara*, the great work of Vidyaneswara, was compiled in the full tide of Moslem conquest ; and the learned lady Balambhatta wrote her commentary about a century and a half later under a Moslem Sovereign.

Brahminism suffered an eclipse under Asoka, and the Buddhist kings and emperors, but its revival is depicted in ghastly colours on the temples of Madura. Buddhism was wiped out in India and Sakyamuni's votaries are now only represented by stray pilgrims from outside the land of Buddha's birth.

**AL-BIRUNI'S RESEARCHES IN TRIGONOMETRY
AS GIVEN IN THE THIRD BOOK OF QANUN
MAS'UDI¹**

II

AL-BIRUNI first proceeds to calculate the Sine tables from 0° and 90° for every increase of 15 minutes. His tables are given in sexagesimal scale (*i.e.* the scale of 60) and they are correct to seven places of decimals. The method he adopted for the calculation of these tables may be divided into 4 stages.

(1) He first found the sides of regular polygons and thus obtained the values of $\sin 60^\circ$, $\sin 45^\circ$, $\sin 30^\circ$ and $\sin 18^\circ$.

(2) He then proved the formulæ of $\sin(A+B)$ and deduced the value of $\sin 2A$, but putting $B=A$, which he also proved independently by Geometry.

(3) He then tried to find the value of $\sin 15^\circ$. For this purpose we must solve a cubic equation at an early or later stage or, in geometrical language, we should find the chord of one-third the arc. Al-Bîrûnî devotes several chapters to solving this cubic equation at various stages.

(4) The table is finally calculated by the repeated application of the formulæ $\sin(A+B)$ and $\sin 2A$.

Al-Bîrûnî did not give the values of the sides of Polygons in algebraical formula, but he describes them in words. For example, he does not give the side of an octagon in the form $r\sqrt{2}-\sqrt{2}$ but he says, "To find the chord of an octagon we should multiply the radius by the difference of the radius and the side of a square and subtract the result from the square of the radius and then extract the square root."²

(2) Al-Bîrûnî then mentions Ptolemy and Ya'qûb Al-Sehrî who avoided the solution of the cubic equation.

Ptolemy calculated the value of the chord of 1° from the chords of $1\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ and $\frac{3}{4}^\circ$ by taking the arithmetical

(1) (For the first portion of this article, see "Islamic Culture" July 1931, pp. 343—351.)

(2) $\sqrt{r^2 - r(r\sqrt{2} - r)} = r\sqrt{2} - \sqrt{2}$

mean,¹ while Ya'qûb obtained the value of the arc of 15° and added $\frac{1^\circ}{16}$ to the result and obtained the chord of 1° . Al-Bîrûnî is roused to anger and he says, "This method may appear to be more intelligent in so far as it avoids tedious proofs, but it is mathematically defective. Both these methods give correct results up to second order only, but Ptolemy understood what he did and Ya'qûb did not know what he was doing." Al-Bîrûnî takes concrete cases and proves that both these methods give incorrect results in third and fourth places. Al-Bîrûnî gives 12 mechanical methods of trisecting by trial a given angle which he naturally knows is impossible by theoretical Geometry of lines and circles, and he showed here remarkable power of interpolation. He thus obtained the chord of 1° equal to $182^{\text{I}}-49^{\text{I}}-51^{\text{III}}-48^{\text{IV}}$ which is correct to 10 places of decimals.²

Al-Bîrûnî gives the value of $\overline{1} = 3^\circ-8^{\text{I}}-30^{\text{II}}-17^{\text{III}}-36^{\text{IV}}-46^{\text{V}}-30^{\text{V}}$ and reduces it himself to vulgar fraction $\frac{1,62,86,81,471}{51,84,00,000}$

This transformation made by Al-Bîrûnî himself is clear proof that Al-Bîrûnî had command of both sexagesimal and decimal systems. It is remarkable that Al-Bîrûnî did not use his value of $\sin 1^\circ$ for the calculation of $\overline{1}$ and in his further calculation he takes Archimedes' value of $3\frac{1}{7}$.

Al-Bîrûnî in his tables gives the values of Sines for every increase of 15 minutes. In order to calculate the values of intermediary angles he gives two methods, one for rough and the other for more accurate calculations.

(1) For rough calculation, he gives the method of proportional parts. Al-Bîrûnî knew that the method of proportional parts, which is used nowadays for finding the Sines of Intermediary angles from modern tables, cannot be used for accurate calculations as his tables were calculated

(1) Let AB be a chord subtending an angle of $\frac{3}{4}^\circ$ and AX an angle of 1° and AC an angle of $1\frac{1}{2}^\circ$

Arc AX = $(1 + \frac{1}{2})$ arc AB = $(1 - \frac{1}{4})$ arc AC.
He took AX as the mean of AB and AC.

(2) The value is given in the scale of 60, which can easily be transformed to scale of 10. The nearest value is given by Abul-Wafa $182^{\text{I}}-49^{\text{II}}-51^{\text{III}}-48^{\text{IV}}-0^{\text{V}}-25^{\text{VI}}$,

See Braunnmuhle. page 57. Real value of 1° is $18-2^{\text{I}}-49^{\text{II}}-51^{\text{III}}-48^{\text{IV}}-0^{\text{V}}-25^{\text{VI}}-27^{\text{VII}}$

(3) Al-Bîrûnî in Chapter XV *India* gives the value of $\overline{1}$ given by Indians "Metoya Purana says $\overline{1} = 3$, but in later times they became aware of their mistake. Brahmagupta takes it $3\frac{17}{120}$, Pulisa in the

for intervals of $15'$. The modern tables are calculated for every increase of $1'$. The principle of proportionate parts gives correct results only to 3 places of decimals.

(2) For more accurate calculation, he used the formula of Interpolation which is said to have been discovered, for the first time by Newton.* Al-Bîrûnî gave only the first three terms as the differences of the third order vanish to more than 7 places of decimals. By using Al-Bîrûnî's formula of second differences one gets correct values of sines of any angle up to five places of decimals, which I verified both by theory and by actual calculations. Al Bîrûnîs tabulated values of sines have an error less than $\frac{1^7}{10}$, and the values deduced by the formula of interpolation have an error less than $\frac{3}{10^6}$.

To solve the inverse problem of finding the angle whose sine is given, Al-Bîrûnî shows remarkable ingenuity in reversing his formula of interpolation.

He gave geometrical proof of his formula of interpolation and of its inverse.

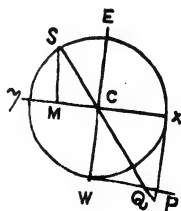
After finishing his tables Al-Bîrûnî proceeds to the definition of tangents and the calculation of their tables. The definition of tangent as sine divided by cosine and the formulation of other trigonometrical functions are due without doubt to Abûl-Wafa and we find them mentioned by Koshyar.

Al-Biruni's method of Geometrical representation of Trigonometrical function.

Al-Bîrûnî was the first astronomer who took the radius of the circle to be unity instead of 60 and it easily led him to find out the geometrical representation of all the trigonometrical functions. Draw XCY and ECW horizontal and vertical diameters of a circle. Let SCY be the altitude of the sun.

SM is the sine of the altitude.

CM its cosine. Draw tangent at X and produce SC to meet it at P.



* The formula is that

$$f(a+x)=f(a)+\frac{x}{L_1} \frac{D f(a)}{h}+\frac{x(x-h)}{L_2} \frac{D^2 f(a)}{1.8}$$

Then XP is the tangent of the altitude. Draw tangent WQ meeting CP at Q. Then WQ is the cotangent of the altitude, CP Secant and CQ Cosecant of the altitude.

Al-Bîrûnî calculated his tangent tables for every increase of 1° instead of $15'$ as in his sine tables, and he gave both the method of proportional parts and interpolation formulæ for calculating the values of intermediary angles.

Al-Bîrûnî separated the idea of tangent from the idea of gnomon. His predecessors, Koshyar being one of them, gave two separate tables for the shadows of gnomons of lengths 60 and 7 respectively. Al-Bîrûnî said "that we should multiply the length of the gnomon whatever it may be by tangent or the complementary of the altitude in order to find the shadow."

Al-Bîrûnî has no symbol for infinity and he marks the same symbol for sine 0° as he used for tan. 90 which is this ل . Al-Bîrûnî then proceeds to generalise his interpolation formula for the case of a function in general and it is perhaps the only instance in classical literature as well as in the literature of the Middle Ages where a theorem is formulated in the language of the theory of functions. The word function of course does not occur. I give below the literal translation of Al-Bîrûnî's words. The brackets are my own and added to elucidate his meaning.

The method of finding minutely from any table whatsoever.

'This is the method of proceeding minutely in any table that it is possible to form. Take the unit part of the given table (common period for which the table is calculated) and keep it, and then find in the table what is near your value less by a unit part and take their difference; (if $a+x$ be given, find the difference between $a+x$ and a which is near this value is less than the common difference h , and this difference is x), then take the quotient of this difference to the unit part (i.e.,) $\frac{x}{h}$. Then multiply this fraction $\frac{x}{h}$ by the difference of differences opposite to the number we have just taken and just above it. If the previous difference be less than this difference add the result to the previous difference, if it be greater then sub-

tract the result from the previous difference ; and then multiply the result again by the fraction of the part $\frac{x}{h}$ and then add it to what we found in the table, if what we found opposite is greater than the previous value (if the fraction be increasing) ; and subtract it if it be less.¹

Al-Bîrûnî devotes the most of the book to establishing the fundamental formulæ used for the solution of plane spherical triangles. He begins by proving the formula $\frac{\sin A}{a} = \frac{\sin B}{b}$ and his proof is the same as quoted by

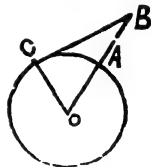
Nasirud-din Tûsî two and a half centuries later. On account of the ignorance of the works of Al-Bîrûnî, Braunschweig has fallen into error and attributed the discovery of this theorem to Nasirud-din.² Out of the six formulæ of the spherical right-angled triangle, four were known to the Greeks ; and to Al-Bîrûnî belongs the credit of proving for the first time the remaining two formulæ i.e.,

$$\begin{aligned} \cos A &= \cos a \sin B \\ \text{and } \cos C &= \cot A \cot B \end{aligned}$$

He proved them by Menelaus's Theorem. Al-Bîrûnî also gave his own proof of the formula $\frac{\sin A}{\sin a} = \frac{\sin B}{\sin b}$ which he says was discovered by Sabit-Bin-Qura.

Measurement of the Earth.

He made two attempts to measure a degree of the Earth but he failed in both. He first tried to measure directly, like Habash and Faraghan, the distance of one degree in the plain of Dohistan near Jungan, but he failed on account of the withdrawal of royal support. He made his second effort on the Mountain of Hindu Kush whose height he had measured. Let AB be the known height of the mountain. He went to a place C where the mountain was just visible on the horizon and took the difference of latitude i.e., the angle made by CA at the centre. If AB and the angle COA be given, then the radius can be calculated. Al-Bîrûnî's results were not quite correct as he did not make allowance for the refraction of atmosphere. His calculated value differs slightly from the true value. Al-Bîrûnî in his future calculations takes value given by Habsh.



(1) expressing in symbols

$$f(a+x) = f(a) + \frac{x}{h} \left[\frac{d}{-1} + \frac{x}{h} \frac{(d-d)}{0-1} \right]$$

(2) *History of Trigonometry. p. 66*

This is the substance of the Third Book of Qânûn Mas'ûdî. The world is still ignorant of the treasures contained in the remaining chapters of this book.

Mohammud Fârûq B.sc. has partially worked out Book IV, and I give a brief summary of his researches.

He begins by measuring the angle between the Equator and the Ecliptic, called obliquity of the Ecliptic and represented by w . He then gives its value as given by other astronomers, both Arabs and Greeks, and then discusses its variable retrograde motion.

Al-Bîrûnî devoted this book to finding the latitude and longitude of a place, the time and place of rising and setting of the sun and the determination of the co-ordinates of the heavenly bodies. He gives the three systems of co-ordinates, right ascension, declination, latitude and longitude, altitude and azimuth. He gives the formulæ for calculating other co-ordinates if any two are given. The formulæ that he uses are the same as one finds in any advanced text book on astronomy. I have had no opportunity to investigate how far Al-Bîrûnî is indebted to his predecessors. Al-Bîrûnî's method and his formulæ were universally adopted by later astronomers as is evident from the fact that Ulg Beg, three centuries later, used almost word for word the formulæ and phraseology of Al-Bîrûnî. El-Batani who lived about 150 years earlier, was not familiar with most of these formulæ. It is customary for Al-Bîrûnî to reverse a formula, however, complicated, in order to solve the inverse problems, which clearly indicates his thorough grasp of algebraic reasonings.

Al-Bîrûnî, like other Arabic astronomers, uses ميل الاول and ميل الثانى and gives tables for calculating these for every increase of 1' in the longitude of the sun. ميل الاول is the declination and ميل الثانى (sometimes called second declination) is the arc of the circle passing through a heavenly body and the pole of the ecliptic and intercepted between the equator and the heavenly body. The second declination does not form a right-angled triangle and is not used in modern calculations.

From the accounts given above, it is evident that the Publication of the original text of Qânûn Mas'ûdî with its English translation is of first-rate importance.

I have almost finished my book on 'The Researches of Arabs in Astronomy,' but I honestly feel that I cannot go to the Press without the minute study of the full text of Qânûn Mas'ûdî.

ZIAUDDIN AHMAD.

THE TABLE-TALK OF A MESOPOTAMIAN JUDGE

(Continued from our last issue.)

120. I was told the following by the *Ustadh* Abu Ahmad al-Husain b. Muhammad b. Sulaiman, the clerk, known as al-Zanji.¹ One night, he said, at the time when I was deputy to Sahl b. Bishr² for the districts of Ahwaz, I saw a dream, in which I seemed to have gone out into the fields and climbed a lofty mountain; when I had reached its summit, I had got near the moon (or the moon came near me), so near that I touched it with my hand. I had a wooden rod in my hand, which I stuck into the moon, and worked it till I had pierced it and broken it into fragments. With the same rod I caught a cloud that was near the moon, and began to daub it till I had plastered the whole. Then it seemed to me that a friend asked me what I was doing; and I replied I have slain the moon, and am daubing it with this cloud.—At this point I woke up, and as this dream agitated my mind, I went in an early hour to Abu'l-Hasan Ahmad b. 'Umar al-Talaqani,³ the clerk. When he saw me, he said: Yesterday I saw a queer dream about you, and wanted to come to you at once to interpret it to you.—I said: I too saw a dream yesterday which has disturbed me, and I have come to tell it to you. He asked me what I had seen, and I narrated the dream to him. He said: Do not worry about it; you will be appointed to the post of Sahl, b. Bishr and very shortly take his place.—I asked him whence he knew this, and what was it that he had seen. He said: Yesterday I had a dream in which I seemed to be interviewing a saint—I fancied he was one of the Prophet's Companions—whom I was asking to pray to God for me. He said: Is al-Dulji⁴ your friend?—I said: He is.—He said: Tell

(1) A different person from the Zanji mentioned in §21.

(2) For this person's career see Index to *Eclipse*. He farmed the land-tax of Ahwaz for 'Adud al-daulah.

(3) Several persons with this *nisbah* are known, but not apparently this.

(4) This seems to be the correct *nisbah* of al-Zanji.

him that Ahwaz is committed to his trust, and he must fear God and not annoy his wife.—Doubtless, he added, this dream is the interpretation of yours.—I asked him to say nothing about the dream, and we parted. I went home, and was not aware that I had been annoying my wife in any matter save the purchase of slave-girls; for there was one who had been in my house about a year, and whom I was inclined to favour above my wife. I immediately sold her to a purchaser, and presented the price, many thousand dirhams, to my wife. A year, more or less, after this¹ the vizier Ibn Baqiyyah came to Ahwaz with 'Izz al-daulah, and arrested the general Bukhtakin Azadruyah, the Turks, and Sahl b. Bishr. Presently he released the general, who received the title The Most Noble Chamberlain, and was entrusted with the contracts for revenue-farming, whereas I was appointed in lieu of Sahl b. Bishr.²

For a time Sahl remained in the custody of Abu Ahmad (al-Dulji), then he ('Izz al-daulah ?) removed him from his power and he was brought to Baghdad. Then occurred the episode of the occupation of Baghdad by the prince 'Adud al-daulah,³ when Sahl was released and put in charge of 'Askar Mukram, Tustar, Jundaisabur, and their dependencies. 'Adud al-daulah deprived Abu Ahmad of his office and imposed a fine on him. He kept to his house in Ahwaz and went on paying the money till Sahl b. Bishr revolted and entered Ahwaz with the army advocating the sovereignty of 'Izz al-daulah;⁴ Abu Ahmad joined them, out of fear for his life and fear of Sahl. He remained in Arrajan a year and a month, then made an arrangement with the Dailemite force in Ahwaz that they should mutiny and declare that they were not satisfied with Ibn Baqiyyah being vizier, and that nothing would content them except his removal and the appointment of someone else;⁵ otherwise they would not approve of 'Izz al-daulah remaining Emir. He took an oath from the officers and the rest of the army in the districts of Ahwaz, that they would obey him. He gave out that he intended marching to Baghdad

(1) A. H. 363. See *Eclipse* v. 351.

(2) This is not mentioned by Miskawaihi.

(3) *i.e.*, his first occupation of the metropolis, when he had been sent to help 'Izz al-daulah against mutineers.

(4) The text has 'Adud al-daulah; but the events are clearly described by Miskawaihi (*Eclipse* v. 389), where it appears that Sahl was acting in the interest of 'Izz al-daulah against Ibn Baqiyyah.

(5) This other person was Sahl himself.

to urge these demands. This was in Sha'ban of the year 365 (began April 4, 976). The prince 'Izz al-daulah disapproved of this,¹ and sent one of his most distinguished chamberlains, Ibrahim b. Isma'il² with a message to the Dailemites, who repented of their proceedings, and resumed their allegiance. Sahl b. Bishr was arrested by him and brought to Baghdad before 'Izz al-daulah, who bestowed a robe of honour on Abu Ahmad,³ whom he sent to Ahwaz as governor of it and its districts, so that Ahwaz became like something "committed to his trust;" for which no one else was suited, and where no one but himself was known when something was required.⁴

121. I was told the following by Abu Muslim Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Mahdi, clerk of Ispahan. At the time, he said, when Sahl b. Bishr was taking the oaths of the Dailemites and their officers to mutiny and demand the dismissal of the loyal vizier Nasir al-daulah,⁵ I had a dream in which I seemed to have come out into a vast plain, wherein I saw an enormous camp with tents and canvas and marquees; through the middle ran a river providing water, on the banks of which there was a vast privy, and all the men of the camp, officers and the rest, were gathered there eating the filth. The chief chamberlain came out from among them, having eaten of this filth, washed his mouth all about with water, rinsed it, and mounted. The others did not do the like, and I seemed to be wondering at this, when my eye fell on a canvas over a roof, and I asked to whom it belonged. Someone said: To al-Dulji. Now Abu Ahmad al-Dulji was at this time in Arrajan, and they said it belonged to him and that he had arrived. So I said: I will go and see him and salute him.—So I started and presently reached the bottom of the place where the canvas was, when there was a gale, which wrecked the tents which were in the camp, and I saw none of them remaining. Then I looked and saw women, lads, young men and old holding up the canvas. I asked who

(1) As Miskawaihi explains, he had been won over in the interval by Ibn Baqiyyah.

(2) For his career see Index to *Eclipse*.

(3) The text says "on him," which should refer to Ibrahim b. Isma'il; but the point of the story is that al-Husain b. Muhammad al-Dulji's dream was fulfilled. According to Miskawaihi (v. 390) Sahl's brother was given the appointment.

(4) If this anecdote is correct, it is strange that Miskawaihi should fail to mention this person.

(5) Title given to Ibn Baqiyyah in 364.

they were, and was told by someone that they were the Talibites¹ holding up the canvas of al-Dulji so that it might not be pulled up by the wind. I woke up and the next morning narrated the dream to Sima al-Dar'i chief of police, and said to him : Nothing will come of the enterprise on which these people are engaged ; al-Dulji will be put in control and will come from Arrajan.—He said to me : What do you mean ?—So I narrated the dream to him² and he said : The kindness of al-Dulji to the Talibites is what will sustain him.—Not many days had passed before Ibrahim the Chamberlain arrived, arrested Sahl b. Bishr and conveyed him in fetters to Baghdad with the rest of the army. As for the Most Noble Chamberlain Bukhtakin, he had written about the affair to the prince and the vizier, and advised them to arrest Sahl b. Bishr without delay, stating that he (Bukhtakin) had defied him (the prince 'Izz al-daulah) for fear of being assaulted by the Dailemites and he escaped thereby from trouble ; this was the meaning of his rinsing his mouth and washing off the dirt. The others who were overwhelmed, they were the Dailemite general al-Husain b. Ahmad b. Kundar and the Jilite general Takidar b. Sulaiman.³ When these two had come to Wasit they were arrested and banished, and their goods confiscated. Abu Ahmad al-Dulji came to the metropolis, and was put in charge of Ahwaz and its dependencies. He (Abu Muslim) used to tell us this story in the presence of Abu Ahmad (al-Dulji) some time after he had entered Ahwaz.

122. I heard Abu Muhammad al-Muhallabi dictating a letter to Sa'd b. 'Abd al-Rahman who was at that time farmer of the revenue of Basra by Muhallabi's appointment, in partnership with Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. Muhammad b. 'Ubaidallah b. al-Husain al-Ahwazi, and Abu 'Ali al-Hasan b. 'Ali b. Mahdi al-Ispahani, sister's son to Sa'd b. 'Abd al-Rahman. He was addressing him on the subject of arrears of money, and urging him to remit it in courteous language hitting the mean between gentleness and severity. At the end of it he said : Were I to refrain from demanding the money of you, the prince Mu'izz al-daulah would not refrain, and it is better that you should pay it so as to win praise than so as to earn censure. Take the view that I am advising you as a friend to pay it, and avert the violence of the prince by this amount, which I would not in the

(1) *i. e.*, descendants of Abu Talib father of 'Ali.

(2) Apparently he had already done this..

(3) See Index to the *Eclipse*.

case of a friend make excessive ; for one who gratifies his friends in the days of his good fortune is gratified by them in the days of trouble. And know that the only thing that comes between my using this mode of address and my changing to the contrary form, such as is used towards recalcitrant officials, and treating you accordingly is the arrival of a reply to my letter containing no mention of the transmission of money.¹ God forbid that this should happen. So choose for yourself, or refrain. Salutation.

123. One day I heard Abu Muhammad al-Muhallabi say with reference to a discussion on munificence which had taken place in his house, when a number of people were quoted : It will conceal those vices which calamities would reveal.

124. The following was told me by Abu Muhammad Dasah. We were told, he said, by Abu'l-Abbas Ahmad b. Ishaq al-'Amidi generally called Ibn Abi Safwan, a shaikh who served as deputy judge for Abu'l-Qasim al-Tanukhi in Wasit and its dependencies and the dependencies of the districts of Ahwaz at different times, that he had been informed by someone who was present in the chamber of the qadi Abu 'Umar, when his son-in-law Ibn Ghassan entered, and the qadi asked the latter whence he had come. He replied : From So-and-so's house.—The qadi said : It is folly to pay respect to one who has neither religion nor worldly goods.

125. We were told the following by Abu'l-Qasim 'Umar b. Hasan b. al-Husain Witness of Baghdad, who had held the office of qadi in Diyar Mudar, having been appointed by the qadi of qadis, and was of acknowledged rank. I was, he said, with Salamah al-Tuluni,² brother of Nujh,³ when I was a lad, once when there were in his chamber a number of people censuring miserliness ; Salamah had this quality attributed to him, though he was not a miser, only careful and skilful in finance. When the others had departed Salamah said to me : Abu'l-Qasim, do not listen to this talk or pay any attention to it, or you may be ruined. Better to be miserly than to beg of a miser.

I was with him, he added, at the end of his residence in Baghdad and before the entry of the Dailemites;⁴ there

(1) The meaning of this complicated sentence is clearly that should such a reply arrive, the vizier will immediately change his tone.

(2) See Index to the *Eclipse*.

(3) At one time prefect of police in Baghdad.

(4) i.e., with Mu'izz al-daulah in 334 A.H.

were people present who were attacking the Witnesses and censuring them. Salamah said to them: I find your conduct most extraordinary. Who is there among you who would be content to buy of his son or his brother an estate for ten thousand dinars without having the contract witnessed by certified Witnesses?—They admitted that there was no one among them who answered to that description.—He proceeded: And do you secure such a large amount or a larger one to yourselves and your descendants only by attestation, and make their autographs on a strip of parchment worth a silver danak serve as a substitute for such a vast sum, so much so that you treat the deed as the equivalent of the money and put it under your heads at night for greater security?—They said: That is so.—Then, he said, why do you find fault with persons whom you so regard?

126. I was told the following by Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. al-Hasan b. Raja b. Abi'l-Dahhak; he was called al-Dinari, because his mother Dinar claimed relationship with the wife of Abu 'Ali b. Muqlah known as Umm al-Fadl al-Dinariyyah; I also heard Abu'l-Qasim al-Hasan b. 'Ali b. Muqlah repeat this story in almost the same language. One day, they said, Abu 'Ali b. Muqlah had been having a meal, and when the table had been removed and he had washed his hand, he saw on his garment a yellow spot coming from the sweet which he had been eating. Opening his inkpot he took out some ink with his hand and dripped it on the yellow mark until no trace of it remained.

That, he said (referring to the yellow mark) would be a blemish, whereas this (the ink) is a mark of my profession. Then he recited the verses:

Saffron is girls' scent, I think; '
But the men's perfume is ink.

He recited to me the following by himself:

Orange trees whose loads of fruit
Look like caskets filled with pearls;
Or amid their green array
Might be cheeks of peeping girls;
Loved one's scent to lover taking.
Sorrow whence he knows not waking.

Also the following on an orange:

as fair as youth, whose days
rry on till eld delays;
And whose oranges might be
Beauties guarded jealously.
All that grieves they give to you.
Fairness and its fragrance too.

When like hearts themselves they seem.
Hearts no wonder yearn for them.¹

127. The following verses by Abu'l-Hasan Ahmad b. 'Ubaidallah of Baghdad known as al-Nadimi were recited to me by himself :

Those branches, see, their oranges reveal.
Fair to the eye and fragrant to the feel.²
Like domes of emerald o'er fire-flames red,
Oh, how they blaze and their aroma shed !
Or liken them to ears of chargers bold
Laden with necklaces of flaming gold.

128. I was told the following by Abu'l-Hasan Ahmad b. Muhammad . 'Abdallah b. al-Hasan of Ahwaz, clerk. There were, he said, five of us who had been trained as clerks under Abu'l-Hasan b. Jamil in the bureau at Ahwaz. One of us was weak in professional skill. On one occasion Ibn Jamil wished to get away from his chief, and delegated his duties to that incompetent official. We were annoyed at his being preferred to us. When he went to see the chief, if he were asked about anything he would not understand the question, or, if he understood it, would give no proper answer, and if he did answer, would display confusion and could give no reason. When this had gone on for some time, the chief said : Our affairs are suffering from the absence of Ibn Jamil, so write to him to hasten back.—We knew then that Ibn Jamil had made this man his deputy to act as clerk in his place to the chief, who would not then wish to displace Ibn Jamil.

129. I was told the following by Abu 'Ali Muhammad b. Jumhur al-'Ajami, of Silh and Basrah, a man of worth, famous as a savant, poet, and author of books. I was, he said, clerk to Abu'l-Fadl b. Ghailan b. Isma'il, who was governor in Arrajan. He was told that Abu'l-Mundhir al-Nu'man b. 'Abdallah³ had arrived on his way to Fars, and that it would be proper for him to go to meet al-Nu'man. Abu'l-Fadl was suffering from quartan fever. What, said he, am I to do ? To-morrow is the day of my fever, and I shall be unable to meet the man. The right plan for me will be to have my attack to-day so that I may be able to meet him to-morrow. Slave, bring me the overcoat so that I may have my attack to-day.—His idea was that if he chose to hasten the attack and recovery,

(1) The point of this couplet is obscure. Perhaps Ibn Muqlah had some difficulty with his rhymes.

(2) Literally " in the hand."

(3) He was at one time governor of Ahwaz. See Index to the *Eclipse*.

on the following day the attack would not recur and he would be well.

130. The following was told me by the Ustadh Abu Ahmad al-Husain b. Muhammad al-Dulji.¹ I was once, he said, in the neighbourhood of Madhar² with a company, among whom was a foot-soldier of the Shakiri force,³ known as Ibn al-Jarih. A lion sprang upon us, and this man rushed at it with his sword and target. He entered the thicket with it, and we knew not what had happened to him till he came out towards us, having killed the lion, and carried it on his back. There was a considerable distance between us and the thicket, and when he had reached us he flung the lion off his back. We did not know at which we should wonder the more, at a man killing a lion singlehanded, or his carrying it on his back all that distance (*The real wonder is that any one should believe the story*).⁴

131. He also told us the following. I was informed, he said, that the following anecdote was related by Khafif al-Samarqandi.⁵ We were with my master Mu'tadid on one of his hunting expeditions; he had got separated from his army, and there was no one with him but myself. A lion appeared and made for us. Mu'tadid said to me: Khafif, are you any good?—None at all, sire, I replied.—Not so much, he said, as to hold my horse while I dismount and deal with the lion?—I said: Yes, I can do that.—He dismounted and gave me his horse, tightened the ends of his belt, flung the sheath to me, and advanced towards the lion, dealing one blow and then another, with which he clove the lion's skull, so that it fell dead close to him. He then wiped his sword clean in a piece of wool, came back to me, sheathed his sword and mounted. After this we rejoined the camp and his retinue. To the day of his death I never heard him narrate the story of the lion or utter one word about it; and I do not know at which I should wonder most, his tremendous courage, his regardlessness of and silence about his exploit, or his pardoning me and never upbraiding me for my anxiety about my life.

(1) See above §§ 120, 121.

(2) See Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p.48. "Madhar is described as lying four days' journey from Basrah, and was celebrated for its beautiful mosque and the much venerated tomb of 'Abd Allah, son of the Caliph 'Ali."

(3) Said to mean mercenaries.

(4) The words in italics are evidently the comment of a sceptical reader.

(5) Deputy Chamberlain to Mu'tadid at his accession in 279 A.H. He is also mentioned by Tabari in the years 284 and 287.

132. We were told the following by Abu'l-Hasan Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Umm al-Mukatiḥ¹ of Baghdad, whose father was known as Abu'l-Laith of Hamadan. I was told, he said, by Muhammad b. Sari² the 'Uqailite, one of their captains and a leading member of the tribe, who came to the court of Mu'izz al-daulah and was honourably entertained by him, as follows. I saw an 'Uqailite, he said, who had all over his back incisions like those made by a cupper, only larger. I asked him about this,³ and he replied : I fell in love with a cousin, but her people told me they would not marry her to me unless I made part of the wedding gift a racehorse called Shabakah, which belonged to one of the Banu Bakr b. Kilab.⁴ I agreed to this condition, and started off scheming to steal this horse from its possessor in order to obtain possession of the bride. I went to the tribe in which the horse was to be found in the character of a smith ; I visited them repeatedly and at times would enter the tent where the horse was kept as a beggar, and so learned in what part of the tent the horse was kept at night. I then contrived to enter the dwelling from the back, and got behind the press, under a mass of wool which had been carded ready for spinning. When night came on and the woman had got ready the man's supper, and the two sat eating, as it was quite dark and they had no lamp, I being hungry put out my hand and stuck it into the dish, and ate with them. The man, perceiving my hand, and feeling alarm, seized it, so I seized the woman's hand. She said to him : What do you want with my hand ?—He, thinking that it was the woman's hand which he had seized, let go of mine and I let go of hers. We continued eating, and the woman, alarmed at my hand, seized hold of it, so I seized the man's ; he asked her what she meant, whereupon she let go of my hand, and I let go of his. When the meal was over, the man lay down on his back to sleep, and when he was fast asleep, I watched, the horse being chained at one side of the tent, while its foal was unchained in the tent, and the key of the horse's chain was under the woman's head.

(1) " Son of the Mother of the man who contracted for his manumission by payments."

(2) The father's name is given differently in other versions of this story.

(3) Apparently they were produced by the thrusts of the owner of the horse.

(4) A clan of the tribe Rabi'ah ; details of its location are given by Wüstenfeld in his *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen*.

Presently there came a black slave belonging to the master, and threw a pebble. The woman woke up, and went out to him, leaving the key in its place. She went outside the tent, being spied on by me. When the two were occupied with each other I crept and, taking the key, opened the lock. I had with me a hair bridle, and with this I bridled the horse, which I then mounted, and rode away from the tent. The woman now re-entered it, and screamed; the tribe took alarm, and perceiving me rode in pursuit. I urged the horse on, with a number of them behind me; when morning came there was only one horseman behind me, who had a lance. He overtook me by sunrise and began to thrust at me, but his thrusts did not reach me, nor yet could my horse carry me to such a distance that the lance could not touch me at all; till we came to a large river, when I shouted to my horse and it jumped the river, whereas my pursuer's horse, though he shouted to it, would not take the jump. When I saw that he was unable to cross I halted to rest my horse and rest myself; the man shouted to me, and when I turned my face towards him, he said: My friend, I am the owner of the horse which is under you, and this is its foal; now you have got possession of her, never let her go, for she is worth ten ransoms three times over. Never have I pursued anything upon her, but I have overtaken it, nor has any one ever pursued me when on her back but I have escaped him. She is called Shabakah (*Net*) because she never yet wanted anything but she attained it; catching it like a net.—I said to him: As you have given me some good advice, I must also give you some. What happened to me yesterday was as follows—I told him the story of his wife and the slave, and my expedient for securing the horse. He hung his head, then raised it and said: What business was it of yours, may God give you no good reward for your visit! You have divorced my wife, taken my mount, and killed my slave!¹

133. The following also was told us by Ibn Abi'l-Laith (the narrator of No. 132). I was informed, he said, by one of the Banu Tamr b. Qasit,² a Bedouin named Dukain, whom I saw at Anbar,³ that when Mu'izz al-daulah came

(1) This anecdote is of interest for indicating what the Bedouin conceived to be his legal rights.

(2) This tribe is not to be found in Wüstenfeld's lists.

(3) "Al-Anbar 'the Granaries,' standing on the left bank of the Euphrates, was one of the great cities of Iraq in Abbasid times." Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 66, where a valuable account of the history of the place is to be found.

to Sinjar,* he had a valuable horse of his tied up as near as possible to his sleeping place. I admired (said the Bedouin) this horse and wanted to steal it ; so I made my plans for this purpose, but got no chance till one night when I found that one of the grooms was asleep, and had divested himself of a woollen *jubbah* which he had thrown on the ground at his side. I donned this *jubbah*, went to the horse and took hold of the nosebag which was on its head with the view of loosing the animal and mounting. When I had thrown down the nosebag Mu'izz al-daulah woke and I perceived that he was moving. So I seized the sieve, flung therein the remains of the barley in the nosebag, sifted it and returned it to the nosebag, to make Mu'izz al-daulah suppose that I was one of the grooms and had been doing this by way of looking after the horse. When he saw me doing it he called out in Persian in such a way that I understood his meaning : He has had enough barley, do not put it back on his head. So I left the nosebag alone, and the horse made a plunge to get at it. Mu'izz al-daulah said in Persian : Shorten the halter ; this gave me a chance, so I put my hand on the halter, and loosened it, while pretending that I was shortening it, mounted the animal's back, shouted to it, and departed from the camp. The prince Mu'izz al-daulah screamed, and the fastest riders in his army chased me. I galloped on, with the whole party behind me, till I got into a long ravine. They were still following when I was faced by a foraging party whom I could see from a distance by the light of their torches ; there were troops with them. I said to myself : Dukain, this is your day. Troops behind you and troops in front of you, and if they get hold of you, they will not bring you alive to Mu'izz al-daulah. You must make for any course in which you think salvation lies.—It occurred to me that I had better charge the party in front, since they knew nothing about me ; so I drew a sword which I had on me above my own clothes, but under the *jubbah* which I had taken from Mu'izz al-daulah's groom, urged on my horse, not being seen by them, as they were in the light whereas I was in the darkness, and when I got near them, shouted loudly at them. They supposed me to be an outpost of a surprise squadron which was on the lookout for them, so I proceeded to charge them one by one, they avoiding my blows and I avoiding theirs, till I had got clear of them. While I

* On the occasion of an expedition against Nasir al-daulah in 347, see *Eclipse*. V. 183.

went on, the horsemen who were behind came up with the other party, and wasted a little time in asking about me ; thus I escaped both parties, and rode on into Syria, where I sold the horse to Saif al-daulah for 3,000 dirhems. I went about the countries, and presently came to Baghdad. Mu'izz al-daulah was looking out for Arabs to enrol and despatch on an expedition. I was named by the 'Uqailite al-Musayyib b. Rafi¹ among a number whom he presented to the prince, who accepted the nomination. When I stood before him, he looked at me superciliously, because I was small, and said (in Persian) "twenty dinars," which I understood. The two 'Uqailite chieftains, al-Mussayyib and al-Muhanna, spoke to him, and at their request he added three dinars. They said to him : He is a man of worth and station, and of family and of courage.—He said : Supposing all our forces were of this sort, what could they do ?—I asked one of the sergeants to interpret what he was saying, and the man interpreted it to me. I said : Prince, I can do something. I can pretend to be the groom of a horse in the presence of such a sovereign as you, devise a scheme for seizing it, and mount it.—I then told him the story of what had happened to his horse at Sinjar, and how I had sold it and what it fetched.—He said : Then you are the man who had to do with the horse at Sinjar ?—I said : I am.—He laughed and bade them put me in the forty dinar list, which they did.

134. The following was told me by Abu'l-Husain.²—I was passing, he said, along the Samarra Road, and entered the palace called Ahmadi³ to examine the ruins. When I had reached the middle of the building I saw an inscription on a wall there as follows :

Well may the visitor take warning here ;
Of whilom splendour now no signs appear.
Its star is set, its half demolished lies ;
Deceased its master, lost its memories.

He also recited to me the following by himself :

For love I guard thee with an eye
Forbidden in sweet sleep to close ;
And thou dost in its pupil lie,
And in my heart of hearts repose.

(1) He was still chief of the tribe in 372, *Eclipse* vi. 54.

(2) The author does not state which of the many persons who had this *kunyah* is meant.

(3) Probably built by the Caliph Musta'in.

Abu'l-Qasim of Tyre recited to me the following by Abu'l-Hasan al-Musawi al-'Alawi, which he had heard from the author :

O thou who in the core dost lie
Both of my heart and of my eye.

135. The following was told me by Abu'l-Fadl Muhammad b. Ubaidallah.¹ I was told, he said, by a number of the leading clerks in Baghdad that al-Qasim b. 'Ubaidallah felt alarm at the intimacy of al-Husain b. 'Amr the Christian with the Caliph,² so he employed people to spy upon him. He even pretended to be in love with a singing girl who was beloved by al-Husain b. 'Amr, gratified her in various ways, and got her to divulge private affairs of al-Husain and his son, which through her intimacy with the former she had learned. Ultimately he superseded al-Husain in her affection ; so much that al-Husain was compelled to make a friend of al-Qasim on her account. The latter drew al-Husain on, made of him a sort of mess-mate, gratified him with various favours, and made mischief between him and his son, who also took to bringing al-Qasim information about his father. One day this son came and informed al-Qasim that al-Husain (his father) was bargaining with al-Muqtafi for the vizierate, had guaranteed to extract a vast sum (he gave the figure) from al-Qasim and his dependants, and indeed had settled with the Caliph that al-Husain's secretary Ibrahim b. Hamdan of Shiraz (according to Abu'l-Fadl the grandfather of Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali b. al-Husain b. Ibrahim known as *al-Mushrif* " (the Overseer ")³ should be appointed vizier to manage all that al-Qasim b. Ubaidallah had been managing for al-Muqtafi, should be clad in the black robe, and have the title vizier, since al-Husain himself was unwilling to adopt Islam, and it was unlawful to appoint to the vizierate a member of a tolerated cult, but that all public business and offices should be under al-Husain's control, and the new vizier be ordered to carry out al-Husain's instructions ; having no admission to the Caliph except at parades and public audiences, where he should present visitors, and formally officiate in his black robe, with sword and belt, but do nothing more. Qaris⁴ the nurse of al-Muqtafi, was, he added, the person who had arranged

(1) See § 14.

(2) This anecdote amplifies and explains the short notice in Tabari iii. 2230.

(3) See Index to the *Eclipse* for his career.

(4) Probably the Greek name Charis.

the affair with the Caliph, who had promised that all should be carried out on a particular day which was soon coming and which he specified, when the Caliph would have al-Qasim and his dependants arrested and delivered to al-Husain b. 'Amr.

Al-Qasim b. Ubaidallah hereupon consulted Abu'l-'Abbas b. al-Furat* as to the steps which he had better take. Abu'l-'Abbas declared that he had in his possession something which would relieve al-Qasim of all difficulty.—What is it?—He asked.—A letter, replied Abu'l-'Abbas, in the writing of al-Husain b. 'Amr (with which the Caliph is acquainted) to your father written to him from one of the regions whither al-Muqtafi had travelled in the days of al-Mu'tadid, when al-Husain b. 'Amr was al-Muqtafi's secretary. In that letter al-Husain informs your father of al-Muqtafi's miserliness, the baseness of his character, his failings and his atrocities, his weakness and incompetence, in the strongest terms, and advises your father to convey this information to al-Mu'tadid, and endeavour to get him recalled to the capital, so that the realm might not be disgraced. Your best plan then is to make out an inventory of all your possessions, everything that you possess, including your house and your lands, and go and demand a private audience of the Caliph. When that has been granted, throw yourself on the ground before him, and with tears produce the inventory, and beg him to accept the whole as a free and lawful gift, and retain you in his service or else promise you safety for your person and your life, and not to surrender you to al-Husain b. 'Amr, who is wholly untrustworthy. If the Caliph asks you the reason for this, then tell him that al-Husain b. Amr has divulged the secret, and it has come to your knowledge. You will then produce the letter and say to him: How, Prince of Believers, can you trust with your person and your realm a man who has this opinion of you? When he reads the letter after what he has heard you say, he will relent, become reconciled to you, and turn against al-Husain b. 'Amr.—If he asks you how you got possession of the letter, tell him that it was in your father's archives, preserved as a weapon against al-Husain for you to use and to be handed over to you; and that Mu'tadid had been afraid of the man to the day of his death. You, however, had forgotten about it till now, when you have brought it to light. Undertake further to extract from

* Brother of the famous vizier.

al-Husain b. 'Amr and Ibrahim of Shiraz with their dependants so many thousands (of dinars) as you will be able to realize, and the Caliph will acquiesce. When you have obtained his promise, then assure him that the matter has become public and the subject of conversation, and the source of various rumours; should he delay the surrender of these persons to you, the officials will be unable to proceed with their business, as every one will be wanting to secure something, which will injure the Caliph; further the business of the vizierate will be impeded and the office rendered contemptible if their surrender to you be delayed. The Caliph is sure to surrender them.

Al-Qasim immediately sailed to Muktafi, carrying out all Abu'l-'Abbas's directions, and all the latter's forecast was realized. When al-Qasim came away he had obtained the Caliph's permission to arrest al-Husain b. 'Amr and his dependants. He arrested them, confiscated their goods, and when he was conscious that these were exhausted, he sent al-Husain b. 'Amr and Ibrahim of Shiraz into exile at Ahwaz, where he appointed jailors for them, who took them in charge when they had reached the place. It is said that they were placed in a chamber which was then closed and no water or food allowed to be introduced. When al-Qasim was assured that they were dead, the door was opened, and they were removed to another chamber and it was given out that they had died a natural death.¹

The narrator proceeded: When al-Qasim had issued victorious and the plan had proved a success, he kissed the head and eyes of Abu'l-'Abbas b. al-Furat, and thanked him with expressions like, You are my father and my right arm, etc. This aroused the jealousy of Ibn Firas² who suggested to the vizier to ask Abu'l-'Abbas whence he had procured the letter. He did so, and Abu'l-'Abbas replied as follows: Some time ago, he said, when I was passing down a street I noticed at a confectioner's shop a rail on which some loose leaves were hanging intended for

(1) Tabari iii. 2230 states that in Shawwal 290 al-Qasim arrested al-Husain b. 'Amr, whose secretary (Ibrahim of Shiraz) fled, in consequence of which a reward was offered for his capture. After a few days al-Husain was allowed to go home on condition that he quitted Baghdad; and a week after he went to Wasit in exile. Some months later the secretary was discovered. Mez in the work translated by Mr. Khuda Bukhsh in *Islamic Culture* has shown that these tales of atrocities were often popular gossip.

(2) He is probably the Abu'l-Husain b. al-Firas mentioned by Hilal among the persons who came to condole with al-Qasim on the death of Abu'l-'Abbas.

the wrapping of sweetmeats sold; I have never seen a scrap of writing but have wanted to read it, and have often profited immensely thereby. Glancing at the leaves my eye fell on the address of this letter, and as I recognized the script of al-Husain b. 'Amr, I was anxious to read the letter. So I told my slave to go and buy a certain sweetmeat seeing that it is wrapped in this leaf, pointing to the letter. He did so, brought it to me, and when I read it I found its contents to be atrocious. I said to myself: This is the worst man in existence, if he can be a man's secretary and write about him in this style behind his back. Possibly some day mischief may threaten me from this man, and I may avert it by means of this letter; or I may publish it and therewith expose his bad qualities. So I wiped off the marks of the sweetmeat, and preserved the letter which has been in my possession for so many years. When the vizier told me this story just now, I perceived that the time had come to produce the letter, which I have done.

When (Abu'l-'Abbas) b. al-Furat had left the room, Ibn Firas, who had always been calumniating the former to al-Qasim, who however had paid no attention to his statements, said: now the extent of Ibn al-Furat's malignity has been made clear to you. He is a greater danger to you than was al-Husain b. 'Amr. This man is a surreptitious foe, who insinuates himself within your garments, whereas al-Husain was an open enemy, against whom you could guard yourself. What assurance have you that during the period in which you have been giving him your confidence he may not have been treasuring up against you more than this, or have got hold of some script of yours which you have forgotten, containing libellous expressions, as he did in the case of al-Husain b. 'Amr? How can you be sure that he has not writings of your own or of your father in this style? For people often feel anger against their employers and express themselves freely at home among their intimates. Ibn al-Furat is only watching for some sign of alienation on your part, or some difference with him about some matter which he does not want whereas you do, to reveal to the Caliph about you or your father something even more serious than this, with your ruin for the result. If you spare him, still you are like a ward under his control, and he is of opinion that it was his counsel which restored you to the vizierate, will regard the world as his fief, of which he will monopolize the profits, leaving you to bear the blame;

whereas if you alarm him, he will put you to death by some such action as you have heard. You had better take my advice and deal speedily with him; contrive to poison him and so rid yourself of him. This speech affected al-Qasim, and Ibn Firas kept on urging his advice till ultimately al-Qasim poisoned an apple, and gave it to Ibn al-Furat to smell, which caused his death. This letter was the unluckiest ever heard of.¹

136. I was told the following by Abu Muhammad.² I heard, he said, one of the chief clerks in Baghdad recount after someone who had told to him, how the latter had heard Abu'l-Hasan b. al-Furat say to Abu Ja'far b. Bistam, of whom he had a low opinion. Come now, Abu Ja'far, you have a story of a loaf; what is it?—He said: I have no story about a loaf.—Ibn al-Furat however insisted, and finally told him that it would be better for him if he did narrate it. So he said: Well, my mother was a pious old dame, and from the time of my birth accustomed me to have a loaf weighing a *raṭl* placed at night under the pillow on which I slept, and next morning she would give it away in charity on my behalf. I have been doing the same until now.—Ibn al-Furat said: I never heard of anything stranger than this. You are to know that I had the lowest opinion of you owing to matters which caused that (of which he enumerated some), and have for some days been thinking of arresting you and demanding money of you. Three nights ago I had a dream in which I seemed to have summoned you in order to arrest you, when you fought and resisted, I ordered people to fight you, but you came out against those who would fight you with a loaf for a shield in your hand, with which you diverted the arrows, so that none of them reached you. I now call God to witness that I abandon for God's sake the sentiments which I harboured about you, and that my opinion of you from this time is most favourable, so cheer up.—Abu Ja'far bent down to kiss his hands and feet.

137. I was told the following by Abu Tahir al-Muhasin b. Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Jauhari of Shiraz known

(1) It is noteworthy that Hilal makes no mention of this affair, though he records how Ibn Firas was one of the visitors who came to condole with al-Qasim for Ibn al-Furat's death. Perhaps then this story, which reveals the blackest ingratitude as well as treachery, is merely gossip.

(2) Hilal gives his full name as Abu Muhammad Yahya b. Muhammad b. Fahd. He is frequently cited in Part I as Yahya b. Muhammad b. Sulaiman b. Fahd of the tribe Azd and of Mausil. See above § 81.

as Ibn al-Muqtafi, one of the Witnesses in the City of Peace (Baghdad). He said: I was told by Abu'l-Fadl al-'Abbas b. Fisanjas¹ that during part of the time in which he had been in government employ in Fars he had gained fifty million dirhems, and that during his residence in Shiraz he had on separate occasions been fined by 'Ali b. Buwaihi² six hundred thousand dinars, in addition to the land-tax which he extorted from my estate, which he afterwards seized on the double pretext.—Now what I would observe is this. This story by itself would be sufficient to indicate the difference between the times. Abu'l-Fadl held no higher office than the secretaryship for Fars and deputyship for the governors there either for the whole province or part of it occasionally, and yet he acquired all this wealth. His son Abu'l-Faraj³ Muhammad was in control of all the bureaux of Iraq for twenty-eight years, then of the vizierate for thirteen months,⁴ and attained honours which his father never reached. When at the time of his fall he was overwhelmed with exactions and which were ruthlessly inflicted, his fine amounted to one million two hundred thousand dirhems, the payment of which ruined him.⁵

138. The following was told me by Abu Muhammad Yahya b. Muhammad b. Fahd. I was informed, he said, by a certain shaikh that al-Qasim b. 'Ubaidallah was in fear of Mu'tadid and carried on his drinking and other amusements in secret, lest the Caliph should regard him as a youth given up to frivolity and negligent of his duties, and so conceive a bad opinion of him. Still, being young and immature, he was fond of amusement, and when he could pursue it with extreme secrecy, he would steal a night or a day of his life, and drink. One night he wanted to have a drinking bout with roses and he contrived to amass a great quantity of the flowers, clandestinely, and he got together a great number of singing-girls, among them one to whom he was specially attached, and sat with them and no other company, drinking. With the roses

(1) Ob. 348 A.H. For his career see Index to the *Eclipse*.

(2) He was 'Ali b. Buwaihi ('Imad al-daulah's) tax-farmer. If the dinar be taken at its normal value, 15 dirhems, the fines will amount to nine million dirhems, which would be less than a fifth of the man's fortune.

(3) For his career see Index to the *Eclipse*.

(4) He was appointed in 359. Miskawaihi tells the story of the intrigues, which resulted in his appointment and subsequent dismissal, at great length.

(5) Miskawaihi speaks of "a huge sum."

he mingled light dirhems, and had a shower of these. People call a feast of this sort *shadguli*.¹ He clothed himself in a woman's garment of dyed brocade, and owing to his extreme attachment to the singing-girl made the same garment cover both. The evening passed agreeably, and at midnight he stopped the drinking for fear of crapula, went to sleep, sailed to Mu'tadid next morning and worked at his duties till the time for his departure arrived. When he wished to depart he went to Mu'tadid's apartment to show himself to the Caliph and take his leave. Mu'tadid bade him approach till he was so near that no one else could hear what he said, and said to him : Qasim, why did not you invite us yesterday so that we might have played *shadguli* with you ? I fancy you were ashamed of the fancy dress worn by you and your beloved.—Al-Qasim almost died of chagrin. Mu'tadid said to him : What is the matter with you, why are you so alarmed ? What is there in this ? Had we known that it would affect you so we should not have told you anything, or hurt your feelings. You may go, and God guard you !

Al-Qasim returned home sorrowful, summoned his advisers, and told them the story. Mu'tadid's purpose, he said, in this was to show me that even such a detail of my affairs does not escape him ; and if he really knows such a detail as this, how can he fail to know about my secret profits and such of my affairs as admit less of concealment ? What will my life be like, when a man like that knows all about it ? What then do you advise me to do ?

They tried their best to comfort him, but he only got more chagrined, till at last he said to them : If I do not find out who conveyed this information, my gall will burst, and I shall put an end to myself. They said they would enquire and find out. One of them said at once that he would deal with the business for the prince.²—This particular friend started prowling round the Caliph's Palace, to discover someone who looked like a secret service man, and whom he might suspect, but had no success that day, and the next day prowled about the ministries, the offices of the postmasters, and those of the secret service the whole day, but without success ; on the third day he prowled about the vizier's Palace and its apartments, also without success. On the fourth day he stayed on his mount at the Public Gate in the vizier's Palace, at a loss and not knowing what to do, while waiting for the vizier to come

(1) A Persian compound meaning " of fresh roses. "

(2) Similarly we find viziers called by their flatterers " king. "

out on horseback, when he might join the vizier's company and study the faces of the party, since there was nothing left of which he could think. Suddenly he noticed a young man creeping along on his knees like a cripple, in the style of a mendicant cripple. The man had come long before sunrise and crept along, entering the lodges of the porters, who did not prevent him. The observer said: When the man had got to the threshold he stopped with the porters and talked to them for a time, whilst I listened. He asked them about their affairs, and invoked blessings on them, and when they were in a good humour he drew them into a different subject, presently saying to them: Who came to the offices this morning? Who was admitted and who was refused admittance?—They gave him the names.—When I heard this, I perceived that he was the secret service man, and pursued him with my gaze till he had got past the porters, whither I followed him, and had reached the curtain-keepers. His procedure with them was similar to his procedure with the others. They told him things which I had not known although I was a confidential servant of the vizier, about visitors who had been admitted to him or had been refused admission. The man passed on to the vestibule of the public room, where I dismounted, and followed him, he being unaware of this, and presently came to the place of the chamberlains. They took no notice of him, and he neither talked to them nor they to him. Presently he invoked blessings on them and begged alms which they gave him. He then passed on to the inner courts, where I could see him, and he went on creeping and prowling about the different store-chambers of furniture, wine, and clothing, and the chambers of the slaves and eunuchs, asking for information and talking on all subjects, within my hearing, so that I learned things I had not known about the management of the vizier's household. Then he went to the door of the women's apartment, and invoked a blessing on the eunuch who was in charge of the door, begging of him; the eunuch gave him something, and he stayed there talking amusingly. When any slave-girl or eunuch came in or went out, the man would ask them about their affairs, they would disregard him, and give him something, and he would proceed to extract from them the affairs of the Palace, spit, and say: Tell my lady X to give me what she promised, and tell my lady Y to bestow charity on me, and ask my lady Z the Stewardess how she is, and greet her from me.—I kept watching him admiringly till he had exhausted everything that could be known about the affairs of al-Qasim's

slave-girls, where he spent his night and with which of them last night, how the girls amused each other, how they were dressed, and all sorts of curious information of this style. Then he crept on and proceeded to the vizier's private apartment, where the vizier was by himself and from which he mounted his horse; he was beamed upon by the bedmakers of the chamber, the attendants, eunuchs and junior retainers, who joked with him, while he invoked blessings on them, and got alms from some of them. He asked about the doings of the vizier in his private room and what he drank. Some of them told him that the vizier had been in great distress for two days, for which they did not know the reason, and had neither eaten nor drunk, neither slept nor retired. While asking all these questions the man made a show of buffoonery, and acted the part of one who was deranged or half-witted, and his words were interpreted by the servants on that supposition; the weak-minded among them bandied jests and coarse witticisms with him, and he put up with this till he had finished with the staff of the private chamber. He then came out and crept along in his former style, not swerving from his course till he reached the room of the clerks. There he stopped a long time, carrying on as before, then came out through the door having filled a basket, which he had with him, with bread, sweets and victuals, and his purse with dirhems. When he had reached the gate of the palace, I asked the porters if they knew the man. They said: He is a cripple who comes and begs, and is a good-natured man, so that every one in the palace finds him agreeable and is kind to him.—I said: I pity him, and should like to take him something. Does any one of you know his home?—They said No one.—So I mounted my horse, followed him, and caught him up; I then stopped and pretended to be talking to my slave, and began to proceed cautiously behind him till he came to the Bridge. He crossed this crawling with me behind him, and then entered the Khuld,* which I entered with him. He went inside a hostelry and I bade my slave follow him and find out his room therein. He did so, came back to me, and described it to me. I stayed bewildered, not knowing what I should do, or whom I should ask about him, fearing

* The "Palace of Eternity" was so called from its gardens being supposed to rival those of Paradise, and was built by the Caliph Mansur who took up his residence there in the year 158 A.H. The Palace itself stood on the Tigris bank opposite the Khurasan Gate and a short distance below the Main Bridge of Boats.—So Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p.102 who describes it at length. Here the name seems to refer to a district.

I might scare him, and he might run away. I stayed so long that I thought of going away, when he came out sound in body and clean with clothes of Merv, a white beard, a hood and a turban, which he had arranged between his eyebrows; had I not seen him so recently, I should not have recognized him. He was now walking with no difficulty, and I observed that his white beard was put on over his real beard, which he concealed with his turban. I only noticed this because I scrutinized him carefully, and my attention was directed to it because I had seen him so recently (with a beard of another colour). He walked on, and I entered a mosque, altered my turban, and bade my slave take my horse and wait for me with it at the bridge. I removed my shoes and put on my slave's sandals; I then walked after the man very fast, watching him, till he came to Ibn Tahir's Palace;¹ a eunuch came out to him, and no word passed between them; only the man produced a small paper, and handed it to the eunuch, who went in again, whereas the man turned back.

I did not follow him any further but proceeded to Ya'qub's Steps,² embarked in a *sumairiyjah*, went up to the vizier's palace, and presented myself to the vizier. He invited me to a meal with him, which I took, and when the others had departed I retained my seat. He bade me speak. I said to him: Yesterday you did so and so, and so and so took place in your women's apartments, one girl said this, and another girl said that to you, and your young eunuch X did so and so (I had heard in the course of my adventure the reciprocal relations of the servants, which I do not think the secret service man learned, only which the conversations involved). All this I repeated to him.—He said: My friend, what are you saying? Whence do you know all these tales?—I said from the source whence the tale of the *shadguli* was derived.—Tell me, he said.—And the reward? I asked.—Name your own terms, he replied.—So I told him the story of the cripple exactly as it had happened. He drew me to himself, kissed me between the eyes, and ordered a vast sum of money to be given me. He then said: I want you to get hold of the man in such a way that nothing will be known about him. I undertook to do this, and asked him to command one of his private attendants to take my orders.—He had one of them brought to me and instructed him to that effect. Next morning I went at an early hour to the palace, and

(1) See Le Strange's *Baghdad*, p. 118.

(2) Evidently the name of a place where boats could be hired.

sat down to wait for the man, who presently appeared in yesterday's garb and as a cripple; he went in, and I did not interfere with him till he entered the private chamber. I followed him, and said to the attendant: Seize this man. He did so, and we locked him into a recess in the apartment. The man was disturbed and began to sob; the vizier came down, and I whispered to him what had happened; he set aside his business, entered the apartment, and summoned the man, who came crawling.—I hit him on the neck and said to him: Stand up, you rogue, and walk straight, as I saw you walking yesterday.—He said: I am a cripple.—I had scourges brought, and when he saw that we meant business, he stood up and walked. Al-Qasim said to him: Tell me the truth about yourself otherwise I will kill you at once.—He said I have been Mu'tadid's spy upon you for so many months. I have been doing various things —(he recounted much the same as I had already reported to the vizier and his method, and how he collected information, wrote it down every day at noon, and brought a small sheet containing it to the eunuch in charge of the Palace of Ibn Tahir, who conveyed it to Mu'tadid, this eunuch acting as intermediary between them. Further that at the beginning of every month the eunuch handed to him thirty gold dinars).

Al-Qasim bade the spy tell him what information he had conveyed during that period about himself. The man mentioned a number of things including the *shadguli*. Al-Qasim confined him in that apartment, and when night came he was put to death and buried, and Mu'tadid got no further news of him. When a month or more had passed, al-Qasim said to me: I am rid of that hound, and I cannot find that Mu'tadid knows anything of my private affairs, nor do I see any indication that he has learned anything about them.¹

139. The following was told me by Abu'l-Fath Ahmad b. Ali b. Harun al-Munajjim.² I was informed, he said by my father that Abu Bakr b. Ra'iq³ was an enthusiastic

(1) This anecdote seems to suit the character of al-Qasim b. 'Ubaidallah as it appears in the other narratives about him. A wiser man could have outwitted the Caliph without resorting to bloodshed.

(2) There is a short account of him in the *Irshad* i. 231. Yaqut apparently knows of him only from the quotations in the *Table-talk*. He came of a distinguished family.

(3) For his career see Index to the *Eclipse*. He is historically of importance as the first "Prince of Princes" who took over the functions of the Caliph in Baghdad, relegating the latter to the position of figure-head. The "eclipse" of the Caliphate commenced with him, though his tenure of office was short.

admirer of the music of Abu'l-Qasim b. Tarkhan, as the latter well deserved. He was indeed one of the most amiable of mankind, and most efficient in his art. He could touch the *tunbur*¹ in a way that was sweeter than a stroke; so entrancing was the sound that people's hearts when they heard it nearly leapt out of their ribs. When he started playing Ibn Ra'iq would start drinking cups of wine till the music came to an end. One day he said to me:² Abu'l-Hasan, to what in your opinion can this touch, than which there is nothing sweeter on earth, be compared?—I replied: Prince, it resembles the messenger of a beloved one asking permission for a visit.—This reply pleased him, and presently the story was told to 'Ubaidallah b. Muhammad of Tyre, who in my presence composed the following verses on this theme, and recited them to me:

Her lover's asleep: see her rise
And banish that sleep from his eyes.
And touched ere she sang from desire
The string numbered two of her lyre.
And when its sweet note made him start,
It seemed to his ears and his heart,
Like messenger saying: There waits
The one you adore at your gates.

140. The following also was told me by Abu'l-Fath. I was, he said, in the company of my father when he had with him a singer, who, whenever he came to an *M* in his melody, pronounced it clearly. My father said to him: When in your melodies you come to an *M* or *N*, compress it; I guarantee that it will sound sweeter and I will bear any loss which it may occasion you. The man repeated the *M* with extreme compression, and the sweetness of the sound was increased many times.

141. I heard the vizier Abu Muhammad al-Muhallabi talking at a gathering when I was present. I had, he said, left Ahwaz with Abu Ja'far al-Saimari on our way to Sus, of which he was governor for Mu'izz al-daulah.³ The mother of Abu'l-Ghana'im⁴ was in Sus at the time; it was at the commencement of my notoriety with her, and I greatly yearned after her (meaning his slave-girl Tajni).⁵ When we got to the sandy part of the road a

(1) Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*., renders this word by Pandore. It was a stringed instrument.

(2) The narrator's father is speaking.

(3) This was in 326; see *Eclipse* iv. 482.

(4) Muhallabi's son al-Fadl.

(5) See Index to the *Eclipse* for references to her.

violent gale arose which blew the sand upon us, and I re-collected two couplets of Farazdaq :¹

Riders who seemed as though the wind were fain
To strip their head-gear, pulling might and main ;
It I defied and made my friend to face
Until we reached our loved ones' dwelling place.

Of which I made

And Oh, the gale, which raised such dust and heat
And stripped the riders' garments to their feet ;
It I defied and made my friend to face
Until we reached our loved ones' dwelling place.

He also recited to me the following by himself :

Thinks the eye it from above
On my heart threw load of love ?
Foolishly it fancieth ;
What it threw thereon was death.

142. I was told the following by Abu 'Ali al-Hasan b. Sahl b. 'Abdallah of Idhaj,² who was deputy qadi for my father in Idhaj and for Ramhurmuz,³ and continued to do legal business, and was a messmate of Abu Muhammad al-Muhallabi during his vizierate. He enjoyed the favour of Muhallabi, became influential with him, and indulged in frivolity and debauchery such as was improper for a qadi. He was addressed as qadi, and Muhallabi in his letters used to address him as "My lord the qadi." He was well grounded in literature. He said : When I was young, I went to Basrah to take down information, and become a scholar. Abu Abdallah al-Mufajja⁴ was my constant companion, and I restricted myself to him as teacher. One day he wrote to me, when the weather was cold :

O gallant lad, that title worth,
When gallant lads are rare on earth ;
He's blest who owns in winter's cold,
Cup, robe and shawl and purse of gold.⁵

I sent him all that he solicited.

(1) Umayyad poet of great celebrity.

(2) "The chief town of Great Lur was Idhaj, otherwise called Mal Amir. Muqaddasi describes it in the 4th-10th century as one of the finest towns of Khuzistan." *Le Strange Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 245.

(3) "Three days' march east of Ahwaz is the city of Ramhurmuz. In the 4th-10th century it was famed for the silkworms reared there, and raw silk was largely exported." *Ibid.* p. 243.

(4) Ob. 320 A.H.

(5) All these words in the original begin with K. A contemporary, Ibn Sukkasah, enumerated six, quoted in Hariri's xxvth Maqamah.

143. He also told me the following. Abu Khalifah,¹ he said, was a friend of my father and my uncle in the days when they came on deputation to the districts of Ahwaz during the Zanj civil war.² When I came to Basrah, I came there with my father, and Abu Khalifah lodged us in his house, did us honour, and gave me the use of his books. I used to read to him and hear from him as much as I chose, and was allowed to copy his texts. When night came on we would sit and talk. At times when I wanted to read to him he would assent, and when I tired him with reading too much he would ask me to let him rest, and I would stop reading. When he was rested he would take out of his pocket a note-book made of old yellow leaves, and say: Read to me out of this, which is my writing, whereas what you have been reading is from the script of someone else. So I would read to him from that, and it contained the Diwan of 'Imran b. Hittan.³ Certain passages in it caused him to shed tears. One night I recited to him the ode which contains the lines

Stroke of a noble man, whose aim thereby
Was Him to please who sitteth throned on high!
In the Almighty's balance to my mind
He weighs the heaviest of all mankind.⁴

When I came to these verses he was so deeply affected over them that he nearly fainted. I thought this astonishing and wondered. Next day I met al-Mufajja' and told him the story. I was incautious owing to our common interest in literature, but I asked him to keep the matter secret lest it should injure Abu Khalifah's reputation. Al-Mufajja' proceeded to compose the lines

Abu Khalifah's heart with hate is filled
Of Hashim's⁵ house, both open and concealed.
I knew it, horrified; so he regards
This 'Imran, Hittan's son, as choice of bards!

He recited these verses to me, and I repeated them to someone else. A certain student took them down at his dictation, on a small piece of paper which he put into his pen-case. One day we were present at a public lecture at

(1) See § 24, The opening sentence is imperfect in the MS and the name has been supplied by conjecture.

(2) The revolt of the workers in the salt marshes of Basrah, which lasted from 255 to 270 A.H. and threatened the Caliphate with ruin.

(3) Poet of the khariji sect, ob. 89 A.H. There is a lengthy account of him in the *Aghani* xvi. 152 foll.

(4) The poet is eulogizing Ibn Muljam, the murderer of 'Ali the fourth Caliph, and the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law.

(5) An ancestor of the Prophet.

Abu Khalifah's residence, when the man happened to take up his pen-case to see what it contained, and the paper fell out. When the man had departed, Abu Khalifah found it, and read it. He was exceedingly angry and said: This cursed and confounded Idhaji is after my blood. Bring Abu'l-Abbas, the Witness (meaning my father) here. —My father came, and Abu Khalifah told him the story. I found myself in serious trouble, and nearly had a grave quarrel with my father. Abu Khalifah forbade me to read with him any more. I was abashed, presented him with valuable wearing apparel, gave him enough money to pay an army, and apologized. He was placated, accepted my apology, continued my instruction and permitted me to read to him. I read the *Book of Classes*¹ and certain others that he had. But he said: I will not declare myself satisfied with you till you confess that you lied.²—I did so, and presented al-Mufajja' with a Dabiqi robe to make him refrain from reciting the verses, and disown them. He too apologized to Abu Khalifah.

Abu 'Ali said to me shortly after this: Most of the transmitters of Arab learning, so far as I have heard about them, have been either Khawarij or Shu'ubis,³ like Abu Hatim of Sijistan⁴ and Abu 'Ubaidah Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna,⁵ etc., etc. (he enumerated a number).

(1) Classes of the pre-Islamic poets.

(2) i.e., that the whole story was false.

(3) Persons who believed that all other races were superior to the Arab.

(4) Ob. 255 A.H. Ibn Khallikan's biography of him contains no allusion to such opinions.

(5) Ob. about 209 A.H. according to Ibn Kallikhan he held both the opinions mentioned.

(End of Part II.)

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE LANGUAGE OF AFGHANISTAN

HAVING paid a flying visit to Kabul in October this year, and so having recently paid some attention to, and studied, subjects appertaining to Afghanistan, which was, at one time, as Prof. Darmesteter has said, the centre of four civilizations and four religions—Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Brahmanism and Hellenism—I have read with some interest Mr. Haroun M. Leon's article in the July 1931 issue of *Islamic Culture*¹ and beg to say a few words on the subject of the source of the Afghan language.

Up to about 40 years ago, there seemed to be a difference of opinion among scholars about the origin of the language. In 1847, Dr. Dorn said that the Afghan language belonged to the Indo-Persian class. He added that the Afghans themselves claimed "a high antiquity for their language.....they piously and graphically describe their Prophet as using Pushto with the same facility as he could talk Arabic or Hebrew, Zend or Syriac" (Journal B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Volume III, p. 58). In 1860, Capt. Raverty said: "Some Orientalists of the present day have endeavoured to make out that the Pushto language belongs to the Indian or Indû-Teutonic family of tongues, because it contains some Sanskrit, and because the Urdu or Hindustani dialect bears, as it is affirmed, some resemblance in point of idiom."² As his own personal opinion, he said: "I am inclined to conclude—from the great affinity I have shown to exist between the Pushto and the Semitic and Iranian dialects; from the numerous traditions on the subject; from the Levitical customs still prevalent among the Afghans after the lapse of twenty-five centuries from the Jewish captivity; from their great and decided difference in feature from any other people;.....from their acuteness in matters of trade and their love of gain; and from the numerous proofs we possess of their having gradually advanced from the West of Asia,—that the Afghans are a remnant of the lost tribes of Israel."³ This view, which

(1) News of the death of Dr. H. M. Leon, author of the article referred to, has lately come to grieve his many friends throughout the Muslim world

(2) A Dictionary of the Pukshto, Pushto, or language of the Afghans, Preface, p. XIV.

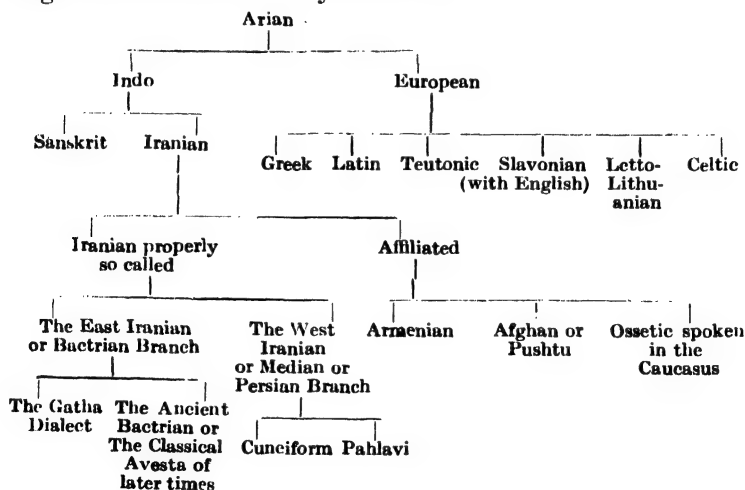
(3) *Ibid* p. XVII.

was entertained even before Captain Raverty's time, had led some scholars to take the Afghan language to belong to a Semitic stock.

In a letter, written more than 125 years ago by Mr. Henry Vansittart to Sir William Jones, the Founder and President of the Bengal Asiatic Society, wherewith he sent him "The Translation of an abridged History of Afghans"; Vansittart said, "that the history traced the descent of the Afghans from the Jews."¹ Sir William Jones himself added a note saying that "the Pushto language of which I have seen a dictionary has a manifest resemblance to the Chaldaick."²

In 1847, Dr. Bernhard Dorn said, as his own opinion, that it was reserved to his time "to establish on uncontroversible evidence the fact, that the Pushtu belongs to the great family of Indo-Persian languages, without having the least resemblance to any of the Semitic dialects."³

In about 1862 Dr. Haug, the then Professor of Oriental languages in the Deccan College, Poona, considered the Afghan as an Iranian language.⁴ The following table points out the comparative position of the Afghan language in the tree of the Aryan stock :—



The late Prof. James Darmesteter of France, who had come on a special mission of study to India in 1886-87, had stayed for several months in Peshawar and Abbotabad

(1) *Asiatic Researches*, Volume II, (1799) page 68.

(2) *Ibid* page 69

(3) Dr. Dorn's "Chrestomathy of the Pushtu or Afghan language," Preface p. ii.

(4) *Essays on the Parsees* by Dr. Martin Haug, 1st ed. (1862) p. 49. 2nd ed. of 1878, p. 67.

to study the Afghan language. After this study, he came to the conclusion, that the Afghan language belonged to the Iranian stock and was an offshoot of the ancient Zend. He said :—" Le phonétisme afghan ne présente aucun des traits essentiels de l'Inde et présente tous ceux qui sont essentiels a la famille iranienne. A l'interieur de cette famille, il se rattache, non au rameau Perse, mais au rameau zend ; car dans les traits caractéristiques où le zend differe du perse, c'est le zend qu'il suit ; autrement dit, l'afghan est le zend d'Arachosie."¹ (The phonetism of the Afghan language does not present any of the essential traits of India and presents all those which are essential to the Iranian family (of languages). Inside this family, it attaches itself not to the Persian branch, but to the Zend branch ; because in the characteristic traits, wherein the Zend differs from the Persian, it is the Zend which it follows ; in other words, the Afghan is the Zend of Arachosia.)

One need not be surprised at this conclusion of philologists, that the Afghan language belongs to the Zend stock of the Aryan languages. Afghanistan itself was, in very early times, a Mazdayasnan country, a Zoroastrian country. Many of the geographical names of the Avesta of the Parsees can still be identified with some modern geographical names of Afghanistan. To take one conspicuous example, the modern Balkh is the Bâkhdhi of the Avesta (*Bakhdhim iredhwō drafsham* of the Vendidad), where Zoroaster first promulgated his religion.¹ Balkh is another form of Bakhdhi. There are several other names of places in the Avesta of the Parsees which are easily identified with the names of some places of modern Afghanistan.²

(a) Capt. Raverty speaks of proofs of the early Afghans "having gradually advanced from the West of Asia." The ancestors of Afghans proper may have been attracted from the West. We know of several such migrations from the West, *e.g.* those of the Huns and the Gurjars. Some may have possibly been the result of the attraction of the teachings and preachings of Zoroaster and his disciples. Are not the three Magis similarly spoken of as having been attracted by the infant Christ ?

(1) *Journal Asiatique*, Huitieme Série, Tome XVI pp. 83-84 ; *Vide* pp. 69-70 of the separate Report.

(2) *Vide* my paper, entitled "The Afghanistan of the Amir and the ancient Mazdayacnans in the 'East and West' of 1907." *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part IV, pp. 215-224.

Later writings speak of a Greek scholar Myatus and an Indian Pandit Changragacha as having been so attracted. If such foreigners were attracted, there was nothing to prevent some of the kith and kin of the early followers of Zoroastrians being attracted.

(b) The Levitical customs of the Afghans are referred to by Capt. Raverty. In this matter, one must remember that some of the Levitical customs of the Jews, were common to Zoroastrians also.* Again, it has been observed by scholars, that the Jews themselves were, to some extent, influenced by the Persians during and after the Captivity.

Mr. Leon has given, at the end of his article, a few short sentences in Pushto, saying that they "may prove interesting." I have found them interesting, and, inasmuch as I find some of the words closely resembling Avestaic words, I beg to give a few notes, hoping, in turn, that they may interest some students.

1. Life is sweet=*Jwandun khog dai*. Here, the word *jwandun* corresponds to Avesta *jyaïke* and the word *khog* (sweet) to the Avesta *khad*.

2. You are foolish women=*Tasu kam-'agle kkhadze*. Here, the word *Kam-'agle* (foolish) corresponds to *kasu khratu* (possessing little wisdom); *agle* is Pushto *Akl kkhadze* is Avesta *kshathri* (woman).

3. Thou art most wise=*Be shana hokk-hyar ye*. Here, *hokk* Avesta *usha* Pahl. *hush*. The whole word is Pahlavi *hushyar*.

4. You are worse than dogs=*Tasu la spiona bad ya-i*. Here, *spiona*, the word for dog is Avesta *span*.

* Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees" p. 175.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

ARAB OCCULT WRITERS

THEIR EFFECT ON EUROPEAN MAGIC.

THE occult science of the Arabs was probably developed out of that ancient Egyptian magic from which the system of the Neo-Platonists and the Greeks was also evolved, and the Muslims of Spain may, on the whole, be said to have been the fathers of the occult philosophy of the higher type in Europe. In the ninth century a very considerable body of students of hidden lore was situated in Baghdad and in Moorish Spain, and although not all of these were Arabs or even Muslims, still all of them wrote in Arabic and conformed to Arabic ways of thought in the hidden sciences. We must also here employ the term "Arab" in a strictly cultural rather than a racial sense, for some of those occult thinkers with whom we have to deal were Persians rather than Arabs proper.

One of the greatest names in the history of Arabic arcane thought is that of Alkindi, who died about the middle of the ninth century A.D. He seems to have been a voluminous writer, translating the works of Aristotle and other Greeks into Arabic, but of his own personal compositions only a comparative few have descended to us. Of these by far the most important is "The Theory of the Magic Art," which is still to be found in Latin versions only.

The theory of this work is that of the astrological doctrine, of the radiation of occult influence from the stars, the Doctrine of Signatures, as it is known. Alkindi accounts for the diversity of objects in nature in two ways, first through the diversity of matter, and secondly by the varying influence exerted from the rays of the heavenly bodies. Each star, he tells us, has its own peculiar force, and certain objects are especially under its influence, for the movement of the stars to new positions and the counter-influence of their rays are productive of such an infinite variety of combinations that no two things in the

world are ever found alike. But this Doctrine of Emanations is by no means confined to the stellar system, for every element in the world radiates force, even fire, colour and sound having their emanations. The power of the magnet and the reflection of an image in a mirror are symbolic of the occult interaction of remote objects. All such emanations, however, can be referred to the celestial harmony which governs the changes of the world.

Alkindi then proceeds to describe the magic power of words. He tells us that the imagination can form ideas and then emit rays which will affect outside objects, just as would the thing itself whose image the mind has conceived. If words are uttered in exact accordance with imagination and intention, and with faith, they are capable of exceeding potency, and this effect is heightened if they are uttered under favourable astrological conditions. Some magical utterances are most potent when uttered under the influence of certain planets. Some voices affect fire, some especially stir trees, some are even capable of making images to appear in mirrors or to produce flames and lightnings.

Alkindi's principal work concludes with a discussion of the virtues of figures, characters and images. Figures and characters, he says, inscribed on certain materials with due solemnity of place and time, and with definite intention, have the effect of motion upon external objects. Every such figure emits rays, having the peculiar virtue which has been impressed upon it by the stars and signs. Thus there are characters which can be used either to cure or bring about diseases, and certain images constructed in conformity with the constellations are capable of emitting rays holding the virtue of the celestial harmony.

This doctrine of the radiation of force had a strong influence upon the mediæval learning of Europe, as had Alkindi's treatise "On Sleep and Visions," which also we only know from a Latin translation, in which he deals with clairvoyance and divination by dreams. He believes that the mind or soul has an innate natural knowledge and that the imaginative virtue of the mind is more active in sleep, a theory in which more than one great poet has found reason to agree with him.

The great majority of the works of Alkindi translated into Latin are of an astrological character. One of these was translated by Robert of Chester, an Englishman. But it is to be noticed that he employs astrology in a

strictly scientific manner, observing mathematical method and critical laws. In one of the few Arabic texts of his, which is still available, is a piece of political prediction relating to the duration of the Arab Empire.

Albumasar was a pupil of Alkindi and died in 886. Like his master he lived at Baghdad. His writings are fairly numerous but are known to us chiefly through Latin translations of the fifteenth century. His chief work is "The Greater Introduction to Astronomy" and "The Flowers"; although "A Book of Experiments" is frequently quoted from by the mediæval occultists. We also meet with citations from a work known as "Albumasar in Sadan," or "Excerpts from the Secrets of Albumasar." These works are almost entirely astrological.

Almost contemporary with these writers was Costa ben Luca, I of Baalbek, who flourished under the Caliph Al-Musta. His best known treatise is "The Epistle concerning Incantations and Adjurations," which was a favourite among the mediæval occultists and which seems to have been written to his son. Costa tells us that a perfect mind generally goes with a perfect body, and an imperfect mind with an imperfect body, as is seen in the case of children and old men, or in the inhabitants of intemperate countries such as Scotland and Scythia. He argues that, if any one believes that an incantation will help him, he will at least be benefited by his own confidence; but, if one is constantly afraid that incantations are directed against him, he may easily develop serious illness, as modern observers will admit to be the case among the West African negroes, who are believers in the magical powers of Ju-ju. He is, however, somewhat sceptical as regards the magician's ability to summon demons. He also considers the question of the validity of amulets, in which he is not disposed to believe very strongly. At the same time he gives a long and a valuable list of these, though he admits that he has not himself tested them.

Another valuable work by Costa is that "On the Difference between Soul and Spirit." Spirit he believes to be a subtle yet material substance, unlike the soul which is incorporeal. It perishes when separated from the body, whose vital processes it nevertheless controls. The most subtle part of spirit is employed in the higher mental processes, such as imagination, memory and reason. He actually explains how this process takes place in the brain. There is an opening between the anterior and posterior ventricles of the brain, he says, which is closed by a

sort of valve. When the man is in the act of recalling something to memory, this valve opens and the spirit passes from the anterior to the posterior cavity. The speed with which this valve works differs in different brains and this explains why some people are of slow memory and why others are more quickly respondent to a question. This theory caused a great deal of future discussion among the arcane thinkers of the Middle Ages of Europe.

Thabit ibn Kurrah was born at Harran in Mesopotamia about 836, spent much of his life at Baghdad and lived until about 901. Although he wrote in Arabic he was not a Muslim and seems to have been a Sabian. This particular cult had inherited much of the Astrology of Babylonia and sacrificed to the spirits or genii of the planets; indeed, the entire corpus of Babylonian or Chaldean astrology seems to have been collected in their beliefs. Of his people, Thabit says, "We are the heirs and posterity of heathenism." He went to Baghdad, where he became one of the Caliph's astronomers. His writings were exceedingly numerous and included many translations from the Greek into Arabic or Syrian. Most of his treatises are short and philosophical in character, yet he had a definite tendency to the practice of astrology and the mystic power of letters. His most strictly occult work is his treatise on images of an astrological character. These images, to be efficacious, must be constructed under prescribed constellations, and frequently take a human form. The material of which they are made is not important, indeed any will serve so long as careful conformity to astrological conditions is recognised. The making of such images is, indeed, as other ancient writers on occult science have testified, the most important matter in astrology. At the same time, after the image has been made, it is usually necessary to perform a purely magical ceremony. Precise instructions are given as to how the images should be used after they are manufactured. If it is desired to place a curse upon a man, the image is buried in his house, certain words being uttered during the ceremony. Other images are capable of driving off scorpions, laying waste a countryside, recovering stolen objects or conferring success in business or politics.

The famous Rasis was a Persian, and appears to have died about 923. When about thirty years of age he came to Baghdad, where he served as a physician in the hospital. More than two hundred different works are ascribed to him but, although he had a wide knowledge of philosophy and alchemy, it is unlikely that all of them proceeded from

his pen. The most notable of his books are the Sayings of Almansor, with which are associated ten subordinate treatises dealing with medicine and anatomy and the cure of diseases. He also wrote six books containing medical secrets and he was the first of the arcane writers to throw light on the practices of charlatans. He had a strong bias toward natural science, as is displayed in his treatise entitled "Opinions concerning Natural Things," and he wrote of the magnet's attraction for iron and of the nature of the vacuum.

Eight of his works deal with alchemy and make it plain that Rasis regarded the transmutation of metals as a possibility. One of these works was indeed an answer to Alkindi, who held that transmutation was chimerical. One of his treatises, "The Light of Lights," was translated into Latin by the Scottish astrologer Michael Scot, in the thirteenth century, and is principally devoted to the nature of salts and alums. Scot, as is well-known, came from the Scottish Border, and is probably buried at Melrose Abbey. He went to Spain where he studied in the Moorish schools, becoming most proficient in Arabic. But the connection of Rasis with alchemy seems to have been unfortunate, for the Caliph had him scourged because he failed to transmute metals into gold; and there is a further story that when preparing the Elixir of Life, he almost lost his eyesight through the vapours raised by the experiment. He also seems to have been skilful in the cure of diseases by the magic art. But that he was a good Muslim is revealed by his work "On the Necessity of Prayer."

The lessons of Arabic occultism, although employed by the Moors in Spain, were perhaps brought home more fully to Europe by a monk named Gerbert, who was brought from his monastery in Auvergne to the North of Spain for the particular purpose of studying Arabic in the last quarter of the tenth century. Later he became tutor to Robert, King of France, a circumstance which naturally was most effectual in spreading his Arabic ideas. The mediæval chroniclers have a great many stories to tell regarding his magical abilities. William of Malmesbury says that among the Saracens of Spain, he learned to read omens from the flight of birds and to bring spirits from the nether spheres, and Michael Scot tells us that he was the best necromancer in France, and that the demons obeyed him in all that he required of them, day and night, because of the great sacrifices which he offered, and his prayers and fastings. Some early manuscripts actually

say that he became Pope by the aid of the demons and that he had a spirit enclosed in a golden head who answered difficult questions on magical points.

The view that European learning was not affected by Arabic science until at least the twelfth century, cannot now be entertained. It is true that Robert of Chester stated that the West did not know what alchemy was, but the date of his treatise was misinterpreted. The fact is that the Arabic astrologers were being voluminously translated in the twelfth century, but in the eleventh, and even in the tenth centuries, there were numerous signs of Arabic influence in works on astronomy and astrology. Indeed it is known that a letter from Gerbert to a certain Lupitus of Barcelona in Spain, was written as early as 984, asking him to send the writer a book on astrology which he had translated. There is still extant at Munich, a manuscript on the use of the astrolabe, containing many Arabic names. But when Gerbert actually became Pope Sylvester II in 999 it cannot be doubted that the Arabic learning he had imbibed had an enormous influence on Latin culture. If a "Book on the Planets" can really be ascribed to him, there can be little doubt that the good Pope Sylvester was in reality a thorough-going astrologer of the old Arabic school. It outlines the qualities of the twelve signs of the zodiac, discusses the origins of astrology and gives a description of the sphere or heavens. It states that human wealth and honours, poverty and obscurity, depend upon the stars, and adds that the sun and moon greatly affect human life. Saturn presides over reason and intelligence, while Jupiter has a practical aspect and represents the power of action. Mars signifies hatred, Venus love, and Mercury interpretation, while the influence of the moon is proved by the circumstance that if men sleep out-of-doors at night they will find that more humour collects in their heads when they lie in the moonlight than when they do not. Some signs are masculine, others feminine and relate to the four cardinal points and the four elements. He provides certain Saracen names for the seven planets and gives the Arabic names for the twenty-eight houses into which the circle of the zodiac is subdivided.

A work ascribed to one Alcandrus, an astrologer, is found in two manuscripts of the eleventh century. This writer is mentioned in Michael Scot's "Introduction to Astrology" as the author of a book of fortune, which mentions the quality of the signs and the planets ruling in them,

and Michael mentions that a similar method of divination is employed among the Arabs. The book of Alcandrus is almost certainly a translation from the Arabic, in any case it is full of Arabic expressions. It begins with a statement of the quality of the planets, considers the division of the zodiac into twelve signs, and the movements of the planets through these signs. Every planet, it tells us, is erect in some one sign and falls in its opposite, and any planet is friendly to another in whose house it is erect, and hostile to that in whose house it declines.

The twelve signs are next related to the four elements and the opinion is expressed that since man, like the world, is composed of these four elements, it is reasonable to believe that human affairs are regulated by the celestial bodies. Twenty-eight principal constellations exist, through which the fates of men, future as well as present, are disposed and pronounced; and human affairs can be forecasted by the aid of these horoscopes. These twenty-eight parts are, of course, subdivisions of the zodiac into houses of the sun or moon, and Arabic names are given for them, beginning with Alnait, the first part of the sign Aries. We can discover under which of them a man was born by a numerical calculation of his name and that of his mother; and the kind of men who were born under each of these houses is described, their physical, mental and moral characteristics, and any particular marks upon the body. Directions are also given for the recovery of lost or stolen property, and the manner of reading men's secret thoughts is described.

These are a few only of those early writers on the occult sciences who drew their inspiration from Arabic sources. Later, in the twelfth century, a very large number of translations were made from Arabic books on astrology; and it is not too much to say that practically all later writers on arcane subjects were influenced by Arab learning. Moreover, the travels of learned Europeans in the East assisted Arabic influence in the West. Thus Constantinus Africanus visited Baghdad about the middle of the eleventh century "to improve his education," and is said to have studied necromancy there. He pursued his studies among the Arabs, Persians, and Saracens and later became a monk. He seems to have translated certain works from the Arabic, indeed his "*Pantegni*" is merely an adaptation of the "*Royal Art of Medicine*" of 'Alī ibn 'Abbās, as Stephen of Pisa pointed out when he translated that work in 1127. He also adapted another Arabic

book in his "Viaticum," which was probably written by Abu Ja'far Ahmed Ibnu'l-Jezzâr, as Daremberg and others have pointed out. These works are full of curious lore, but it remains to be said that many good authorities have given it as their opinion that the works of the Arabic arcane writers are much less prone to superstitious statement than those of much later European scientists.

If other "well-known" Arabic writers on occultism have been omitted in this account, it is because it deals almost entirely with material drawn from authentic sources and not, as is too often the case, with names and incidents drawn almost purely from tradition or legend. An extraordinary web of the fantastic has been spun concerning Arabic and Moorish early science, and if this has gilded and heightened European romance, only a very small proportion of it can be boiled down to actual hard fact. After a great deal of research on the subject the present writer has here done his utmost to provide a useful summary of those writings of Islamic scientists which particularly affected European thought.

IQBAL ALI SHAH.

BOMBAY IN THE REIGN OF AURANGZEB

XLII.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay
dated 1 July 1696.

* * * *

4. We take notice of the feare you had been in upon the approach of the Savagees forces and the Apprehensions you are under of the Distractions which may follow the death of the Mogol. Upon consideration whereof, We are of opinion it may be worthy our generall thoughts how to compass the settling the Magazine of our Treasure and Merchandize at Bombay by such degrees as may correspond with our Interest and present Circumstances at Surratt.

Considering your frequent troubles at Suratt, make Bombay your Magazine.

5. The Employment which you have found, during the Necessities you are in for our ships upon freight to and from Persia is what we like very well, and we would have you encourage and improve the same by all the Methods you can ; and doubtless were there any tollerable care taken by our servants at Gombroon and the Commander[s] of our respective ships, those Imbezlements you so much complain of, might duely be prevented.

Improve the getting good freights for our ships.

* * * *

12. Tis a great Satisfaction to us to see so particular an Inventory of all our Treasure, Merchandize, Ammunition and Revenues of Bombay, and we wish we could once every three years have the same, which we commend to our Generalls Care and that he would strictly order all our Factoryes subordinate to him to do the like,

Your Inventory of Bombay approv'd ; send the like from all places every 3 years.

13. And we cannot but commend the Beginnings which our Generall hath made to promote the weaving
Encourage the weaving trade at Bombay. Trade on the Island of Bombay, wherein we would have all manner of Encouragement given, and you may be assured that you cannot render us a more acceptable service then this. The Musters of what is already made wilbe welcome to us.

14. Upon this Consideration, and in order the better
Drain the Marishes there. to people the Island, We would have all Endeavours used for the draining of the Marishes, such as may not run us into too much charge in case you see a probability of effecting it. The Out Forts you are building there we presume you find necessary, and we hope, as you say, We shall not find them of any great Charge. The rather for
Let not the building the Outforts be chargeable. that we observe our Generalls care is to lessen our Charge by disbanding what Soldiers he thinks are unnecessary, which we take very kindly from him.

* * * *

30. We approve of what our Generall has done in
We approve of what you have done touching the forfeited Lands at Bombay. relation to the forfeited Lands at Bombay and of your prudent care in farming out such of them as will thereby be preserved from utter Destruction, and the regulating and improving the Island so as [to] bring it into a flourishing Condition once again, which we would have you pursue with an unwearied Zeal and Industry. But in regard the Jesuits have alwayes prov'd treacherous and false to our Interest and given
root the Jesuites out of the Island. you constant trouble, We should be glad to hear you had intirely rooted them out of the Island and not suffer'd them to retain any footing there.

* * * *

40. We highly approve of your Endeavours to make
We approve of your improvement of Bombay and oencouragement of Manufacturers. Bombay the Centre of our Trade and to that end of your ordering all English Ships that winter on your side of India to repair thither, or in neglect thereof to deny them your Passes and Protection. The more Weavers and other Manufacturers you can bring to reside at Bombay

the more eminent Service you will do us, which we can't too often or too earnestly recommend to your most serious Care and Consideration.

41. We expect your Opinion touching the drown'd Lands wilbe sent us according to your promise, and should be glad to hear the Marishes were drain'd, which we hope would tend to the furthering the health of the Island. This is a matter that lyes much upon our thoughts and are willing to effect it, provided the charge be not very great.

XLIII.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay
dated 16th April 1697.

OUR GENERALL AND COUNCIL AT BOMBAY

1. We are to answer one of yours of the 19th and two of the 18th March 1695/6. Your intention of Joyning Aga Pera and Ben Walidas we very much approve of, hoping they wilbe obedient to all your Orders and not hold Correspondence with our back Friends, which we have reason to doubt the Parrocks are and countenanced too much for secrett private ends by some of our own people at Surrat, of which the vast damage allow'd upon the *Thomas* her Cloth gives us a further Suspicion, and the rather because Capt. Pye affirms some of the Armenians to whom the whole Damage was due, told him They were allowed but one Eighth part thereof. Pray enquire stricktly and with your utmost skill who had the rest, and for what cause, And whether the Owners were not greatly wrongd in that Adjustment or computation, and recover that they were wrong'd of from the Parties which clandestinely got possession of it.

5. You did very well in complying with the Moors Demands to have two of our Ships to convoy their Mocho and Judda Fleets, concerning which for the future you will observe our Opinion in our Surratt Generall sent you open herewith.

* * * *

12. We have written very often that you should be constantly stor'd wth 200 Tons of Cotton Wooll ready Bow'd and prest to give any ship a dispatch. And if by lyeing by It should become a little Yelowish, We would not have you sell or dispose of it, but when you have a Ship to send it home for Europe. And if you could bring the People of the Island to Spin Cotton Yarn of any sort, we would have you encourage them therein such as they can make, For we believe the very finest Sorts they have not yet art enough for.

* * * *

14. We did by the *East India Merchant* send you Copy of our Letters to Spahan and Gombroon and what Sentiments we had of our Servants Management of Affairs there, leaving it to you to provide the best you could for our Service in case of Agent Gladmans death. But by severall Letters since from our Agent and Councill at Ispahan We find they have made a good Progress in the sale of our Cloth, and therefore We think have deserved a better Opinion, except it should be true what is told us, that our Generall has wrote private Letters very much complaining of Capt. Brangwin and his Transactions, which if so he ought to have given us the first and whole Account thereof, and shall expect it hereafter from him of all persons in our Service where there is occasion. We since find by our last Letters that Agent Brangwin was very much indisposed and in a declining Condition which if (as God forbid) it should prove mortall, Or if you shall find any notorious Miscarriages in him, We would have you supply his Place as well as you can, and We think in such a Case Mr. Burniston is the fittest Person you can send thither. Send also one Factor and one Writer to remain at Ispahan as before is specified.

* * * *

18. Your dispatching the *Thomas* as you did and sending us the Indigo and Shellack Pallampores, Bombay and Veraulpatam Cloth were all very commendable. When we see the said Cloth and try our Buyers Judgments thereof by the Candle we shalbe able to give you our, thoughts thereupon, as also on the Carmania Wool, though in the meantime we say encourage the weaving trade at Bombay.

your dispatching the *Thomas* and sending us the Indigo &ca. very commendable.

Encourage the weaving Trade at Bombay all you can.

* * * *

20. If the Mogol and his Umbra's continue to be exasperated at your Coyning Rupees with Persian Characters and the Coyning them with other Characters will not make them less Current Do you forbear the first, but if the other Characters will hinder their Currency, would have you mannage the Matter, and keep as fair with him and them as you can, hoping that in time their resentments will slacken and grow cool. You may represent to them that we had a Grant of a particular Place to be allow'd Us for our Coynage in Surratt Mint, that what we doe is for the Conveniency of a quicker dispatch in making our Investments among his subjects and such other Arguments as may most conduce to your purpose remembring that it is for our Advantage to encourage our Mint, but with all due Caution and Prudence.

If that Mogol &ca. be displeased at your coyning Rupees with Persian Characters, you may forbear.

* * * *

30. We have very lately perused the Goods by the *Thomas* made on our Island Bombay and are exceedingly well pleased you have made so good a Progress in settling a Callico Manufactory there, and therefore, notwithstanding what we wrote you in a former Paragraph, we can't forbear again inculcating to you as our earnest desire to give all the Imaginable Encouragement you can to any sorts of Spinners, Weavers or other Artists, whether Portugeez, Moors, Gentues or other Casts to inhabit there, and the more considerably you can increase in white Callicoe painted or coloured

Approve of your Settling a Callico Manufactory at Bombay.

Then forgive all Encouragement To Spinners, Weavers &ca.

Manufactures, the greater Advantage it wilbe to us. What we observe by the two sorts of Cloth now sent is that the broad Bafts³⁷ are too narrow and hardly thick enough; the narrow Bafts are well made, good condition'd and well whited.

* * * *

33. Give all Encouraging Offers you can to Painters to settle upon the Island: the more and skillfuller Artists the better to make Paintings of your broad Bafts of good brisk Colours, the Works of any sort of Rambling Fancies of the Country, but no English Patterns.

* * * *

XLIV.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay
dated 1 September 1697.

Letter Book
Vol. 9. pp.
604, 605.

* * * *

2. In the first place, to do you right, we say upon the whole that we do very well approve of our Generalls Proceedings and prudent Conduct of our affairs, which have been as much to our Satisfaction as could be expected under the unhappy Circumstances and times he has lived in, occasioned very much by the loss of our ships homeward bound, To which loss we are sorry we must add the taking of the *Bedford* outward bound, Together with the *Dorothy*, both bound for Bombay with a Captain and 80 Soldiers and a Stock in Money and Goods, amounting to the value of £58,397 17s. 10d.

* * * *

4. Since you have made the Island of Bombay so strong, and for many other reasons, it is our full purpose that now, and at all times hereafter, it shalbe the residence of our Generall, and to which we will first consign all our ships designed for the North parts of India, that our Estates may not hereafter be

Bombay to be our principal residence, our ships consigned thither &c.

subject to every Caprice of the Moors, and to be at your discretion to send the ships thence to Surratt as you shall think fitt.

* * * *

6. But it must be your part to create a Trade upon the Island and keep the Island alwayes plentyfully stored with Paddy and Rice that your numerous poor people may live as cheap there as in other places upon the Main; and then they may afford to spin and weave as cheap with you as they do at Basseen or Choule, at which latter place very good Taffaties have been made, and we should think it not an impossible thing by some prudent encouragement to bring that Manufacture into your Island.

7. The Bombay Cotton Cloth we lately received from you sold well, and we would have you by all the means you can invent to encrease that Manufacture upon the Island, remembering alwayes that as you encrease in people, our Revenue will proportionably encrease, and we may thereby afford to maintain the more English soldiers, which shortly wilbe easily procured.....

8. We observe by Benwallidas' Letter to you that he is a cunning wise young man (though we think a great deal honestier than his Unkle), so that you must deal warily and circumspectly with him, and nevem put it altogether out of your power to employ Aga Pereror any other person you think fittest to buy Goods for the Company when you see cause for it, that you may keep those you employ as Checques one upon another.

TREATIS TOWCHING THE TRAFFICK OF THE EAST COUNTRIES
INTO SPAYNE BY LORD BURLEIGH. COMPOSED (*circa*) 1591.
(Lansdowne MS. 104, No. 30, fols. 68-73).

(Lansdowne
MS. 104, No.
30, fols. 68-
73.)

No. 30.

As ther is but one truth in all things, so is ther nothing more offended, disguised and impugned than truth it self ; and yet the same endureth and is never fully oppressed, but by prooffe and tryall in process of tyme allweiss amongst good men the issews and effects therof ar allowed and embraced, how so ever by the mallice of men they ar depraved, or by the Ignorant misreported ; and how so ever the experience hereof hath bene comonly in all formar ages, so suerly in this present trooubled age, by occasion of the abundance of factions and under coller of dyversety of religion, no state of Government by prynees, Monarches, or by Governors of inferior Comon welthes. is free from the malicious and rash censures and reports, of sondry kynd of people most Comonly wrestyng the ground of all godly publick actions to the worst ends and purposes.

And as good princes and Governors in ther first and honorable actions, ought not to be discomforted, or forbear to prosecut the same without cessyng or changing of ther right Course, warrantable by reason, in thyngs lawfull necessary, and agreable with the lawe of Government, so it is not to be discommended in them as prejudicial to ther dignities, when they perceave ther good, honorable and Just actions to be comonly misreported or depraved ; and consequently also, to be sought by violence to be impugned and interrupted ; to mak it known to the world, how Justefyable ther actions ar ; so as both the good and evill may understand the truth of the same, the good to be satisfied with truth, and the evill to be ether reformed or ashamed of ther mallice and none of any sort by reason of Ignorance to have cowse justly, ether to condemn or impugn the actions of others, in any other sort, than they wold be used them selves.

Uppon thees considerations at this tyme the Quene of England, a lady even as the hand Mayden of God, that hath now most happely raygned and governed in great happynes hir kyngdoms, Contres and people very neare thyrthy three yers, perceavyng that though almighty God hir only protector, hath presered hir in peace welth

NOTE. This treatise has been copied from the British Museum, and is a unique document. It was composed by the famous statesman of Queen Elizabeth's time, Lord Burleigh.

and honor far above many other in this lamentable age, wherein no kyngdom almost of Chrisendom, but hir, hath had contynuall get ness: yet hir actions, though very fortunat, as wherby through Gods assistance she hath maynteaned hir realmes and people in so long peace, concord welth and get ness and hath gotten honor both in all parts of Chrisendom and in parts of unchrisendom, but above all other blessednes, in the Mayntenance of hir self and hir people in free profession of Christian relligion and out of subjection of all Idolatry and superstition have bene in some partes by ignorance but in a gret part by malyce or envye, depraved and falsly reported, as by slanderouss, infamouse libells hath bene notefyed, yea by many attempted to be impugned by great forces which hath of late yers most evidently appeared, to the confusion and shame of the invaders, and though at the first sight it may seme a vayne labor or purpose to withstand or to remove this manner of forcible Impugnation of the truth of her actions, otherwise than by defensible force mayntened by Gods grace, yet the other manner of impugnation by misreportes, whyther the same be by Ignorance or by mallyce[e] may receive some convenient remedy by publishyng both of the truth and just Causes of hir actions, and of the good and happy successses thereof. And therfor wher of late yers past ther hath bene divided and spred abrode a great number of Cavillations of apparant mallyce most notably for the hate of the Christian relligion professed in hir realme to the which ther hath bene for satisfaction of such as ar Copable of reason and voyd of mallyce, sufficient answer made and published to the world and therefore at this tyme not to be reiterated, yet ther is of late spred abrode some new slanders though the same hath bene bred in farrayn parts by mallyce, that hir Majestyes forces and Navy that she is forced to kepe uppon the seas, for her defence ageynst the mighty power of the Kinge of Spayn, and to withstand his threatening invasion, do manifestly impeach the lefall* trade in the goods of Merchandise of hir neighbours and most specially of the Marityme townes of the Est Parts wherein hir Majesty fyndeth that hir actions, ar wrested and misreported and the rather Creditted because it can not be dinyed, but of late some nombre of Estland ships war stayed on the Cost of Spayn, whan they war redy to have entred into the havens of Spayn and Portyngale with ther full lading of victells and munitions to have fortifyed the Spanish-Navy then prepared purporssly to have in-

[*sic.?
lawful]

vaded England a second tyme so as the stay and arrest at that tyme is not denyed, nelther whan the cause is more largely shown can it be justly mislyked And it is not also denyed but that ther hath bene some others of like Condition stayd uppon lyk cause in some other parts of the narrow seas, and yet the same both most justly done, and justefyable yea if the same had not bene the danger had bene certainly gretar and to more loss to hir Majesty, than one hundred tymes the vallew of the shippes stayd. The case then is this in very truth Hir Majesty thynketh and knoweth it by the rules of law as wells of Nature as of men, yea specially by the law Civill that wher so ever any doth directly help hir enemy, with succours of men victells armur or any kynd of Munition to enhable hym thereof to make invasion of hir realm she may lawfully interrupt the same even though the ayd come from hir frend and this agreeth with the law of God, the law of Natur the law of nations, and so hath bene in all tymes practised and in all Contress, betwixt prince and prynce and Contry and Contry, havng the lyk cause offerd and is so mayntenable to be just, as ther nideth no prooffes to be alledged and yet for more abundant satisfaction of the Ignorant some what shall be rememberd, after that hir Majestyes actions shall be applyed to the forsayd Generall rules or positions but for answeyng to the calumniationes of hir Majestys actions at this tyme, it will be necessary to apply hir Majestys actions, of the arrests by hir subjects, to this Generall rule above expressed and not to be disproved.

The shippes that war arrested, war shippes of the Est laden with Corn and other victells, with Masts cables and all kynd of Cordage and very many other thyngs proper to serve the King of Spayn for his shippes and his army than in preparation to have made a second Invasion, of England and without which he cold not renew his rent and spoyled Navy, which was the yere before overthrown by Gods goodnes, and the force of hir Majestys navy. If those and such lyk provisions had entred into his havens, as they had done if by hir Majestys Navy they had not bene stayd, the kyng had bene the same yer so strengthened as he had the same yeare sent his Navy ageyn to the seas to have invaded this realm. And it is to be specially noted, that these shippes cam from those townes in the
 est comenly called hanz townes to the which request had
 bene made to forbearc to gyve the King of Spayn, the pro-
 fessed mighty ennemy to hir Majesty and realme both of

England and Irland, any such ayd of hostile invastion yea knolledge also gyven to them, that if they shuld so doe, hir Majesty might not willingly suffer the same, but to her power wold stey and impeach the same, and this information was ii or iii yers to gether renewed, first by a solemn intimation to the Alderman of the stellyard here in London, an officer allweiss authorized by the societe of the hanzos, to delyver ther mynds ther letters ther requests, and to receave the same, a man of Gravity, experience, and Creditt with all his superiors, and though he be lately dead, yet ther is lyvvyng the secretary of that that did all weise accompany hym the alderman, who was at sondry tymes present whan the said request and advise was gyven to the Alderman, and he than for more assurance to delyver it truly did hym self put it in wrytyng and presented it to the Consell who did allow of his trew conception therof. Besides this ther cam from Ham-burgh about the same tyme a person of good quuallite being a Doctor of law, with letters authorisying hym to treat with hir Majesty or hir Councill about some differences, who also was warned of this hir Majestys purpose, and was reqred [required] to gyve knolledg hereof to the Senat of Lubeck as in the name of all the societe of the Hanzes. And so hir Majesty had a firme hope to have had the effect of this hir request observed, and to have had the sayd townes to have used the trade of Merchandise, into Spayn and portyngall with all other Commoddites—savyng mere hostile - provisions. But as it was after proved at the tyme the King of spayn, had made a Navy redy with an army gretar than ever the Emperor his father or hym self had by sea or by land, the sayd Ester-lyngs had covertly in ther Great Hulks outwardly fraught-ed with peacible merchandises, duryng the space of ii yers, carryed into spayn, the greatest part of all the masts, Cables Cordage sayles Copper saltpeter and powder. that served to furnishe the sayd Navy, which without those provisions had never bene hable, to come out of the ports of spayne. This was manifestly seene in the sayd Navy, beside the furniture of the spanish shipps with such provisions, in that army ther war no greater nor stronger shipps in that army, than was a good nombre of the hanz towns, whereof beside the prooff that was had of the fight of them, the King of spayne had caused books to be published in spanish french and dutch wherin the proper names of the sayd Halks, of ther borden, of ther masters and numbers, of maryners and soldiers war expressed.

Of this unfrendly, nay rather hostile action of the Hanz shippes her Majesty had goot [*sic*] cause to mislyk and so, complaynt being made therof, the such merchants of the sayd Hanze, they for some excuse alledged that the Kyng of spayne constreyned them to serve hym with the sayd Hulks, but he cold not have constrayend them if they had not come thyther furnished as shippes for the war, onr if they had not brought thither so great quantite of hostile wares necessary for the spanish shippes, the Kyngs own navy had not bene hable to have offred not only to invade, but to have conquered England and to mak this playne to all partes indifferent it hath bene in all former tyme known, and is notably known, to all partes that haunt the marytyme costs of spayn, that without havying of masts bordes cabbells cordag pitch terr Copar out of the Estland, all spayn is not hable to mak a Navy redy to carry the meanest army that can be Imagined. and if his mony brought out of the Indies, should not tempt the offer to mak war by sea with England.

Therfor to conclud this application of the fact in to furnishyng the King of Spayn with those warlyk provisions, and the warning gyven that if they shuld so do, hir Majesty wold do hir best indevor to impeach them, it Manifestly appeareth, that hir Majesty in doying that which lawfully she might do, and in not doying she had endangered hir state, the reports spred abrode ar merly fals, that she doth with her Navy impeache and disturb all usuall traffyck of the hanz townes by sea, wheras in very truth, she never mynded to abridge them of ther usuall trade with merchandize through the narrow seas into spayn portyngale or into any other ports of the west, so as they wold use the same as in formar tymes they war accustomed, before those warrs taken in hand by the Kyng of Spayn agenst hir Majesty realmes both of Irland and Eynghland sence which tyme this extraordinary furnishyng of Spayn with such materialls for warrs, hath of late increased uppon respect of Immesurable jaynes and as it may be objected, that merchants must and will, as tymes do chang to yeld gayne, so to pursew thir trade without any respect of loss or gayn to any others to mak most profit to them selves, so also they ar to understand that if any other partes shall fynd them selves damnified and in daungered by such trade, reason warranteth them, to reger [*sic* require] them to forbear the pursuit of such unusuall particular Gayne, to the daunger of another and specially to the daunger of a Kyngdom and Nation,

and if uppon request they will not, than as above is layd down for a rule of law such a person namely a Monarch as the Queenes Majesty is of dyverss Kyngdoms contreyes and nations seyng hir state to be in daunger, by such extraordinary aydyng of hir Mortall ennemie as the Kyng of Spayn is, may lawfully and Justly employ hir ministers by sea or land to impech that extraordinary trade.

And because Ignorant men may rest in dowl of the force of law that doth forbydd the carriadg of such hostile thyngs to the strengthenyng of an enemy, though naturall reason doth maynteane the force therof this on short tent may serve for good warrantise therof.

And for examples both of ancient tyme and of latter yers, ther ar as many, as ther war tymes of warrs betwixt Nation and Nation. Infinit ar the proves of the lyk which are of record in England whan the warrs war betwixt England and Scotland, yet all shippyng with victell out of holland, Zetland and flanders into scotland, war taken as good pryces, and in warrs betwixt france and England, the lyk was executed ageynst the shippes with victell out of flanders. And in this latter age, it is known that in the warrse betwixt france and the Emperor charles whan england was in peace, no shippes of england cold pass frely with any commodite to france but they war taken as pryze in so much as at length the english merchants, war forced to take speciall passports from the Emperor for ther salve conducts wherof are to be sene in England many hundreds, and the same served but for meare marchandise, with a speciall provision in the same, to carry no kynd of munition of warr but for defence of ther own vessells.

But the most proper examples, to satisfye the Esterlynges ar at ther own dores, yea within ther own havens the memory wherof may be thought very unpleasant to them. Lett st* Daust* Lubec Hamborogh and almost all the port townes* on the part of Germany from Hamburghestward to lyreland, remember whyther this law of Inhibityng yea of confiscatyng of shippes and ladyngs war not severly put in execution in the last warrs betwixt Denmark and sweden and also that betwixt sweden and the Moscovit. The examples therof, might without any other allegations serve to stop the mouths of the Merchants of Estland, that are not impeached for trafficquyng by way of symple Merchandise; but for strengthening the Kyng of spayn with munition yea with shippyng for

*sic.
(t Dun)t
? for "Dantzic".

*sic.
?for "westward to Ireland".

his warres not symply to fight on the sea with the English shipps but by his navy to Conquer england to which he nor his from the begynning of the world had title or collar of title, although the queene of Englands antecessers hath had justttitle both to spayn it self, and to so me of his rychest Contyes in his low Contrys, the right wherof was never yet lawfully extynguished.

*[The M.S.
here breaks
of suddenly]

It shall now also be not inconvenient, to add herh [sic]*

[Endorsed]

Treatis towching the traffick of the East Countries into Spayne. 1591.

Copied.

[On top of the above word copied is written in pencil—]

“Ld. Burghley’s hand.”

NOTES TO DOCUMENTS.

28. *War with France.* The aggressive policy of Louis XIV and his Doc. 28.
revocation of the edict of Nantes led William of Orange to organize a formidable conspiracy against him, known as the "League of Augs-burg" in 1686 A.D. England did not immediately become a member of the league, for the reason that the English throne was at this time held by James II, whose Catholic sympathies were in favour of his cousin, the Grand Monarch. But a little later (in 1688) came the revolution which drove James out of England and placed that kingdom in the hands of the Prince of Orange, William III. England was thus drawn away from the side of the French King and added to the enemies of Louis.

Louis now resolved to attack the confederates of Augs-burg and on the pretext of certain claims harried the peaceful soil of the Palati-nate. This led to the formation of a "Grand Alliance" in 1689 against him. It embraced England, Holland, Sweden, Spain, Savoy, the Em-peror, the Elector Palatine, and the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony. For ten years almost all Europe was a great battlefield, and the high seas in the East as well as in the west witnessed several naval conflicts. The war came to an end through sheer exhaustion by the treaty of Ryswick in 1697. During this war the East India Company tried to preserve its trade by taking its cargo round Scotland.

29. *English Pirates.* During the latter part of the 17th century Doc. 82.
when the Portuguese and Dutch power had appreciably declined and the English had not yet established their command over the Eastern waters, from the Cape of Good Hope to Sumatra, every coast was beset by English, French, Dutch, Arab and Maratha pirates. The greater number of these pirates were of English blood or sailed under English colours. When commanded by malefactors of such historical notoriety as Every (Avory) or Kidd, they not only seized native craft but some-time successfully attached the large well armed ships of European com-panies. The damage they inflicted on British or Dutch interests was by no means confined to the direct loss of ships and cargoes; for by their plundering of native property on the sea they brought wholesale discredit on all Europeans in eastern ports, through the inability of the natives to discriminate between one class of white seafarer and another. The prizes to be gained were so great and the risks so small, that the East India Company could hardly restrain their own men from joining the sea rovers. Success made them bolder so that no power was con-sidered too great for their depredations.

At last when *the Futtch Mahmood* with a valuable cargo, belonging to Abdul Gaffoor, the most influential merchant of Surat, was captured by Every, the vials of long pent up wrath were poured out on the English (1695). Instigated by Abdul Gaffoor, the populace of Surat flew to arms to wreak vengeance on their factory. Soon came an order from Aurangzeb directing the Sidi to march on Bombay, and for all the English in Surat and Brooch to be made prisoners. President Annesley and the rest, sixty-three in all, were placed in irons, and so remained eleven months. To make matters worse, news arrived of Every having Captured the *Rampura*, a Cambay ship with a Cargo valued at Rs. 1,70,000. Sir John Gayer, Governor of Bombay, stemmed the tide and propitiated the Emperor by sending armed ships to convoy the Mocha fleet, at the Company's charge.

*See Ballard: Rulers of the Indian Ocean. pp. 241-224 Biddulph: The Pirates of Malabar, Ch. I & II.

Doc. 82.

The news of Every's great booty had spread from port to port, and every restless spirit was intent on seeking his fortune in this new El-Dorado. With few exceptions, the English pirates came from the American Colonies, and they caused such enormous losses that the Company was forced to adopt some measures to cope with the ever increasing evil. On their repeated representations to the Crown, Captain Kidd was commissioned to act against the rovers. Unfortunately Kidd also turned a pirate, and early in 1698 captured the *Quedah Merchant*, a country ship bound from Bengal to Surat, belonging to some Armenian merchants who were on board. The Surat factory was filled with alarm. In vain Sir John Gayer wrote to the Governor, and sent an agent to the Emperor to disclaim responsibility. In August came an imperial order demanding two lakhs of rupees as compensation, Guards were placed on the factories; and all communication with them was forbidden. Sir John Gayer took prompt action and appeared off Surat with three armed ships. He refused to pay any damages, but promised to furnish convoys for the Mocha ships, as he had already done. However, the matter was settled when the Dutch, French and the English jointly paid Rs. 130,000 to the Governor of Surat and undertook to police the Indian seas.

The stoppage of the Anglo-French war at this time enabled the King of England to send in January 1699, a royal squadron to suppress piracy in the Eastern waters and to assist the Company's efforts to make the sea routes safe for peaceful commerce. Free pardon to all, except Every and Kidd, was proclaimed provided they surrendered themselves before the end of April, 1699. These measures had salutary effect and European piracy in Eastern waters became rare by 1722.

Doc. 84, 86,
88, 40, 42.

80. *Forfeited lands of Bombay.* The Jesuits held a large portion of the land at Bombay since its occupation by the Portuguese. When the island was transferred to Charles II and by him to the East India Company they were left undisturbed in their possessions. But unfortunately they assisted the Sidi during the Company's war with Aurangzeb and thus fell under the displeasure of the former. When peace was concluded, the Company seriously considered the question of confiscating the lands of all those who were guilty of desertion during the late trouble. "The law for such forfeitures, we have understood in the Ancient case of Seigneur De Tavora. That was... the law of that island long before the English had Possession thereof....." (See general letter to Surat dated 29 Feb. 1692). On 1st May 1693 the Company wrote once about these forfeitures to their servants at Bombay saying 'if you have not already proceeded to a formall condemnation of them for want of a Judge Advocate..... We require you now to proceed according to Law to their condemnation as President Angiers did formerly against Don Alvaro Pirez de Tavora, in which Process whereof you have Copies, you will see the manner of his Proceedings."

(Doc. 84, 86
88, 40) 42.

On 1 July 1696 the Company expressed its approval of what their General had done in relation to the forfeited lands at Bombay, and declared "in regard the Jesuits have always proved treacherous and false to our Interest and given you constant trouble, We should be glad to hear you had intirely rooted them out of the Island and not suffered them to retain any footing there."

81. *Tavora.* His full name was Don Alvaro Piraz de Tavora. During the administration of the island of Bombay by General Aungier (1669-1677), he created a disturbance and his estates were confiscated by the East India Company by way of punishment. But Charles II,

influenced by his wife Catherine of Braganza, asked the Company to pardon him and restore his lands. Accordingly when Tavora apologized for his late offence, the Company pardoned him and gave back his estate.

32. *East India Company and the Parliament.* The Royal Charters Doc. 34. of the East India Company, beginning with that granted by Queen Elizabeth, had conferred an exclusive monopoly on that body, and any one, not a member thereof, carrying on trade with the East Indies was called an 'interloper.' The Eastern trade was found enormously profitable and soon enough a large body of 'interlopers' came into existence. The Company fought bitterly against them, and even secured a verdict in its favour from Lord Chief Justice Jefferys early in 1698 in its famous legal proceedings against Thomas Sandy an interloper. But it raised the constitutional question whether the Crown or Parliament had the right to grant charters. During the Tudor and Stuart periods the relations between Crown and Parliament were unsettled. As democracy developed in England the grant of monopoly by the Sovereign without the sanction of Parliament came to be questioned more and more vigorously. Ultimately in the *Redbridge affair* in 1693 Parliament decided against the Company's monopoly under the Royal Charter, thereby rendering invalid the decision in Sandy's case. Even prior to this case, Parliament had expressed early in 1690 that 'the best way to manage the East India trade is to have it in a new joyn't stock, and this to be established by Act of Parliament.'

But the East India Company paid no attention to the views of Parliament, and instructed its servants to destroy the 'interlopers.' In 1698, Parliament retorted by passing an Act granting monopoly of trade with the East to a new company, called the English East India Company. From now Parliament's right to grant Charters came to be established and that of the Crown disappeared.

33. '*Interlopers.*' The East India Company started in 1600 A.D. Doc. 34. was a monopoly Company possessing exclusive right of trade between the cape of Good Hope and the straits of Magellan. No Englishman could trade within those limits without becoming a member of that body. Any one, not a member thereof, carrying on trade with the East Indies, did so without license and was called an 'interloper'. The Eastern trade was found enormously profitable and soon a large body of 'interlopers' came into existence. The Company began an uncompromising war against them, so that people began to question the right of the sovereign to grant a monopoly without the authority of the Parliament. The question of the East India Company's monopoly assumed the proportions of a constitutional struggle in which the issue was whether the Crown could, without the consent of the Parliament, grant a monopoly. The question was raised in the case of the *East India Company vs. Sanday* (an interloper), and was decided against the defendant. But in the *Redbridge affair*, the Parliament decided against the Company's monopoly under the Royal Charter, thereby rendering invalid the decision in Sandy's case.

But the East India Company paid no attention to the decision of the Parliament and instructed its servants to be rigorous with 'interlopers.' In 1698 the Parliament retorted by passing an Act granting monopoly of trade with the East to a new Company called the English East India Company, as distinguished from the London East India Company trading under a Charter from the Crown. This step did not eliminate the

'interlopers,' while it created a rival to the old Company. Frequent hostilities between the servants of the two Companies in the East led to their union in 1708 A.D. After this the Company's privileges were extended for an indefinite period. By 1793 the Company ceased to be a mere commercial corporation and became a political sovereign with extensive territories in India. By the Charter Act of 1793 the trade monopoly and political powers were extended for another twenty-years, and similarly, thereafter the Charter was renewed every twenty years, till 1858.

With the extension of the territorial possessions of the Company, the general body of merchants in England clamoured to be admitted to the commerce of the East. The Charter Act of 1813 withdrew the monopoly except with regard to tea and china trade. Twenty years later the Company was directed to close its commercial business with all convenient despatch. The Company thus became a purely political body, and the Eastern trade was thrown open to all. From this time the 'Interlopers' died a natural death.

Doc. 39.

34. *The Charter of 1693.* The prosperity enjoyed by the E. I. Co., throughout the reign of Charles II excited some dissatisfaction among the general body of English merchants, who felt themselves 'aggrieved that this profitable commerce should be confined by royal Charter within so narrow a channel. In the East there were not wanting interlopers who boldly defied the Company's authority; while at home the right of any power other than Parliament to impose such restrictions upon foreign trade was continually questioned. After the Revolution there arose a determined and organised opposition to the Company. Individual interlopers began to trouble them, and in 1691 a rival association was formed. So in 1693 the Company's Charter was declared void for non-payment of a five per cent. duty laid by the Crown on their capital stock, and the Company had to secure from the Crown a new Charter for the maintenance of their exclusive concessions. In Oct. 1693 the new Charter was granted which widened the membership of the Company by doubling the capital, restricting the amount of stock that could be held by any one member, and providing that any merchant might join on payment of £5. This arrangement, however, though it considerably increased the number of shareholders, did not pacify the Company's opponents, who ultimately succeeded in forming a rival Company in 1698.

Doc. 43.

35. "*We approve of your complying with the Moors demands of 2 ships yearly for your convoy.*" This letter is dated 16th April 1697. Early in 1695 the pirate, Every by name, was very active in the Eastern seas. In the course of his forays, he captured the *Futteh Mahmood* with a valuable cargo, belonging to Abdul Gaffoor, the most influential merchant of Surat. Aurangzeb at once retaliated by ordering the imprisonment of all the English in Surat and Broach. President Annesley and the rest, sixty-three in all, were placed in irons, and so remained eleven months. Sir John Gayer, the Governor of Bombay propitiated the Emperor by promising to convoy the Mocha fleet, at the Company's charge. The approval appears to relate to this action of Sir J. Gayer.

36. Bafts=Bafta, a kind of Calico, made especially at Baroach; from the Persian 'bâfta' =woven.

SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN.

THE HILYAT AL-AULIYA

BIOGRAPHIES OF EARLY SUFIS.

I SPOKE at the last International Congress of Orientalists in Leiden upon the edition of this most important work contemplated by the Dâ'irat ul-Ma'ârif, and the desirability of such a publication was generally acknowledged. As the Dâ'irat had published previously the biography of the Prophet entitled *Dala'il an-Nubuwwa* it was only becoming that this work, the most important of the author, should also be issued by the same learned Society.

Abû Nu'aim al-Isbahânî, whose name was Ahmad ibn 'Abd Allâh was a descendant of the ascetic Muhammad ibn Yûsuf al-Faryâbî. He devoted his whole life to collecting and transmitting Hadîth, and as such he is mentioned upon almost every page of the Târikh Baghdâd of the Khatîb. He was born in 336 A.H. and died in Muharram 430 A.H.

We have had to rely up to the present principally upon Persian accounts of the lives of Sûfis which were, as far as the earlier times are concerned, abbreviations of older Arabic works and principally of the work of Abu Nu'aim. The strange thing which has happened is that a certain amount of mystery has surrounded the origin of Sûfism. European scholars who wanted to see in all ethical progress, in accordance with their school training, a continuation of Hellenism, readily asserted that Sûfism was an offshoot of Neo-platonism and derived the very word Sûfî from the Greek Sofia. This assertion has gained so much ground and is so often repeated that it will be very difficult to dispel the idea or get it out of elementary handbooks.

It is quite clear to me that the earliest Sûfis, mostly poor men, had no opportunity whatever to study any philosophical works or come into touch with men who were likely to spread philosophical ideas. Islâm, in its fundamental doctrines of resignation to the will of God, contained all that could form the basis of that asceticism which developed later into the advanced doctrines of Sûfism. We find thus in the earliest biographies that the principal doctrine taught by the men who are the acknowledged initiators of Sûfism was the complete abnegation of all

wordly pleasure and gain, the sole desire to live and work for rewards to be expected in another life. There can be no doubt that they were influenced at that early time by the example of Christian ascetics, with whom they came into contact in Syria and the 'Irâq ; as a matter of fact, this is asserted in numerous biographies. In many cases the Sûfî is aroused to the searching for spiritual progress by some conversation he is stated to have had with a Râhib (ascetic or hermit). If Abu Nu'aim includes a number of persons among his biographies whom we should hardly class as Sûfîs, we must remember that the lives of such men as 'Omar ibn al-Khattâb had some analogies in placing little value upon earthly gain as compared with the desire to live such lives as to be fit for the rewards of a future life.

I do not wish to enlarge at the present time upon this subject because the material for contradicting my argument is not readily at hand, nor are manuscripts of the *Hilya* easily accessible and we must wait until the work is in the hands of all who are interested in the subject.

The learned scholars of Hyderabad had contemplated the publication of the *Hilya* many years ago, and for this purpose a copy in four volumes was prepared and collated with a number of other Indian manuscripts. This copy is now under my care. It became evident that a good edition from this copy was impossible, because the accounts concerning the work indicated that the *Hilya* was a work of much greater compass. Through the assistance of Dr. Ritter of the German Institute in Constantinople I am in possession of photographs of various manuscripts which, pieced together, make a complete copy of the whole work. A complete copy of the whole work in one set of manuscripts has so far not been discovered. All manuscripts, used in photographs, were at one time in the possession of Abul Faraj Ibn al-Jauzî and have been corrected several times by him and other scholars who took part in the learned assemblies in which the work was read in public.

A comparison with these manuscripts revealed that the Indian manuscript had two very large gaps, one amounting to nearly a thousand pages of text. More peculiar still is the fact that the Indian scribe has apparently, though no special reason is noticeable, deliberately omitted portions of the text. The same is the case in other recent copies as *e.g.*, the manuscript of the India

Office D. 150, in which a portion of the text lacking in the Hyderabad MS. is contained. Here also some biographies like that of the Caliph 'Omar ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz are reduced from many pages to a few lines. This biography, which is entirely missing in the Hyderabad manuscript, is interesting for the fact that it contains most of the material used by Ibn al-Jauzî in his book on the Manâqib 'Omar ibn 'Abd al-Azîz.

Many of the earlier Sûfis cite quotations from the Taurât and the Injîl. Though authors like Ibn Qutaiba, Ibn Hazm, etc., give many quotations from Jewish and Christian scriptures which can easily be identified, this is not the case with the citations in the Hilya. Typical are the quotations given in the biography of Ka'b al-Ahbâr (omitted in the Hyderabad MSS. and abbreviated to a few lines in the India Office copy). Ka'b was a convert from Judaism to Islâm during the time of Islâm and he was continually asked for information about Jewish scriptures. The Hilya gives wide scope to these. Many are introduced by the Caliph 'Omar saying to him : " Ka'b, make us frightened ! " Then he relates about the terrors of the Day of Judgment and the pangs of Hell as he declares to have found in the Jewish scriptures. My own investigations and enquiries from learned Jews have not succeeded in finding the original source. They may have been in apocryphal books which have been lost long ago, and the subject is worth a close enquiry.

A merit of the Hilya is that the author does not content himself, like the authors of most books on biography by traditionists, with enumerating the teachers and pupils of the person whose biography he writes, but gives us also incidents of his daily life which make us understand the individual better. Sometimes these accounts may have nothing to do with the literary activity of the person, as, for example, the account of twins grown together which the Imâm Shafî'i claims to have seen in the Yemen.

Abu Nu'aim rarely gives us dates, though it is not difficult in most cases to know the approximate time at which the more obscure persons lived. This was one of the defects which Ibn al-Jauzî intended to remedy when he wrote his compendium of the Hilya under the title of *Safwat as-Safwa* (also in some MSS. *Sifât as-Safwa*). As Ibn al-Jauzî's work is not a simple abbreviation, but in many cases an amplification of the work of Abu Nu'aim,

the Dâ'irat ul-Ma'ârif has decided to publish this work also after the completion of the Hilya. Then, and not before, shall we be able to speak with anything like authority as to the origin and development of Sûfism in Islâm.

One of the difficulties an editor has to contend with can be realised when I mention here that one of the collators of the Hyderabad MS., finding in the biography of Ibn al-Mubârak that that scholar was asked about Mut'a and his answer is the word حرام with room enough in front of it to insert the word ليس. This makes the statement just the opposite to what the good copies have. This same collator while omitting after the name of Allah the words عزوجل has continually inserted the words

وآله after the Salât and Taslîm of the Prophet. No manuscript has these words.

F. KRENKOW.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM

(Continued from our last issue.)

24. LAND PRODUCTS.

THE citizens of the Muslim Empire were almost all bread consumers in contrast to the Hindus and Eastern Asiatics who lived on rice. From the latter they were specially distinguished by the fact that they all drank milk. These two articles of food, formed as in Europe, their staple food. Only in the East the bread retained the shape of thin, round cakes, not any different from what was given to it by the European lake-dwellers.

In the domestic economy of medieval Europe the most important event was the supplantation of millet and barley by wheat. In the East, however, wheat had established its position long before. Everywhere, where there was sufficiency of water-supply it was cultivated. Millet (*durrah*), on the other hand, was confined to the dry regions of the South (South Arabia, Nubia, Kirman) because "like sesame or oats it needed little water."¹ "Millet resembles wheat but is eaten like rice."² Mesopotamia was essentially a wheat cultivating province; the high price of wheat there is invariably adduced as a proof of famine. After barley, rice stood third on the list there. This fact attracted the attention of the Chinese; Ling Wai tai ta (1178 A.D.) thus³ reports of Baghdad: The people here eat bread, meat and Su-lo but seldom fish, vegetables and rice. Another Chinese thus writes

(1) Mashriq, 1908, 614.

(2) Yahya b. Adam, 86.

(3) Chau ju kua tr. Hirth, 137, 144. Already Strabo (XV, 1) mentions the cultivation of rice in Mesopotamia but it must have been very slight for in the Talmud it never plays any part at all. At least in Kräuss's *Tal. Arch.* it is not even mentioned. The corn that was cultivated in Syria, before the Mesopotamian wheat, was called Qamh and finds its place in the Old Testament by the side of chittah, the Mesopotamian wheat, which, under this very name, was imported into Egypt. (Kremer, S. W. A. 1889.) In the Arabian period wheat in Syria is called Qamh; in Mesopotamia Hintah; in Arabia Dhurr (Jahiz, *Bayan*, 7 a)

of Egypt about 1300 A. D. The people live on bread and meat and eat no rice. In Khuzistan, likewise, wheat occupied the first place but they also made bread of rice-flour and rice was an article of popular food.¹ Only the marshy neighbourhood of Mazenderan² depended entirely upon rice.

In Palestine and Egypt a vegetable, corresponding to our potato, the Quloqas, was cultivated.³ In the old Greek time its existence is attested in the Greek Isles, Asia Minor and Egypt. It is the thick, pulpy root-stock of *Colocasia esculenta* which in Polynesia was the staple food before the advent of the Europeans. "It has the shape of a round radish and has a rind. It is pungent in taste and is fried in oil."⁴ "The Quloqas is peeled and cooked. The cooking-water is then poured off and it is fried in oil."⁵ There are two varieties of these, one called the "fingers" and the other the "heads." The former is dearer⁶ and more tasty. It is specially appreciated in winter with mutton.⁷

Grapes were the most cultivated of fruits. Mawardi⁸ mentions even in Mesopotamia the cultivation of the vine as holding the first place (Karm in Ancient Mesopotamia was the general word for the cultivated field.) There were grapes of widely different varieties. "Even if one were to set out from his early youth to old age travelling through the countries—valley by valley and town by town—going from vineyard to vineyard—to learn their varieties and to master their peculiarities, he would not be able to do so even in a single climate, or a single region. It would be too much for him."⁹ South Arabia possessed giant grapes. A Governor of Harun is said once to have brought from there two bunches of grapes on a camel, in a howdah apiece. Table-tops, twenty spans in circumference, were made of vine wood from the Armenian and Indo-Persian mountains.¹⁰

(1) Ibn Hauqal, 173.

(2) Ibn Hauqal, 272.

(3) Muk, 203; Abdul Latif saw it at Damascus where it was not plentiful. *Relation* tr. by de Sacy, 23.

(4) Muk, 203.

(5) Abdul Latif, 23.

(6) Ibn al-Hajj, *Madkhal*, III, 143.

(7) *Haz al-Quhuf*, 160.

(8) Ed. Enger, 304.

(9) Ibn al-Faqih, 125.

(10) *Ibid.*

The names of the different varieties of grapes were popular names such as cow-eyes, sugar, nun's finger-tip, tiny flasks, but mostly they were named after their place of origin such as Mulakhite, Gurakhite, Slav.

The vine which, according to Strabo,¹ the Macedonians first brought to Mesopotamia and Persia, spread throughout the empire; the Arab conquest, in its turn carried fresh sorts to the East. Thus the Raziqite grapes from Taif were cultivated in Mesopotamia² and near Herat in Afghanistan.³ A report from the Dead Sea calls attention to the fact that the peasants artificially fecundate the vine (?) there just as they do with the palm and the Maghribines with figs.⁴ To the fruits grown in the empire in the 3rd/9th century two were added, the orange and the lemon. At a court-feast at Samarra about the middle of the 3rd/9th century these, along with other costly fruits, were served for the guests. The reporter, writing about it in the 4th/10th century, particularly speaks of the orange, as exceedingly rare at that time.⁵ The Prince Ibn al-Mu'tazz sings of them both at the end of the 3rd/9th century⁶ but they seem to be confined to a small circle. In 323/944 Mas'udi writes: The orange and the round citron tree (*utrug mudawwar*) were imported from India after the year 300/912 and planted in Yaman. They were then taken to Basra, Mesopotamia and Syria until they became plentiful in the houses of Tarsus, of Antioch, of the Syrian Coast, of Palestine and Egypt, where they were unknown before. But the fine fragrance and the beautiful colour which they had in India had passed away from them.⁷ The Caliph Al-Qahir (320-22/932-934) to whom orange-trees were dearer than any other—had them planted in his small palace-garden. They were imported across Basra and Oman from India. In Muqaddasi's time they were cultivated even in Palestine.⁸ In the 4th/10th century Ibn Hauqal had to describe the lemon for the benefit of his readers. "In Sind, the extreme south of the empire, there are neither grapes, nor apples, nor nuts, nor pears; but there is sugar-cane. There they have a fruit, like an

(1) XV, 3.

(2) Ras'ail by Khwarezmi, 49.

(3) Istakhri, 266.

(4) Ibn Haukal, 124.

(5) Shabushti, *Kut. ad-diyarat*, Berlin, fol. 66a, b.

(6) *Diwan*, II, 106, 119.

(7) Mas'udi, II, 438 f.; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, I, 28,

(8) p. 181.

apple, which they call lemon. It is very sour.”¹ Similarly Muqaddasi states; “among the specialities of Sind is lemon; a fruit like apricot, but very sour.”² Throughout the 4th/10th century it remained an imported fruit³ and only later found a home from India across Oman in Mesopotamia.⁴ Later in Egypt they cultivated “apple-lemon” (limun tuffahi) “so little sour that it could be eaten without sugar;”⁵ “winter-lemon” and “weeping-lemon” (Sa’il)⁶. Not yet was this fruit utilized for preparing lemonade. The fashion in the higher circles in the 4th/10th century was rather to take iced drinks as in Baghdad. But in Basra “we drink the foulest drink; citron-water (?), yellow, distasteful, thick, horrid like cholera-stool.”⁷ Water-melons were the most commonly sold fruit and hence the fruit-market of the town was simply known as the “melon-house.”⁸ The water-melons of North Persia were most famous. They were brought to Mesopotamia from Merv, cut into pieces, a thing not done with melons of other places.⁹ Marco Polo confirms that the melons from Shubarqan (between Merv and Balkh) were cut spirally into thin slices, as we do with pumpkin. And when they were dried in the sun, they were sent out in large quantities for sale to the neighbouring countries.¹⁰ Others were brought to Baghdad in leaden ice-chests. On safe arrival they fetched 700 dirhams apiece.¹¹ The part which the American

(1) p. 228.

(2) p. 482.

(3) *Yatimah*, III, 82.

(4) Qazwini, on the margin of Damiri, II, 30 f. In the Calendar of Cordova, under the year 961 A.D., where fruit culture of Spain is mentioned, both orange and lemon are wanting.

(5) Maqrizi, *Khitat*, II, 237.

(6) Thamarat el-Awraq, II, 224.

(7) Ibn al-Sabi, *Yatimah*, II, 47.

(8) Tha'alibi, *Umad al-Mansub*, Z.D.M.G. VIII, 524. The foul-mouthed Baghdadians named a poem of Ibn el-Rumi, where many names of places occur, “Water-melon House,” Fakhri, ed. Ahlwardt, 299. And Ibn Lankak reviles one thus: He is the son of all the world. The name of his father is merely an abbreviation like “Water-melon House” where all sorts of fruits are stored, *Yatimah*, II, 122.

(9) Istakhri, 262.

(10) I, 24.

(11) Tha'alibi, *Lat. el-Ma'arif*, 129. Merv, to-day, for the most part, is a desert; but the melons of Bukhara, similarly placed, are famous. They tell us that the department of Agriculture in Washington has imported Bukharan species of melons to the United States and crossed them with happiest results. They are the best melons in the Union. Busse, *Bewässerungs wirthschaft in Turan*, 241.

tomato plays in the kitchens of Southern Europe was played then by the pomegranate. Consignments of oil and wood, along with big quantities of this fruit, were imported into Baghdad in vessels which came from the Euphrates.

The Syrian apples were regarded as the best.¹ They were imported into Egypt—the yearly supply, which was sent in skins, to the Caliph's Court being 30,000.² In the East they failed "since they could not stand the hot, dry desert wind."³

The date trade involved immense transport. Mesopotamia, Kirman, North Africa were the chief date-producing centres.⁴ Finest was the Mesopotamian date; the lists mention several varieties. In the date-producing districts of North Africa one could buy, in good years, a camel-load for 2 dirhams.⁵ In Kirman the price of 100 mann (a measure) of dates sometimes fell to one dirham. It provided the whole of Persia with dates. Year by year some 100,000 camels, in huge caravans, marched southward to fetch the favourite fruit. The camel-drivers were wild fellows. "Fornication was freely indulged in in these caravans" and all this was so unpleasant to the Kirmanians that they gave one dinar to every one of these Khorasanian drivers on condition of his departing.⁶ Likewise the caravans which proceeded through the Sahara to the country of the negroes mainly carried dates. In return they brought slaves and gold. The chief centre of this date trade was Sijilmasah in Southern Morocco.⁷

The olive tree is a Mediterranean plant, Syria and Mesopotamia provided the whole empire with olive oil. The best came from Syria;⁸ Nablus⁹ especially possessed many olive trees. It was kept in Aleppo in huge cisterns. At the capture of this town in the year 351/962 the Greeks

(1) Mas'udi, VII, 270.

(2) Suyuti *Husn ul-Muh*, II, 229.

(3) Busse, *Bewässerungs wirthschaft in Turan*, 316.

(4) While Anah on the Euphrates and Tekrit on the Tigris mark to-day the border of date-growing regions—Sinjar, then, was centre of date-palms, Ibn Hauqal, 149; Muq, 142.

(5) Muq, 228. "In the Wadi Dra'a dates are so cheap that in good years they get a camel-load for half a dinar." Rohlf, *Mein erster Aufenthalt in marrokka*, 442.

(6) Muq, 469.

(7) Idrisi, 4, 6, 21.

(8) Zamakhshari, *Kashshaf*, Comm. to Sura 24, 35.

(9) Muq, 174.

poured water into these cisterns causing the oil to overflow.¹ Already Tunis had provided Rome with olive oil. At Sfaz so much olive oil was to be had in the 4th/10th century that one could get 60 and 70 Qafiz for a dinar.² Even to-day the olive tree is more carefully looked after there than anywhere else in the Mediterranean region.³ People of other provinces imported radish and rape-seed oil from Egypt;⁴ sesame oil from Mesopotamia and Afghanistan.⁵ In Fars olive trees were planted anew. By reason of the high price sugar fetched, sugar-cane was cultivated at every conceivable place—even in Galilee and Tyre.⁶ Although its cultivation in Egypt is attested by papyri for the 2nd century, no geographer of the 4th-10th century speaks of it at all. In the 5th-11th the sugar industry seems, however, to have assumed some importance there. This, probably, was due to the political separation of Egypt from the East. Nasir Khusru, in 400/1048, tells us that "Egypt produces plenty of honey and sugar" (p. 51). The chief centre of the sugar industry was Khuzistan—in the district of Jundaishapur grew the best sugar-cane (Muq, 408). In Mesopotamia the neighbourhood of Basra was the most famous centre of the sugar-industry. Even in Spain the faithful had made sugar a household commodity.⁷ The Yamani table-sugar was packed in a special way. It was dried in the sun, stuffed in osier-rods and was kept a few days in cold storage until it hardened. The openings of the rods were sealed with gypsum. On arrival at the destination the rods were broken and the sugar was cut with a knife on a dish or on a loaf of bread. This sugar was exported to Mesopotamia and Mekka.⁸

(1) Misk, V, 255.

(2) Ibn Hauqal, 47.

(3) Fischer, *Mittelmeerbilder*, I, 432.

(4) Nasir Khusru, 153. At Alexandria, in the Mediterranean region, olive oil was prepared (Muq, 197). According to Qalqashandi (Wüstenfeld, 34) the few olives of Egypt were eaten specially with salt.

(5) Krausz, *Tal. Arch.* II, 226; Marco Polo I, 27. According to the Talmud "Mesopotamia also showed some olive-trees." Krausz, 215.

(6) Muq, 162, 180. At the time of the Crusades the Venetians possessed a cane-sugar plantation at Tyre, Tafel und Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, Wien, 1856, II, 368.

(7) For the 4th/10th century *The Calendar of Cordova*, ed. Dozy, 25, 41, 91 and the Cron. Morô Rasis in mem. Acad. Madrid, VIII, 87, 88, 56.

(8) Hamdani, ed. D. H. Muller, 198.

Sturgeon took the place of our dried cod. They were caught in Lake Van and were taken pickled to Aleppo, nay, even to Afghanistan.¹ In the west the tunny (Arab. tunn, Greek thynnos) took its place. It was caught near Spain and the opposite coast of Africa (particularly Ceuta). It was chased with harpoons.² The people believed that it travelled every year from Africa to the Mediterranean, making pilgrimage to a certain rock.³ "Edible earth" was a favourite food. They took it as dessert. The best variety was green like the rape but more shiny⁴—even the ordinary white sort was praised.⁵ The green was chiefly found in Quhistan.⁶ In Egypt and the Maghrib it sometimes cost one dinar a pound.⁷ From Toledo "edible earth" was exported to Turkistan.⁸ Its use, however, was forbidden by various savants (*Kunz el-'ummal*, on the margin of Ibn Hanbal's *Musnad* VI, 191; Qummi, *Kit. al-Ilal*, Berlin, fol. 207a).

"The people of Sijistan used *asafoetida* in all their food. It grows in the desert between Sijistan and Mekan.⁹ Even to-day this offensive smelling spice is a chief article of export from the Punjab across Quette to Afghanistan¹⁰ whence it was taken to China in the Middle Ages.¹¹ The Muslim sailors brought from Borneo and Sumatra camphor, one of the most costly and favourite spices, both to the west and to China.¹² On the other hand, incense, the chief export of Yaman in earlier times went out of fashion in the Islamic world. It is still mentioned¹³ but its place is taken up by ambergris—the best of which came from South Arabia.¹⁴ The picturesque variety of oriental costume was due to the fact that every place adopted the colours most easily obtained locally. Thus the Beduin dress combined black goat's hair with the

(1) Ibn Hauqal, 248; Yaqut, II, 467; Abulfida, *Geography*, ed. Reinaud, 52. Lake Van has salt water (Le Strange, *Mustawfi*, 51).

(2) Idrisi p. 168.

(3) Abulfida, II, 215.

(4) Ibn Hauqal, 213. Not "that tasted like beetroot" (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 258..... ??)

(5) *Yatimah*, IV, 107, "like pieces of camphor"...

(6) *Istakhri*, 274.

(7) *Tha'alibi*, *Lat. el-Ma'arif*, p. 114.

(8) Idrisi, 188.

(9) *Istakhri*, 244.

(10) *Revue du monde Musulman*, V, 5, p. 187.

(11) Chau Ju-Kua tr. by Hirth, 224.

(12) Reinaud, *Relations*, 86; Chau Ju-Kua, 193.

(13) *Isaakhri*, 25; *Hamadani*, 200.

(14) *Ya'qubi*, 866.

white sheep's wool. In the 4th/10th century the people of North African Barqah—where the entire ground is red¹—were distinguished from the rest of the Westerners by their red dress.² But commerce exercised an equalizing effect. The two chief colouring materials, for fine blue and red—indigo and *kermes* (whence our word crimson)—soon became popular throughout the Empire. Kabul, alone, annually imported two million dinars worth of Indian indigo.³ By reason of its popularity this precious substance—like sugar—was cultivated at every place at all favourable seasons.

It was cultivated in Upper Egypt. It constituted the main industry of the oases.⁴ It was cultivated at Zoa in Palestine, at Basanitis,⁵ at Kirman, on the Dead Sea, where a lively trade in indigo supplanted the imported indigo from Kabul.⁶ The Egyptian indigo could be cut every hundred days, but it had to be watered once in ten days the first year; thrice in ten days the second year and four times in ten days the third year.⁷ Apparently its cultivation originated in the land of the decimal system. For *kermes* Armenia, notably the province of Airarat,⁸ was the main source of supply. It was exported as far away as India.⁹

They used genuine saffron (*za'faran*), safflower (*usfur*) and the Arabian saffron (*wars*) for yellow colouring. The Arabian saffron was a sesame-like plant which grew only in Yaman.¹⁰ The Yamanite camels, "marked completely yellow" by their valuable load, carried it to the north. Alongside of the other two—*wars* (the Arabian saffron) was scarcely of any account, still the Italians designated the Brazil wood after it as *verzino*. Saffron was so highly prized that in 246/860 the Caliph's ambassador to the Byzantine Court took it with him as a present

(1) Mutahhar, ed. Huart, IV, 72; Bekri, ed. Slane, p. 5.

(2) Ibn Hauqal, 13.

(3) Ibn Hauqal, 328. 328. Even in the sixth or quite late in the seventh century indigo was known to the Chinese as the product of the Persian province of 'Tsan (Kabul), Hirth, *Chau Yu Kau*, 217.

(4) Idrisi, 14. Still the Egyptian indigo was considered inferior to the Indian, Abdul Latif, 36.

(5) Muq, 186.

(6) Ibn Hauqal, 124; Muq, 174; Idrisi, 5.

(7) Maqrizi, *Khitat*, I, 272. On further preparation of indigo in India Marco Polo reports, III, 25.

(8) Istakhri, 188.

(9) Istakhri, 190.

(10) Jauhari, under *Wars*; Tha'alibi, *Fiqh el-lughah*, Cairo, 118; Hamdani, p. 100; Qazwini, *Aja'ib*, II, 76.

for the Emperor.¹ By reason of its dearness it was cultivated at numerous places : in Syria, in South Arabia : but the ancient Media was its chief centre.² From Toledo it was exported to the west in large quantities.³ Of inorganic stuffs —Borax was found only in Lake Van in North Persia and was exported for the use of bakers in Mesopotamia. It was called Bread-Borax (Boraq el-Khubz) and was used for glazing pastry.⁴ White jeweller's Borax was obtained from the Lake of Urmia and was imported as far as Egypt with great profit.⁵ Alum was the chief product of the country round Lake Chad. It was exported to Morocco and Egypt.⁶ The salt of the Sahara-mines set thousands of camels and carriers in motion and the sea-salt of the Atlantic made its way deep into the interior of the Sudan. The only important places where sal-ammoniac (naushadir), a substance much used in contemporary chemistry, could be found were in the opposite ends of the Muslim Empire in Transoxiana and Sicily.⁷ But Transoxiana was by far the more important of the two, and after it, since the earliest times, the drug has been named in Europe " tartar salt ." In the Buttam mountain there is a cave over which a house with closed doors and windows has been built. Out of this cave rises a vapour like smoke at day and like fire at night : when the vapour is precipitated, sal-ammoniac is got out of it. The people, entering the house, must cover themselves in wet felt or without it they may be hurt.⁸ This vapour shifts from place to place. In the open it evaporates and is harmless but when it is encompassed within walls its heat burns.⁹ Mas'udi in the year 322/944 gives us a remarkable account of the sal-ammoniac valley. In China, at the source of the great rivers, is the mountain which yields sal-ammoniac. Here in summer fires can be seen at night from a distance of 100 parasangs ; at day-time owing to the greater power of the sunlight they

(1) Tabari, III, 1449.

(2) Karabacek, *Die Persische Nadelmalerei*, 52 ff.

(3) Moro Rasis, 50 ; Maqqari, I, 48.

(4) *Traite d'alchimie arabe* in Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen age*, II, 63, 145 note 4.

(5) Ibn Hauqal, 248.

(6) Idrisi, 39.

(7) Even on the summit of Demawend, northern Tehran, sal-ammoniac was found. They filled it in ox-hide and rolled it down. Nasir Khusru, Tr. p. 10 ; Richthofen, *China*, I, 560.

(8) Istakhri, 327 ; Ibn Hauqal, 38 d.

(9) Ibn Hauqal, 383.

appear as vapour. The sal-ammoniac is obtained thence. Travellers in summer take their road from Khorasan to China by this mountain; for there is a valley through it, which is forty or fifty miles long. At the entrance of the valley wait some men who offer themselves to carry the baggage, if they are well paid. They use sticks to drive the passengers on their journey; for any stoppage or rest would be fatal to the traveller, in consequence of the irritation which ammoniacal vapours of this valley produce on the brain, and on account of the heat. At the end of the valley are marshes and water, into which they throw themselves, to obtain relief from the depressing influence of the vapours of sal-ammoniac, and of the heat of the air. No animal can pass through the valley. In summer the sal-ammoniac throws out flames, and in that season no one can venture into this valley. In winter much snow and rain fall, which extinguish the heat and flames: at that time men can enter it, but not animals on account of the heat. Those who are coming from China are as hard hit as those who are making their way thither.”¹

In the year, 982 the Chinese traveller Wang-jen-ti visited the ammonia mine and reports as follows:

[*Here ends Mr. Khuda Bukhsh's translation. What follows is the work of Professor D. S. Margoliouth*].

“Ammonia is obtained from a mountain north of Pe-thing, whence columns of fire constantly ascend. At night flames are seen such as proceed from torches; one can see birds and field-mice coloured red all over. Those who collect the substance have to wear shoes with wooden soles, since soles of leather would be burned. According to Chinese authorities the place where ammonia is obtained lies in eastern Thenschan, 200 Li north of Kucha.” In a Chinese work of the year 1772 the following statement occurs: “The sal-ammoniac comes from a mountain called after it to the north of the town Kucha, which is full of caves and crevices. In spring, summer, and autumn these cavities are filled with fire so that at night the mountain looks as if it were illuminated with thousands of lamps. No one can then approach it. Only in winter, when great masses of snow have subdued the fire, can the natives occupy themselves with collecting the sal-ammoniac.”³ The Afghan Hujwiri who wrote in the 11th

(1) Mas'udi, 1,347 (Eng. tr. pp. 359-60 Tr.)

(2) v. Richthofen, China I, 560.

century narrates in a mystical work that on the frontier of Islam in a Turkish town he had seen a burning mountain out of which vapours of sal-ammoniac issued, and that in the midst of the fire was a mouse which died if it got away from the glowing heat.¹ This sal-ammoniac was so highly prized in China that the natives paid their tribute to the emperor with it.² Thirty years ago this sal-ammoniac mountain was explored. The official Turkestan Gazette reports about it as follows: "The mount Peishan or Paishan is not a volcano, as was ascertained by a Russian expedition despatched for this purpose. The smoke comes from layers of burning coal. The slopes of Paishan are covered with crevices out of which smoke and sulphuric gas escape with terrible noise." I find this in the essay of Friedrichsen just cited; he adds: with this there agrees the information given by Regal³ on the authority of a gardener named Fetisow who had been sent to make botanical investigations: Paishan, he says, is a conical mountain, with no crater at the top, but only lateral apertures. Hence Friedrichsen would regard the mountain as a seam of burning coal.⁴

In the two precious metals the different parts of the empire supplemented each other admirably. The east provided silver, the western half gold. The Klondyke of the time was the arid desert east of the Upper Nile, between Assouan and Aidab. The metropolis of the gold-miners was al-Ullaqi, fifteen days' journey from Assouan.⁵ They would start out on nights when there was little moonlight, and mark the places where they saw anything glitter.⁶ The next day they would wash these portions of sand, mix the gold with quicksilver, and melt it down.⁷ Adventurers crowded thither after the middle of the 3rd/9th century, after the rebellious Bujjah had been brought to reason in the year 241/855 by an energetic expedition

(1). *Kashf al-Mahjub*, tr. Nicholson, p. 407. (2) Friedrichsen, *Zeitsch. Gesell. Erdkunde*, Berlin, 1899. p. 246. From Klaproth, *Tableaux histor.* p. 110. (3) *Gartenflora*, 28th year., 1879, p. 40. (4) L. c.p. 247. (5) Fullest account in Ya'qubi, *Bibl. Geogr.* VII. 334 seq. (6) With ashes or chalk. Petakhya J. A. VIII. p. 384. This method of getting at the gold sand seems to have been practised over the whole of the Near East. Chang-ta, who travelled to the west in the year 1259 A.D. reports: In Egypt (Mi-si-rh) there is gold in the ground. At night sparkling is observed in certain places. The people mark these with a feather and coal. If they dig in these places in the daytime, they find large nuggets. (Bretschneider, *Mediæval researches* I. p. 142.). (7) Edrisi, ed. Dozy, p. 26.

consisting in a small but picked force of imperial troops. From that time dates the absorption of this indigenous population by Arab tribes.¹ In the year 332/944 the chieftain of the Arab tribe Rabi'ah is ruler of the gold country.² Abu'l-'Ala el-Ma'arri (ob. 449/1057) says to the Egyptian Caliph who offered him money: I am as wealthy as a man can be, the mine of Assouan is nothing to me.³ The second great source of gold was the Sudan: "Gold is the chief product of the blacks, rich and poor live on it."⁴ All the caravans which marched from the south through the Sahara carried gold and slaves; the bearers brought salt and took back gold, all on their heads, so that they got quite bald.⁵ In the year 390/1000 a gold mine was discovered in the east, in Afghanistan,⁶ but nothing more is heard of it. The richest silver mine of Islam lay in the eastern extremity of the empire, in the Hindu-Kush, the "five hills" of Benjehir. It counted at the time 10,000 miners, "all of them scoundrels."⁷ "Silver coins are there so plentiful that anything almost costs a whole silver dirham, even a bit of vegetable. The silver is to be found at the peak of a mountain which towers over the city and looks like a sieve owing to the number of shafts. The miners follow only those veins which show signs of leading to ore. When they find a vein of this sort they continue to dig till they come upon the silver. A miner can make as much as 300,000 dirhams; many a man finds enough to enrich himself and his posterity, many another obtains enough to pay his expenses, but many too are impoverished and even reduced to beggary, if water and other obstacles get the upper hand. At times it happens that one miner follows a vein and another the same vein in a different fissure, both commencing to dig at the same time; it is the rule that whichever of the two first reaches the ore has a right to the mine and its output. The rival miners in such cases work harder than any demon, for if one of the two arrives first, the other loses all that he has expended. If they arrive simultaneously, they go

(1) Istakhri p. 288. (2) Maqrizi, *Khitat*, I, 196/7. (3) Yaqut, *Irshad* I. p. 178. (4) Edrisi, ed. Dozy. p. 8. (5) J. Marquardt, *Die Beninsammlung*, p. CII from a Portuguese report. In Marquardt's Index of Contents everything is to be found that is worth knowing about the production of and the trade in gold in the south. (6) Mutahhar, ed. Huart IV. p. 73; Ibn al-Jauzi, Berlin, fol. 144a; Ibn al-Athir IX, p. 116. (7) Ibn Hauqal p. 327.

shares equally. They mine only as long as their lamps or lanterns keep burning; if they go so far that these are extinguished they proceed no further. Any one who ventures to do so dies in a very short time. A man may be poor in the morning, and rich in the evening, or rich in the morning and poor by evening."¹ The silver mines near Isfahan had been long abandoned in the 3rd/9th century,² and the yet more distant silver mine in Badhagis (Afghanistan) had to be given up, because fuel failed.³ On the other hand, the copper mines near Isfahan paid in the 3/9 century a tax of 10,000 dirhams.⁴ The copper used for the bright caps of the minarets came from Bokhara.⁵ The country where most iron was produced and wrought was Persia,⁶ but Beirut,⁷ Kerman⁸ and Kabul⁹ also had iron mines. The iron tools of Ferganah had so high a reputation that they were exported as far as Babylonia; "the iron of Ferganah is easily worked."¹⁰ In the west there was a great iron mine in Sicily.¹¹ and iron continued to come from Africa, the original home of the iron industry, out of which the most costly articles were wrought in India.¹² In Western Asia iron was always a rarity. In the year 355/964 the Qarmatians of the Arabian desert sent an expedition to Saifeddaulah at Tiberias asking him for iron. This prince ordered the iron gates of Raqqa to be unhinged, took all the iron that he could find, even the weights of the shopkeepers and gave it all to them. They conveyed it down the Euphrates as far as Hit whence they carried it through the desert.¹³

(1) Yaqu^t *Geogr. Dict.* I. p. 773 foll.

(2) Ibn Rusteh, p. 156.

(3) *Ist.* p. 268.

(4) Ibn Rusteh, p. 156.

(5) *Muq.* p. 324.

(6) Ibn Hauqal, p. 214; Ibn al-Faqih, p. 254.

(7) *Muq.* p. 184; Edrisi ed. Brandel, p. 22. Seetzen furnishes some details for the year 1805 about the production of iron in the Lebanon. (U. J. Seetzens *Reisen*, I, 189).

(8) *Muq.* p. 470.

(9) Ibn Hauqal, p. 328.

(10) *Gartenflora* 28th year 1879 p. 40.

(11) *L. c.* p. 247.

(12) Ya'qubi, *Bibl. Geog.* VII. 334 foll. gives the fullest account.

(13) With ashes or chalk. Petachya J. A. VIII. p. 384. This method of obtaining gold-dust seems to have been practised all through the nearer East. Chang-te, who travelled to the West 1259 A.D. reports as follows: In Egypt (Mi-si-rh) there is gold in the soil... In the night sparkling is seen in certain places. The people mark such places with a feather and coal. The following day when they dig there, they find large nuggets. (Brestchneider, *Medieval Researches*, I. p. 142.)

By far the most important quicksilver mines of the Muhammedan territory lay in Spain, near Toledo. "More than a thousand men work in the mine. Some go inside and hew the rock, others fetch wood in order to burn the mineral, others construct vessels for melting and distilling, while yet others attend to the ovens. I have myself seen this mine, and ascertained that the floor is at a depth equal to the stature of 250 men."¹ Coals, "black stones which burn like charcoal" were found in Bokhara and Ferganah,² but treated mainly as natural curiosities. Asbestos, which was found near Farwan in Khorasan, was called "wick-stone," because it was chiefly employed (as at present) for the wicks of lamps. Besides this, table-cloths were woven of it, which had merely to be put in the oven to be cleaned.³ The values attached to precious stones were different in those days from now. A writer of the 4th/10th century places the most precious in the following order: turquoise from Nisabur, *yaqut* from Ceylon, pearls from Oman, emerald from Egypt, ruby from Yemen, and *bizadi* from Balkh.⁴ Biruni about 400/1009 groups them similarly: *yaqut*, emerald, pearls.⁵ The diamond had not the surpassing value which it has in our time; the coloured gems which gently glow were esteemed more highly. In Khorasan and Babylonia the diamond was only used for cutting and poisoning.⁶ The higher classes employed the diamond in suicide; if they fell into the hands of enemies and might expect torture and abuse, they swallowed the gem and died therefrom.⁷ The blue turquoise (Firuzaj) was found only in

(1) Edrisi, ed. Dozy, p. 26.

(2) J. Marquardt., *Die Beninsammlung* after a Portuguese report.

Under "gold" in his Index of contents everything worth knowing about the gold industry and trade in the South is to be found.

(3) Al-Dimashqi, *Mahasin et-tijarah*, Cairo, 1818, p. 16. Benvenuto Cellini II. 13: They bethought themselves of mixing pulverized diamonds with the food. This is not in itself poisonous, but owing to its incalculable hardness retains very sharp edges, and is unlike other stones which when broken up are to a certain extent rounded. If it enters the body with other food, owing to its sharp points it adheres during the process of digestion to the skin of the stomach and the entrails, and gradually, as other food presses on it, perforates these parts, in time causing death. No other stone, nor even glass, can thus adhere, but passes out with the food.

the neighbourhood of Nisabur;¹ in 1821 Fraser visited the hill which lies about 60 kilometres NW of the city. The gem was extracted in the most primitive fashion with hammers and in small trenches. Yet it is clear that at an earlier period work was carried on there on a larger scale.² 200 years later taste changed, and the gem was so much in use for signet rings that the higher classes no longer employed it.³ Much the same was the case with the ruby which was so highly prized in the 4th/10th century. In the 6th/12th century it was so commonly worn that the higher classes used only large pieces and these for perfume-pots, goblets, etc.⁴ The finest sort was mined in South Arabia near San'a, where "at times they get a piece as big as a rock, at times nothing at all"⁵. The Alps of Afghanistan furnished valuable rubies,⁶ which were mined for like gold and silver.⁷ The only emerald mine in the empire was in the desert of E. Egypt, seven days' journey from the Nile, where the stone was broken by excavating deep into the mountain.^{8,9} Strabo already mentions it; in the year 332/943 it belonged to the chieftain of Rabi'ah, Ishaq, who also was in possession of the gold-bearing lands.¹⁰

In manufacture the many coloured lined onyx exported from Yaman was favoured. It was made into plates,¹¹ pommels, knife-handles, and saucers and with its sheen of many colours adorned almost all the tables of the upper class.

Precious coral was fished for in N. W. Africa (Marsa el-kharaz) as it is still (Ceuta, etc.)¹² From 20 to 50 men

(1) Tha'alibi, *Lat. 'el-ma'arif* p. 15. Marco Polo, Lemke, p. 93 also mentions turquoises of Kirman.

(2) Fraser, *Journey into Khorasan*, London, 1825, p. 407 foll. Grothe, Persian, p. 19, states that Brieteux, *Au pays du lion et du Soleil*, pp. 251-255 gives a description of the present mining operations for turquoises near Nisabur.

(3) *Mahasin et-tijarah*, p. 16, probably from the 6th/12th century.

(4) *Mahasin et-tijarah*, p. 17.

(5) Muq., p. 101.

(6) Ibn Hauqal (near Badhakhshan).

(7) Marco Polo I., cp. 27.

(8) Maqrizi *Khitat* I. 196 after Jahiz.

(9) Mas. iii. 43 foll. India produced smaller emeralds. *ibid.* p. 47.

(10) Mas. iii. 33.

(11) Hamadani, p. 203.

(12) Mas. iv. 97; Muq., p. 228; Biruni, *Kit. al-Jawahir* in "Islam" ii. p. 317. The Chinese author Chau-Ju-Kua (about 1300 A.D.) also states that the coral industry is to be found in the western Mediterranean (Transl. Hirth, pp. 154, 226).

were ordinarily employed with the yield.¹ They threw out wooden harpoons wound round with loose flaxen threads and in the form of crosses. These would stick in the coral reefs, and when the ship moved backwards would tear out great masses, worth from 10 to 1,000 dirhams.² Coral formed the chief article of commerce in the Sudan³ and was in particular favour with Indian women;⁴ in Marco Polo's time it was exported to Europe from Kashmir,⁵ and in our time the Italian coral which is intended for Russia, in order to avoid the duty levied at the western frontier, has to make the vast circuit over India and Turkestan.⁶

The pearls of the Arabian (? Persian) Gulf counted in China too as the best.⁷ Fishermen worked, as they do still, from April to October, and especially in August and September.⁸ The fisher was worked on the capitalistic system; a contractor hired divers for two months of 30 days, and paid them regularly. The profit, which at times was enormous, remained with him undiminished.⁹ At the time of Benjamin of Tudela (about 1170 A.D.) the industry was in the hands of a Jew;¹⁰ in our time the produce belongs to the boats of a tribe or group of tribes, and is shared by them in common. The profit goes to the Indian dealers, who purchase the shells at extremely low prices.¹¹ The labour was exceedingly severe. The pre-Islamic poet el-A'sha portrays the pearl-diver as "leader of four differing in colour and physique, embarking in a flimsy boat, then closing his teeth and discharging oil from his lips, and so letting himself down into the sea, which had slain his father. Men crowd round him, urging him to sell; but he clasps the precious treasure to his neck with both hands."¹²

(1) Ibn Hauqal, p. 51.

(2) Muq., p. 236; Edrisi, ed. Dozy, p. 116.

(3) Edrisi ed. Dozy, p. 168.

(4) Biruni, l. c.

(5) Bk., I, cap. 29.

(6) M. Hartmann, *Chinesisch Turkestan*, p. 63.

(7) Chau-ju-jua p. 229.

(8) Mas. I. 328; Edrisi-Jaubert I. 373 foll.; Palgrave in Zehme, *Arabien*, p. 208. Benjamin of Tudela is mistaken in asserting that fishing begins in October.

(9) *Merv. de l'Inde*, p. 185. Edrisi I, 373.

(10) ed. Asher, p. 90.

(11) Zehme, *Arabien*, p. 208; Grothe, *Persian*, p. 19, mentions a small monograph of Perez ("Six semaines de dragages sur les bancs perliers du golfe Persique." (Orleans, 1908).

(12) *Khizanat al-adab* I. 544; transl. Lyall, J. R. A. S. 1902, p. 1461.

Mas'udi reports as follows at the beginning of the 4th/10th century: The fishermen maintain themselves with fish, dates, and the like; nothing else. The inside of their ears is bored in order that the breath may issue thence instead of through the nostrils. Over these latter something like a broad arrow-head made of tortoise-shell or horn, not wood, is placed, to press them together. Their ears are plugged with cotton wool, steeped in a certain oil. A little of this is squeezed out in the water, and serves to give them light. They paint their feet and legs black, in order not to be bitten by the sea monsters, which flee away from that colour. Down in the sea the divers yell like dogs so as to be heard by each other.¹ In the 4th/10th century the pearl-fishery of Ceylon had lost its importance; few shells were found there, so that it was supposed the oysters had migrated from Ceylon to Africa.² This is the reason why the geographers and travellers of this time say nothing about pearl-fishing. At a later period the oysters came back, whence we have exhaustive reports from the 6th/12th century. More than 200 ships leave the town together, each ship housing 5 to 6 traders in separate cabins, each of whom had his diver and assistants with him. A leader sails in front of the fleet, stops somewhere and dives; if the result seems satisfactory, he drops anchor. The others do the like all round; the divers proceed to plug their nostrils with wax melted in oil of sesame, take with them a knife and a small bag, and then mount on a stone which an assistant holds by a rope, and on which they descend into the deep. Working time is two hours in the day. On a special market day the pearls are measured under government supervision and then sold. Measurement is done with three sieves of different mesh, one above the other.³ Benjamin of Tudela (p. 89) adds the details that the divers can hold out in the water from one to one and a half minutes.

There is a Chinese report from the same period. "Thirty or forty boats are employed, each with a crew of a dozen or so. Pearl-divers, with ropes wound round their bodies, and with ears and noses plugged with yellow wax, are let down into the water 200 or 300 feet or even deeper. The ropes are fastened to the vessel. When a diver signals by shaking the rope, he is drawn up. A soft

(1) Mas. I. 329 foll.

(2) Biruni, *India*, transl. Sachau I. 211.

(3) Edrisi, Jaubert I. 373 foll.

blanket is previously heated as much as possible in boiling water, to be thrown over the diver the moment he comes up, lest he should die of a paroxysm. They are apt to be attacked by huge fishes, dragons, and other sea monsters, which rip open their bodies or break limbs."—"It often happens that the diver gives a signal with the rope, but the man on board who is holding it cannot draw him up. The whole crew then pull with all their might, and find when they have brought him up that his feet have been bitten off by a monster."—"In general a pearl is regarded as of value when it is perfectly spherical. This is proved by its rolling about a plate continuously for a whole day. Foreign dealers who come to China usually conceal pearls in the lining of their clothes or the handles of their umbrellas in order to escape the duty."¹ The Chinese author Chang-te, who is on the whole well informed and who visited the West in the year 1259 A.D., obtained the following account. "The divers get inside a leathern bag, so that only their hands are free. A rope is wound round their loins, and thus equipped they descend to the bottom of the sea. They take up the oysters together with sand and mould, and put them into the bag. They are often attacked by sea monsters in the deep, but frighten them off by discharging vinegar upon them. When the bag is full of oysters, they signal to the people above by pulling the rope, and are then drawn up. It often happens that they perish in the sea."² Ivory was purchased by the Arabian traders in East Africa and taken by them as far as China;³ it fetched higher prices than the ivory of Annam and Tongking, which was of smaller and reddish tusks.⁴ Mas'udi asserts that the supply from Islamic countries would be ample, if the Eastern demand were not so excessive.⁵

Tortoise-shell came from East Africa, and of this the better sort of combs was manufactured, whereas common combs were made of horn; the same country furnished great panther skins for saddle coverings.⁶ Indeed the negroes provided leather for all the Near East. Probably Egypt and Syria learned from them the skilful treatment

(1) Chau-Ju-Kua, transl. Hirth, p. 229 foll. after the Ling-wai-tei-ra (written 1174 A.D.).

(2) Brestchneider, *Mediaeval researches*, I. 145.

(3) Mas. III. 8.

(4) Chau-Ju-Kua, p. 232.

(5) III. 8.

(6) Mrs. III. 2.

of leather in which they distinguished themselves.¹ Muqaddasi, who understood how to bind books in the Syrian style, boasts that he had often got two dinars for a volume in South Arabia;² the taste for this sort of work was so highly developed there. It would be interesting to think that the present form of the book, which has superseded the ancient roll, had originated in the black continent. In the 3rd/9th century Islam retained traditions of the kind: "To the negroes three things are to be ascribed: the daintiest perfume, known as *ghalliyah*; the form of bier called *na'sh*, which conceals females most completely, and the form of book called *mushaf*, which preserves its contents most faithfully."³

Even in antiquity the Western portion of the empire had been denuded of wood; in the East however the less accessible parts still had forests. The crippling of the mining industry in the East through lack of wood was mentioned above. "The country of Bukhara was so copiously irrigated that no tall trees were to be found there."⁴ "On the other hand the grass there grew so high that a horse would disappear in it entirely."⁵ Compensation was found in a vast trade in timber. Afghan wood, in particular cypress, was sold throughout Khurasan.⁶ Timber for ship-building came from Venice and Upper Egypt.⁷ For house-building in Baghdad and the whole of the East the timber made from the Indian teak tree (*saj*) counted as the most valuable, and of this the ornamental wood-work of all the best houses was made. In the Mediterranean regions the same part was assigned to pine wood (*sanaubar*); Fort et-Tinat near Alexandretta was the centre for the trade in Syrian pine wood, whence it was exported to the other ports of Syria, to Egypt and to Cilicia.⁸ In Spain the pine forest of Tortosa was the most celebrated. Its timber "is red with bright bark, solid, does not easily rot, and does not house beetles like other wood. The ceiling of the Mosque at Cordova was made of this timber."⁹ The forests of Mazanderan,

(1) Muq., pp. 180, 203; Benjamin of Tudela, ed. Asher, p. 30; Istakhri, pp. 24, 35.

(2) Muq., p. 100.

(3) Jahiz, *Opusc.*, p. 71.

(4) Istakhri, p. 312.

(5) Muq., p. 283.

(6) Istakhri, p. 268.

(7) See the chapter on Navigation.

(8) Istakhri, p. 63.

(9) Edrisi ed. Dozy, pp. 190, 280.

some of which still exist, furnished the pinkish wood of the chalang tree, favoured for furniture by the fashion of the 4th/10th century.¹ The mountaineers of Tabaristan carved vessels and plates out of this hard wood;² from Qumm came the famous chairs which were imitated in the metropolis of Kirman to the South,³ and from Rai came painted salvers.⁴

The parts of the empire in which irrigation offered grave problems for solution were Egypt, South Arabia, Babylonia, North-east Persia, Transoxiana, and Afghanistan. The legislation on this subject often formed a complicated mass of the most subtle regulations; all however had in common the principle of the canon law, that water might neither be bought nor sold. Hence neither the individual nor the State might make a profit by irrigating only.⁵ The largest part of European regulations concerning water is traceable to the East. In different places they have developed different technique. Unfortunately we have little exact knowledge, and so are unable to answer the questions how they are connected and whether they radiated from a single point. In Babylonia the government had to see to the maintenance of weirs, dams, and sluices,⁶ and for this there was a whole class of official engineers (*muhendis*). It was a troublesome business, as the dams were made of reeds and mould, so that "the hole of a mouse was often the cause of a breach, since the water inundated; and an hour could destroy the work of a year."⁷ The able ruler Mu'izz-ed-daulah took this matter so seriously that once when a dam had been breached he carried earth with his own hand in the lap of his cloak, to set an example to his troops.⁸ The regulations concerning water in East Persia were very elaborate. In Merv there was a Water-bureau (*diwan el-ma*)⁹; the head of this bureau had a staff of 10,000 men under him, and was a higher official than the chief of police in the region.¹⁰ The unit of measurement was the quantity which issued from an aperture one *sha'irah* square.¹¹ Further the

(1) Ibn Hauqal, p. 272.

(2) Istakhri, p. 212.

(3) Muq., p. 470.

(4) Ibn al-Fakih, p. 254.

(5) For Turkestan Basse p. 55.

(6) *Kit. al-Kharaj*, p. 63.

(7) Misk. VI. 376.

(8) Misk. VI. 219.

(9) *Mafatih ul-ulum* ed. van Vloten, p. 68.

(10) Istakhri, p. 261 foll. Muq., p. 330.

(11) *Mafatih ul-ulum* p. 68 (The author substituted *yards* for the original, which is here restored. *Sha'irah* (*barley-corn*) was a measure, very much smaller than a yard.)

amount to be distributed in a day was divided into 60 parts. The water-meter was placed at a distance of one parasang from Merv ; this was a board with a longitudinal slit, in which a barley-corn moved up and down. If the gauge stood at 60 barley-corns, there would be a fruitful year ; there was general rejoicing, and the rations of water were increased. If it stood no higher than two barley-corns, there would be a famine. The state of the gauge was at each time reported to the water-bureau, which then fixed the ration, and sent it to all the sluice-keepers. "At the weir below the city 400 keepers were employed, who watched it day and night. They had often to plunge into the water when it was bitter cold, and then they would smear themselves with wax. Each of them had to hew a definite amount of wood per day, and to gather brushwood for the time when it might be required".¹ The regions of East Persia which lay at a distance from the main rivers were cared for by ingenious systems of irrigation. Here, where there were only insignificant rivers or brooks, it was necessary to collect such water as trickled down the precipices as the result of rains, as well as the groundwater, to the last drop. Here what is now called the Karis system was employed. Long tunnels with easy gradients which even now reach as far as 50 kilometers were driven through the ground ; at definite intervals airshafts lead to the surface. There were famous works of this sort at Qumm, and especially at the East-Persian metropolis Nisabur, where people had to descend flights of as many as 70 steps to reach the tunnel which thus furnished the city also with pure water for drinking which was always cool.² The execution of such works requires great skill ; "the water-bearing strata must be tapped by the management at a point where they strike an underlying impervious stratum, and this latter must have a sufficient fall to admit of a rapid flow."³ Irrigating machines that were in use were the Dulab, the Daliyah, the Sarrafah, the Zurnuq, the Na'urah and the Manjanun⁴. Of these the Zurnuq (German *Star*) was a draw-well of the simplest sort, worked, e.g., in Medinah,

(1) Muq., p. 231.

(2) Ya'qubi, *Geogr.* 274 ; Muq., 329 ; Schefer in Nasir Khosrau ; p. 278 ; see also above, 22.

(3) For the Karis of the present time see W. Busse, *Bewässerung in Turan*, p. 321 foll. : Sven Hedin, *Zu Land nach Indien I.* 184 Grothe, *Wanderungen in Persien*, 1010, p. 105.

(4) *Mafatih al-'ulum*, p. 71.

by camels;¹ the Daliyah was a drawing machine moved by beasts, the Na'urah a water-wheel driven by a river,² and Dulab was the Persian name for the Greek *manganon*. The Na'urah appears not to have been in use west of Babylonia.³

The weirs were all wanting in solidity, being made of wood, even the famous weirs of Bukhara; on the other hand the civilized area of South Persia, Khuzistan, and Fars had the advantage of stone water-works. Below Tustar there was the dam which according to the legend King Sapor I., had made the captive Roman Emperor Valerian execute,⁴ according to the Arabs 1,000 yards long, according to Europeans 600 paces, which served to divert the Mashruqan Canal from the river Dujail. In the 4th/10th century one of the most famous irrigation works was that organized by Adad-ud-daulah on the river Kur in Fars. By a mighty dam, of which the foundations were filled up with lead, the water was raised into a lake. On both sides of the river he set up draw-wheels driven by the water; there were ten of these and under each was a mill. He thus irrigated 300 villages by the aid of pipes.⁵ These weirs had sluices; "at high water the sluice-gates were opened, and the roar of the rushing water for a great part of the year prevented people from sleeping. High water was in winter time, because it came from rains, not from glaciers."⁶ On the other hand in S. Arabia, where the object was to collect running water for use, they had pools (*masani*)⁷ bordered with pebbles; but further up the mountains (as in San'a) they had dams (*sadd*), with openings below; the water was distributed by means of canals. This method was such a speciality of S. Arabia that Ibn Rustah finds it necessary to explain the word.⁸ In Transoxiana for the construction of canals they possessed the ideal material, loess, which when moistened is as plastic as clay, whereas when dried in the sun it becomes as hard as stone; it is the yellow earth of the skilful Chinese peasants. Nevertheless the reports express astonishment at the wonderful conduits which the peasant

(1) Ya'qubi, Geogr. p. 313.

(2) Jauhari, s. v. *dlw*.

(3) Muq., pp. 411. 444.

(4) Tabari, I, 827; Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 33. Note 2.

(5) Muq., p. 444.

(6) Muq., p. 411: Abu-Dulaf in Yaqut I, 411, 412.

(7) Hamdani, p. 138.

(8) p. 112.

can fashion with his mattock (ketmen) and without the aid of any sort of level ; " their specialists (ustad=master) have a wonderful knack of detecting the slightest differences in gradient, which would completely escape the ordinary spectator."¹ What is remarkable about these constructions is that they have not here to deal with a plain as in Egypt and Babylonia, but with a hilly country, where it is harder to conduct the water. The different canal systems often lie in several storeys one above the other, and frequently cross each other. In such cases the upper canal is conducted over the lower on a wooden platform in open wooden channels. Locks (?) are unknown. Here there prevailed water-rights dating from extreme antiquity, with which the Muslims did not interfere, and with which the Russians have only tampered to their cost. The classical point of this form of agriculture is the valley of Ferghanah, in the latitude of South Italy, but continental, and hence of almost tropical heat. The greatest breadth of the valley is scarcely 100 kilometers, between mountains which rise to a height of from 4,000 to 7,000 metres, whose glaciers with their streams do the irrigation in summer. The meadows there are manured, and the fields watered, covered with mud, and at times even sprinkled with minerals. The water officials are elected by the peasants, and have a share in the harvest. The principle of irrigation is to divert the tributaries on both sides of the valley by dams, so that they do not reach the main river which flows in the middle. Here too as in Afghanistan the dams are intentionally made unsubstantial so that high water at once carries them away, and so automatically prevents inundation. The small canals are all constructed with easy gradients, and only as they approach the level of the valley do they become rapid, so that the torrent can be used by mills.² In the 4th/10th century there were in Transoxiana vineyards and ploughed lands which paid no land-tax, only the owners had to keep the weirs and the streams which flowed by their properties in order.³

The part of Afghanistan which is capable of cultivation coincides with the delta of the river Hilmand, which like the Jordan, and (with one exception) all the streams of Persia, has no outlet to the sea, but loses itself in vast

(1) W. Busse, *Bewässerungs wirtschaft in Turan*, p. 111.

(2) Von Schwarz, *Turkestan*, pp. 341 foll. : Busses, p. 32.

(3) Von Middendorf, *Mem. Acad. St. Petersburg* VII. Vol. 29.

(4) Ibn Hauqal, p. 371.

marshes. Like other streams which meander in sands this river has often changed its bed, and in consequence confronted the irrigators with special problems. Major Sykes found it in the beginning of April as broad as the Thames in London.¹ A series of canals was diverted from the river, and at the end there was a weir to prevent the water flowing into the lake. When in consequence of a thaw high water came, the flood water tore into the weir, and passed through it, doing no other damage.² Hence it might not be solid, and was probably constructed like the chief existing dam, the Bend-i-Seistan; some 1,000 workmen were employed, thin stakes of acacia were put close together, interwoven with brushwood, and covered over with rough fascines, while interstices were done over with clay.³

In the fourth century the Lower Nile had two dams, made of earth and reeds (Halfa); one near Heliopolis, the other, and the larger of the two, lower down near Sardos. The first was closed before the rising of the Nile, and turned the water on the fields. "At the Feast of the Cross, when the grapes had sweetened" the ruler of Egypt came out and ordered the weir to be dug through; the inhabitants closed up their ditches, so that the water should not flow back to their fields, and the whole bounty of the Nile was discharged northwards.⁴ The hydrometers had from the earliest times been of the following construction: the water was made to flow into a pond, and its elevation was read on a scale of yards and inches engraved on a stone. The most important was the hydrometer on the island Rodah near Cairo, where the officer in charge had to report daily to the government on the elevation of the water. If the water rose to 12 yards, a crier called out daily through the city: "God has caused the sacred Nile to rise to such and such a height; last year the rise was so much; God will complete it."⁵ Since the restoration of 247/861 there was a grating on the building, and on this the black curtain of the Caliph was let down when the water reached 16 yards.⁶ During the inundation Egypt was under water; communication in the

(1) *A travers la Perse orientale*, Hachette, 1907, p. 198.

(2) Istakhri, p. 244.

(3) Sykes, I. c.; Sven Hedin, *Zu Land nach Indien* II. 331.

(4) Muq., p. 206.

(5) Muq., I. c.

(6) Maqrizi, *Khitat*, II. 185.

villages was by boat.¹ People laid in provisions for these four months as for a siege, even baking bread in advance and drying it in the sun.²

Water-clocks, called in Persia *tarjeharah*, were everywhere in use ; there was a copper one in Biyar (in N. Iran) as in Arrajan (Persis),³ others in N. Africa. In an oasis of the Sahara the three natural water-courses were first divided each into six brooks, and from these the separate irrigation canals branched off, all being of the same dimensions, two spans broad, and one inch deep, constructed of stone. "Each person whose turn comes to irrigate takes a vessel (*qadas*, Latin *cadus*, jug) at the bottom of which there is an opening no wider than the string of the bow used in carding flax ; the vessel is filled with water, and hung up, and the man irrigates until the water has all run out of the vessel. A whole day's irrigation was the equivalent of 192 jugs, so that 8 jugs went to the hour. Payment was made once a year at the rate of one *mithqal* for 4 jugs.⁴

Only in Afghanistan had people to struggle with the shifts, and a special science arose to deal with them. The whole country there was sand, and the winds blew with tremendous force and persistence. Thus in the year 359/970 the chief mosque of the metropolis Zaranj was filled with sand, and the whole city was seriously endangered, till someone for a fee of 20,000 dirhams turned the wind in another direction. This was told Ibn Hauqal by a traveller who came from the country. He added the following details : when the people there wish to drive the sand away without forcing it into the neighbouring estates, they build a wall of wood and twigs, high enough to outtop the sand ; in the lower part of the wall they leave a door open. Through this the wind penetrates, and the sand flies high like the waves in a storm, and disappears beyond the range of vision to a place where it does them no harm.⁵

Agriculture, of which almost every village and valley had devised its special variety, was in the empire of the Caliphs of a very varied character at that time. In the district of Ardebil *e. g.*, (between Tabriz and the Caspian)

(1) Muq., I. c.

(2) Nasiri Khosrau, Transl. p. 118.

(3) Muq., p. 357 ; B.G. IV., p. 288.

(4) Bekri, ed. Slaune, p. 48. At the present time in Sus the time during which each family may irrigate is measured by the time it takes a perforated platter to get to the bottom of a large vessel containing water. (M. Zeys, Une Française au Marco, p. 78).

(5) Ibn Hauqal, p. 299.

eight oxen were used in ploughing, and each pair had a driver, not because the ground was particularly hard, but because it was frozen.¹ "On the other hand in the Persian locality Aberquh no oxen were used for ploughing, although they had great numbers in the region."² Manuring was everywhere carried out energetically, both with cows' and sheep's dung, but also with human excrement. The former was sold by the hamper in Babylonia;³ reference has been made above (§22) to the eagerness with which human manure was employed. In the neighbourhood of the Persian Siraf, in Kuran and Irahistan the palms had to be planted in so deep a hole that only the top projected above the ground. The water of the winter was retained in the depth and nourished the tree. Hence people used to ask the question: Where do palms grow in wells? The answer was: In Irahistan.⁴

The scarecrow was never known anywhere in the whole Muhammadan world any more than it is now. In Babylonia the Qarmatian children handed over to the communistic society the pay which they received for scaring the birds from the fields.⁵ In Turkestan at the present day "the natives try to protect their fields and gardens from birds by erecting in the middle of each field a pyramid of earth some two metres high, on which lads are posted, generally half naked or entirely so, whose duty it is to pass the whole day under the burning sun and scare the birds by shouting, beating tomtoms and old salvers, or throwing earthen balls. Since these living scarecrows in summertime are posted in every field and garden, often in pairs or trios, each lad trying to outdo the other, from morning to evening there is such an infernal din that it might drive one mad."⁶ For Morocco see the description of the painter Franz Buchser in his *Marokkanische Bilder*.⁷

In the 4th/10th century Babylonia was still a cattle-rearing country. The "Nabatæans" who lived there were ridiculed as "Cow-knights"; only with the increase of the marshes has the buffalo superseded the ox. This

- (1) Yaqut *Dict.* I. 86,
- (2) Abdellatif, *Relation*, p. 3.
- (3) Yaqut, *Irshad* V. 306.
- (4) Ibn al-Balkhi (about 500/1107); J. R. A. S. 1902, p. 329.
- (5) De Goeje, *Mem. sur les Carmathes*, p. 29.
- (6) Von Schwarz, *Turkestan*, p. 365.
- (7) Berlin, 1861, p. 66.

animal was brought by the Arabs from its Indian home, and under the Omayyads was made to migrate from Sind into the Babylonian marshes. The government went to the length of establishing 4,000 buffaloes at the North Syrian frontier, because the inhabitants complained of the damage done by lions, and the buffalo was supposed to be the mortal foe of the lion. In the 4th/10th century Mas'udi asserts that the mode of harnessing the buffalo in use at Antioch was the same as in India.¹ The Syrian Arabs brought this "domestic animal," which enjoys marshes, to Italy and Spain. In Babylonia in the 2nd/8th century people still ate beef, but afterwards this was discontinued,² and the animal was kept only for its milk.³ The meat was thought bad⁴ and was even regarded by physicians as poisonous; Razi recommends only sheep's milk and mutton.⁵ Ibn Rusteh recounts with surprise (about 300/912) that the inhabitants of Yaman prefer beef to fat mutton.⁶ Even now it is considered an insult in that country to offer beef even to a servant.⁷

Importation of beasts for slaughtering from a distance is mentioned only in the case of Egypt, where such beasts are said to have mainly come from Barqah.⁸

For the camel with one hump Arabia was always the best nursery. The dictionary of terms connected with the camel, as compiled by the philologists, shows with what disagreeable craftiness the smallest movement or instinct of this animal was utilized, altered, or suppressed for the benefit of man. Arabian subtlety has very largely been developed on the camel. For camels with two humps Balkh maintained the reputation of the ancient

(1) De Goeje, *Memoires* 3, p. 22 foll. In 270-883 Ahmed b. Tulun, ruler of Egypt and Syria, died of drinking too much buffalo's milk. (Abulfida, *Annals*, year 270). This milk was also to be had in Palestine in the 4th/10th century (Muq., p. 181).

(2) Muq., p. 116. The change was ascribed to Hajja, who is said to have forbidden the slaughter of cattle (Ibn Khordadbeh, *Bibl. Geogr.* VI, p. 15).

(3) Ibn Hauqal, p. 208.

(4) Abul Qasim ed. Mez. The Kirgis also are under the influence of the Arabian medicine: "Beef is not eaten at all by the wealthy Kirgis, and the poor dislike eating it. They assert that beef is indigestible, and in consequence very bad for the health; it occasions stomach-ache and headache." (Radloff, *Sibirien* II. p. 439).

(5) *Tibb al-fuqara* (Munich MS.) fol. 68.

(6) *Bibl. Geogr.* VII. 112.

(7) Glaser ap Jacob, *Altarabo. Beduinenleben*, p. 94.

(8) Bekri, ed. Slane, p. 5.

Baktra.¹ Still, for breeding, stallions were imported from Sind, called Falij, which were bigger than the ordinary Baktrian camel. "Only the wealthiest possessed such animals."² By crossing these two-humped stallions with Arab one-humped females they obtained the two-humped racing-camels called *bukhti*, and pacers (*jammazat*). These hybrids were incapable of interbreeding.³ Horses were bred in numerous places; Arabs and Persians had their own equine traditions and pedigrees. Blood horses came to Baghdad from Arabia, the others mainly from Mosul.⁴ The trade in horses between India and Arabia which is now so important is mentioned, so far as I know, first by Marco Polo, and indeed as the most considerable traffic between the two countries. In South India according to him each horse could be sold for 100 silver marks; every year 5,000 were imported, of which at the end of a year not as many as 300 survived. The Venetian writer supposes the reasons to be "that the climate of the country is unsuitable for the breed of horses, whence they are not reared in the country, and it is difficult to preserve them. They are given meat cooked with rice for food. A tall mare covered by a handsome stallion produces only an undersized foal of ugly shape, with crooked legs, and unfit for riding."⁵

In certain regions of N. Africa, such as Sijilmasa (Tafilelt) in accordance with pre-historic practice dogs were kept and fattened for slaughtering.⁶

Egypt had from ancient times been noted for its artificial poultry-farming, especially the ingenious incubators. The technique seems never to have been introduced into the other provinces; as late as the year 1200 the Baghdad physician Abdellalif describes it as one of the many specialities of Egypt.⁷

Doves were kept in dove-cotes to preserve them against snakes and other harmful things,⁸ owing to their valuable

(1) Istakhri, p. 280.

(2) Muq., p. 482; Jauhari, s. v. *flj*.

(3) Mas. III. 41. For the performances of the *jammazat* see § Trade.

(4) Muq., p. 145.

(5) Marco Polo, pp. 91. 454.

(6) Bekri, p. 148. See Marquardt, *Die Beninsammlung*, p. CLXVII, who derives thence the name of the Canary Islands.

(7) *Relation*, transl. De Sacy. p. 135 foll. In note 8 De Sacy has collected the earlier passages.

(8) *Geoponica* 18, 6.

manure ; they were not eaten. With regard to pisciculture the only notice that I have is that carp were caught in the lake of Tiberias which had been put into it from the Tigris at Wasit.*

* Muqadd., p. 162.

MU'JAMU'L-MUSANNIFIN & ITS AUTHOR

Two years ago, when only 2 volumes of this encyclopædic Arabic work were published, a Hyderabad visitor to Rome was asked by a learned orientalist of that European metropolis as to the identity of the author of this remarkable work who nowhere mentioned his name in the book or on its title page as is usual. The visitor replied that the author of the Mu'jamu'l-Musannifin was a learned Mulla with a huge orthodox beard but perhaps more shy than a *pardah*-observing bride of his country. The joke was much enjoyed by the learned company at Rome, but the following pages may be regarded as the serious sequence of the incident.

1. THE AUTHOR.

M. Mahmûd Hasan's native place is Tonk. His grandfather was a tutor of the Nawabs of (the now defunct) Najibabad State (Rohilkhand,) and died at the age of 45 when his son Ahmed Hasan Khan Zukai was merely a boy. After his father's death the boy left Najibabad and came to Tonk where he got through Arabic, studied and acquired practical experience in the Yunani medicine and secured mastery in the art of writing Persian calligraphy. At this time the Mutiny broke out as a consequence of which Najibabad was utterly ruined. Ahmed Hasan Khan made up his mind to settle permanently in Tonk. He tried to gain a livelihood and in this connection wrote a book called *Iklil-ul-Madaih* describing the gardens of Tonk State, which he submitted to the Nawab of Tonk. The Nawab in appreciation of the author's ability and merit appointed him as a Revenue Nâ'ib Nâzim (Deputy Collector) and subsequently promoted him for his good management to the post of Collector. He was, afterwards, made the Deputy Prime Minister of the State. He married in Tonk in a Rampur family, his father-in-law M. Muhammad Khân being a Qâzi of Rampur. He left five sons.

M. Mahmûd Hasan Khân was born about 1278 A.H. (1861 A.D.) After going through the usual course of the Qur'ân and elementary books of Urdu and Persian under the personal supervision of his father, he received his Arabic education from some learned private tutors, selected by his father for teaching his brothers and him. He then went with his elder brother, the late Muftî Muhammad Hasan Khan, to Rampur and finished the intermediate test of Muslim jurisprudence (*Fiqh*), commentary (*Tafsîr*), logic, philosophy and literature and, returning to Tonk, devoted himself to the study of the higher Nizâmî course.

He studied the prescribed books of literature under M. Abdul-Karîm and logic, philosophy and metaphysics under Ghaus Mohammed Khân of Kabul. He spent some years also with M. Imâmuddîn, the Qâzi of Tonk, and under his guidance studied *Hidayah* and *Tafsîr-i-Baizavi* and acquired practical experience in writing 'fatwas' and judicial work. Qâzi Imâmuddîn was a pupil of Shâh Ishâq and Muftî Sadruddîn. When Qârî Abdu'r-Rahmân of Panipat—also a pupil of Shâh Ishâq—arrived at Tonk, M. Mahmûd joined his lectures on Hadîth.

After finishing the Nizâm icourse, he went on pilgrimage in 1301 A.H. with his mother and his younger brother, M. Hyder Hasan Khan, a graduate of Nudwah. He availed himself of the opportunity to benefit by the lectures of the eminent scholars of Hijâz during his stay of six months in that country.

At this time Nawab Siddîq Hasan Khân of Bhopal had invited a great scholar of Hadîth, Shaikh Husain bin Muhsin, from Yemen, whose master was a pupil of the learned Shaukânî. All lovers of Islamic learning in India were rejoiced, and scholars of Hadîth flocked in hundreds to Bhopal to hear the illuminating lectures of the learned Shaikh. M. Mahmûd also went to Bhopal. The Shaikh was much pleased with him and entertained him as his special guest for one year. M. Mahmûd helped the Shaikh in the writing of 'fatwas' and other work, and gained much himself in mastering the various branches of Islamic literature.

Sâhibzâda Abdu'r-Rahîm Khân, son of the Nawab Mohd. 'Ali Khân of Tonk was a great patron of learning and had endowed the library of his grandfather for the use of the public. The library still exists in Tonk and, besides modern publications, contains a number of valuable rare Arabic and Persian manuscripts.

The Sâhibzâda knew the Maulâna and his ancestral connections ; hence, from among the learned men of Tonk, he selected him to be the Curator of the State Library. In this way M. Mahmûd got a very good opportunity for research work and compiled some short monographs of considerable importance. At this time also he was entrusted with the revision of *fatwas* and judgments issued by the *Dar ul-Qaza* (Religious Court) of the State. In spite of these multifarious duties he continued his scholarly life and wrote several pamphlets beside the following three books :—

1. Kitâbu'l-Awâ'il. Much appreciated by Nawab Sadr Yâr Jung Bahâdur who borrowed it for his own library.

2. Sharh-i-Abû Dâ'ûd. This is not only a commentary of Abû Dâ'ûd but is also, owing to its copious material, a detailed review of the well-known Sihâh-i-Sittah, or the six most authentic collections of traditions. It is regretted the Maulâna was unable to complete this book.

3. Mu'jamu'l-Musannifîn. This is his most remarkable work, and it is now being published under the auspices of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government. The work is such that not only the learned compiler but also the world of Islam may be proud of it. It deals with Islamic authors from the very beginning of Islam. The Maulâna has amassed the material for this work from the distant libraries of Syria, Egypt and Arabia. He is now living in Hyderabad, devoting all his time and energy to the task of completing this great work in his life-time.

2. MU'JAMU'L-MUSANNIFIN.

The idea of writing Mu'jamu'l-Musannifîn, as the author always takes pleasure in repeating, was first conceived by him when carrying out the instruction of his teacher, who insisted that no book could be adequately understood, unless the life of its author, as well as his other works, if any, were studied so far as available. This theory, the author of the Mu'jam asserts, first led him to jot down biographical notes on every author whom he came across in his desultory reading. In a short time brief biographies of many renowned authors were collected. The work was interrupted for some time but taken up again with fresh energy, as soon as the author found himself a little free from economic anxieties.

It may be interesting briefly to recount here that the first regular collection of biography of Muslim or rather Arabic authors was written by the historian Ahmed bin Tambur of Baghdâd in the 3rd century A.H. Abûl-Hasan 'Alî bin Anjab of Baghdâd compiled a more comprehensive work in six volumes, but unfortunately both these early works are lost to us. The numerous other books that followed and have escaped the ravages of time happen to be limited in scope : that is, they either specify a certain subject, a country or a particular century of whose authors they treat. Thus there are biographies of philosophers, of commentators, of poets, of seventh century authors, of eighth century authors, of men of letters of Egypt, of Syria and so on, and yet no work comprehending the lives of Muslim authors in general was produced ; and this deficiency the learned compiler of the Mu'jamu'l-Musannifin has now undertaken to repair. He has laboriously collected an enormous mass of material for his great biographical encyclopædia of the world of Islam, which aims at dealing with practically every known author from the first up to the last century of the Hijra era. Apart from its huge scope, a very important and praiseworthy feature of M. Mahmûd Hasan Khân's work seems to be the critical collection of the biographies from all available sources, and his success in correcting serious errors that had crept into the earlier collections of a similar category. As an outstanding instance of the incongruities with which our learned author had to deal, I may mention the case of the celebrated Kashfu'z-Zunûn which was found to contain notices of authors who thrived at a later period than Hâjji Khalifah (d. 1067 H.) the author of Kashfu'z-Zunûn. Many editions of this valuable work of reference have been published in Egypt, Stambûl, Germany and elsewhere, but no editor or printer took the trouble to explain this evident discrepancy. Likewise, errors committed by the original copyist have been maintained in all the later prints. For example, in one place, the well-known writer Tahâvi is described as the author of three books which were really written by Shaikh Sharfuddîn Yamani, and probably it was on this ground that Maulâna Shiblî fell into the same error.

These discrepancies of Kashfu'z-Zunûn, unsolved before, have been explained in the Mu'jam. Following are some other interesting instances of confusion which the learned author of the Mu'jam has been able to clarify :—

1. Yâqût in his 'Mû'jamu'l-Udabâ' has imagined Abû Sa'îd bin Khâlid Az-Zarîr of Baghdad (who died in

217 A.H.) and Abû Muawiya-Az-Zarîr to be one and the same person and has quoted Ahmad bin Fâris as his authority. Ahmad bin Fâris, however, did not write any such thing, and Abû Muawiya-Az-Zarîr was really one of the teachers of Ahmad bin Hanbal. He died in 195 A.H. and his name was Muhammad bin Kâzim, with the above *kunyah* which seems to have misled Yâqût.

2. Ibn un-Nadîm has twice mentioned the name of Abû Hatam Râzî (died 322 H.). In his 5th *Maqalah* he mentions Abû Hatam under Abû Hatam Râzî, ascribing *Az-Zinath* and *Al-Jameh* as his works while in another place in the same book he notices the same author under the article Abû Hamdân whom he believes to be the author of *Falsefatu's-Sabi'a*. As a matter of fact Abû Hatam and Abû Hamdân are not two separate authors, as is proved from a book called 'Ismaili Authors' which deals with authors of that sect and in which the works mentioned above are ascribed to Abû Hatam Ahmad bin Hamdân Ar-Râzî. A perusal of *Az-Zinath* also shows that Abû Hatam Râzî Ibn Hamdân Isma'îlî are one and the same person.

3. Ibn Hazm assures us that *Sharh-i-Muwatta* and *Rijal-i-Muwatta* are the work of Ibrâhîm bin Muzain-ul-Maliki-al-Andalûsi, whereas Yahya bin Muzain wrote these books. This error has been discussed in the *Mu'jam* at full length.

4. Ibrâhîm bin Muhammad and Ibrâhîm bin Yûsuf *alias* Hanbalizâda were two contemporary authors of Halab (Aleppo). *Multaq-ul-Amjur* was written by the former who died in Constantinople in 956 H. The latter wrote *Masabih-i-Arbab-ur-Riyasat* and died in Halab in 959 A.H. Nawab Siddîq Hasan Khân of Bhopal, however, mentions Ibrâhîm bin Muhammad under the article 'Ibnu'l-Hanbali' in his *Taj-ul-Mukallal*, while the author of *Iktifa* has assigned the *Masabih* to Ibrâhîm bin Muhammad, whereas Ibnu'l-Hanbali is the author. This has been discussed in the fourth volume of the *Mu'jam*, which is already published.

5. Ahmad bin 'Alî is an author whose native place is Fâs (Fez) in the West. His date of death is 925 A.H. The author of *Khulasat-ul-Athar fi'l Qarni'l-Hadi 'Ashar* (biographies of men of letters of the 11th century) has included Ahmad bin 'Alî in his book, giving his date of death as 1032 A.H.

6. The author of *Ijaz-ul-Quran* is the renowned scholar Abû Bakar Muhammad bin At-Tayyib Baqalânî.

The German orientalist Harcoman has, however, mentioned him in his *History of Arabic Literature* as Abû Bakar Ahmad bin 'Alî bin At-Tayyib.

7. Ahmad bin Muhammad is a great author of Islamic jurisprudence in the 6th century. The patronymic appellation of this author's father is Abû'l Mu'ayyad. Hence some biographers have recorded him under the name of Ahmad bin Abî'l-Mu'ayyad. The author of "Tabaqât-i-Hanafiah" notices Ahmed bin Muhammad and Ahmad bin Abû'l Mu'ayyad as two separate authors whereas they are one.

8. Mistakes have been often committed where the name as well as the *kunyah* of two authors happen to correspond. For instance, Abû Ja'far Muhammad bin Jarîr-at-Tibri is a leading author of the 3rd century A.H. whose works of Commentation, Tradition and History are well-known and much appreciated. But there is another Shî'ite author of the same name and *kunyah* and also a contemporary of the former, and this singular similarity has become a source of error to leading biographers, including Sulaimânî, who describe the first author as an orthodox Shî'ite.

In short, there are many such discrepancies which the *Mu'jam* corrects and explains. The learned author's great researches led him to undertake extensive travels in Islamic countries to collect material for his great work. Although these scholarly expeditions were restricted by his rather slender means yet he was able to visit nearly all the great cities and important libraries in Arabia, Syria and Egypt.

Four volumes of the *Mu'jamu'l Musannifin* have been so far excellently printed by a Beyrût Press and published from Hyderabad, the first of these being an introduction that deals with the different branches of arts and sciences to which Islamic authors contributed. The second volume had to be reserved for the four great Imâms of Islamic jurisprudence and their works. It is from the third volume that the biographies regularly begin in alphabetical order and so far 400 articles (of the first letter Alif) have been dealt with in the third and fourth volumes. 1,800 articles of the name of 'Ahmad' alone, are now being finally revised and should shortly appear in the three or four next volumes. Altogether the work is expected to contain about 70 volumes, besides the indices requiring some 4 volumes more.

The great work is sure to receive recognition from all lovers of oriental learning. And, before concluding, I may take the liberty of quoting the views of two well-known authorities on the subject.

(1) In a letter to the Ishâ'atul-Ulûm office, under whose auspices the Mu'jam is being published, Dr. Krenkow, then professor at the Muslim University, Aligarh, wrote :

"The volumes (2 to 4), received, surpass my expectations and I must congratulate you and the author upon the way the work is done. It will be of the greatest value to all students of Islamic literature, because the author has included also Persian and Turkish scholars, at least as far as they are mentioned in the Kashfu'z-zunun."

(2) The following is a free translation of Maulâna Syed Sulaimân Nadvî's review that appeared in the *M'arif* of August 1929.

"The author of this series is Maulana Mahmûd Hasan Khan of Tonk, a great scholar and traditionist. The Maulâna's age is about 70. He has mixed in the society of old teachers and is himself a relic of old times. In the pursuit of acquiring knowledge of rare books he has visited not only those cities of India which contain good libraries but also travelled in the distant lands of al-Hijâz, Egypt and Syria, collecting material for his Mu'jamu'l-Musannifîn from various authentic sources. Altogether, the author has spent at least 30 years on his great work, which is expected to comprise about 25 volumes.*

"A perusal of this book shows what wonderful service the Muslims were able to render to the world of learning during their time of glory. For one thing, all the nations of the world put together cannot surpass their achievement in preserving their history and biography. The arrangement of the book is in alphabetical order. The task of the author may be guessed from the fact that the names given under the articles Ahmad and Ibrahim should not be less than a thousand each. Is there a people to-day which can enumerate a thousand Jameses or a thousand B's or C's. But the two outstanding features of the Mu'jam may be mentioned as (1) the abundance of authors in Islam and (2) the preservation of their names, genealogies and careers. A no less wonderful thing, perhaps, is the success of an Indian scholar in collecting the biographies of all these authors in so many bulky volumes as a result of 30 years' patient labour and research.

"The book is in Arabic as it ought to be; but the language is simple, clear and fluent. The style recalls the easy grace of the classical writers. Special arrangements have been made with regard to its printing and the Maulâna himself went to Beyrût to get it done there. The publication of such an enormous and bulky work in Arabic was not an easy matter but the Majlis (Ishâ'atu'l-'Ulûm) undertook to print the book under its auspices and saved the author from another tedious task of finding out a publisher.

"The book is being printed in Beyrût type on good paper. So far four volumes have been published. The first contains the Introduction in which the history of the progress of each art and science in the Arabic language is given separately. The author has taken most of the material from the *Kashfu'z-Zunûn* but the important thing is that he has corrected by his own research and investigation the errors of the *Kashf*.

"The second volume deals with the lives of the four Imams, (1) Imam Abû Hanîfah, (2) Imam Malik, (3) Imâm Shâfi, (4) Imâm Ahmad bin Hanbal. The author has elaborately described the details of the lives of the Imâms, particularly Imâm Abû Hanîfah. He has also given a list of their masters in Traditions according to the alphabetical order with another long list of the scholars of the Imâm. This must have entailed great labour in the investigation of the names. The teachers and scholars of other Imâms are also given. The third volume contains seven names pertaining to Adam and six names pertaining to Aban and after Aban comes the name of Ibrâhîm spreading over a list of seven pages in the third volume and seven more pages in the fourth volume. Probably the authors of the name of Ibrâhîm cover the third and fourth volumes and Ahmad will begin the fifth.

"It will be evident from this description that the work is a great source of knowledge and may be said to comprise an encyclopædia of the biographies of Islamic authors. It is, however, necessary that scholars, patrons of learning, public and national libraries, Arabic schools, English Colleges and Universities should purchase this series as it will shortly become an important work of reference. This will give the Majlis an opportunity to undertake other similar works, otherwise the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam can hardly be expected to continue their laudable patronage of oriental learning, unappreciated."

SYED HASHIMI,
(*Faridabadi.*)

THE HOME AND LIFE IN PERSIA

(Continued from our last issue.)

HOME pastimes and recreations are limited to chess (*shatranj*), among the intellectual classes, backgammon (*takhta-nard*), which is the favourite game amongst all classes of the Persian population, and cards (European) *ganjifa*, which latter is considered by the better classes as a disreputable occupation. The fact is, that cheating (*taqallub*) at cards is considered in Persia as part of the knowledge of the rules of the game, but is still felt as sharp practice as in other countries, and that is the reason why the game which gives opportunity to trickery is condemned as something improper.

A less accessible, but nevertheless favourite, amusement of all Persians is looking at dancers (*raqqas*), male and female. A whole company of them has to be invited to one's own house, which makes the entertainment somewhat expensive. There are, to my knowledge no mixed companies where men and women would act together. A company, whether male or female, comprises also, always, an orchestra, which consists of three musical instruments at least : the *tar*, which is a stringed instrument the size of a European guitar ; the *sitar*, which might be compared with the mandolin (although it is somewhat more slender than the latter) both as regards its shape and the way of playing it by means of a plectrum (*mizrab*) ; *tumbak*—a kind of small drum. The company bring with them several large trunks filled with all kinds of sumptuous costumes which enable them to enact whole small plays, mostly of humorous, less often of obscene, contents, where the comical parts are those of a negro and of an Azarbay-jâni Turk. The dances of female dancers differ very little from the choreographic exercises of their male colleagues. From our standpoint they are more akin to acrobatics than to real dancing. More like dancing are certain obscene movements of the dancers which occupy a prominent place in Persian choreography, all the rest, however,

as, for instance, turning somersaults with lighted candles in both hands without letting them go out, can in no way be called dancing. A very curious turn, in which an extreme development of facial muscles is displayed, is the following: the dancer is standing motionless holding two candles, the light of which falls fully on his face, and lifts alternately his right and left upper eyelids keeping time with the orchestra. This "dance of the eyes" is probably the most difficult of all that is performed by Persian dancers. It may be mentioned, that both music and dancing are considered among Persians, as generally in Islamic countries, as an extremely frivolous pastime. No man of any standing could think of indulging in dancing; nay, even playing a musical instrument is considered a very undignified occupation. The dancers themselves, as well as the musicians of the orchestra, are very often Jews, although I have met Muhammadans as well among these artists. Dances are naturally always accompanied by music and singing, and the songs (*tasnif*) are mostly composed by the musicians (*mutrib* or *tarzan*) and often have a bearing on some contemporary events.

Of street entertainments we may mention here the conjurors, the bear-leaders and snake-charmers.

Watching a conjuror (*shu'bada-baz* or *huqqa-baz*) is the favourite entertainment with the Persian "man in the street." Not that these conjuring tricks are in themselves of any extraordinary interest; they are mostly of a very simple and ordinary kind, and it is in reality not the tricks that never fail to attract a crowd around such a street conjuror, but his witty sayings and jokes. Every trick begins by the conjuror solemnly declaring that all his tricks are based on sleight of hand, and that he has nothing to do with hypnotism (*chashm-bandi*) or other such like black arts. He further pronounces curses on the hypnotizers (*bar chashm-band la'nat*), in which the crowd of spectators joins him in a chorus.

Bear-leaders, dragging about the poor beast on a chain attached to a ring passed through its nose, were in former days—that is when I first visited Persia some 25 years ago—very often seen in the streets of Tehran. They have become more rare at present. That profession is mostly represented by natives of Khunsâr (to the N.W. of Isfahan). The favourite turn is the wrestling-bout of the leader with the bear (*ba khirs khusti giriftan*). Formerly, when the street dogs were still very numerous in Tehran, one was always warned of the coming of the bears with their

leaders by the furious barking of the dogs, who, otherwise, never barked in daytime. Sometimes several bear-leaders with their animals form a company, one of the members of which may have with him, instead of a bear, a monkey (mostly a baboon '*antar*').

The snake-charmers (*darvish-i mar*) do not show any extraordinary tricks beyond letting a small python or two, which they carry about in a box or a bag, coil themselves around their bodies. They also show fights between a scorpion (*'aqrab*) and a solpuga (*rutayl*, vulg. also *lutayn*, *solifuga arachnoides*), in which the scorpion mostly gets the worst of it. A brass-tray on the circumference of which a wall of burning coals is erected, serves to stage the fight, so that the poisonous actors cannot run away. The composure with which a *darvish-i mar* handles the dangerous arachnoids, lifting the scorpion with two fingers by its very sting is remarkable. I have been told, however, that all these men are inveterate opium-smokers, opium acting as a preventive should they be stung by their poisonous pets.

Another entertainment, which contains elements both of sport and of gambling, is ram-fighting. Specially trained rams (*quch*) can be often seen in the streets being taken out for a walk by their owners. A broad leather collar and a strong chain on which they are led, show that the ram is a fighting one. The fights take place, in spring and in autumn, and heavy betting goes on amongst the owners of the rams and the spectators. Keen sportsmen who can boast of a strong constitution often lay a wager with the owner of one of the rams that they are able to stand so many buttings from the ram. Should the bet be accepted, the man stands as if playing leap-frog, *i.e.* turning his back to the ram, he lowers his head as much as possible and leans firmly with both hands on the knee of his left leg, which is placed somewhat forward. The ram is let loose and butts at a run at the soft parts of the man's back. The man wins, if he remains standing after a certain number of buttings.

In some cities of Gilan, as, for instance, in Resht, there exist bull-fights, which naturally have nothing to do with tauromachy as understood in Spain, but are fights between two bulls goring at each other.

Cock-fights (*khurus-bazi*) are also an ordinary sport involving much betting, but do not represent in themselves anything particular for Persia, being widely spread

all over the world. One thing may be mentioned, namely that it is a sport favoured chiefly by the lower and poorer classes (like also the above-described ram-fights), and that not seldom a poor workman stakes the whole of his monthly income on a cock or a ram.

Hunting, however, is the sport indulged in by the great ones, more seldom by people belonging to the middle class. Hunting is chiefly limited to runs with greyhounds (*sag-i tazi*). Falconry is becoming almost extinct: only the Shah and a few grandes keep falcons (*baz* or *qush*) and the number of birds kept by a single owner rarely exceeds a dozen.

The Persian greyhound has short hair and is extremely light-footed: I have been told that he is able to show at the chase a speed of about 7 *farsakh* (about 25 miles) an hour. He resembles very much the English greyhound, but is of a somewhat sturdier build than the latter. They are chiefly used for chasing the gazelle (*ahu*), when relays of hounds, a leash every 3-4 miles, are placed on a circular line of about 30 miles, which is the average loop made by a gazelle when chased. This kind of chase becomes easier in winter, if there should be much snow, by which the gazelle is very much hampered, and which does not very much affect the pace of the hounds. Less often greyhounds are used for hunting the hare (which is unlawful for food).

Falcons (sometimes also eagles) are also trained to hunt the gazelle, which is first chased by hounds so as to tire it, and caught by the falcon only towards the end of the chase. Otherwise, falcons are chiefly used for hunting quails, partridges and the like.

Riding can hardly be considered as a kind of amusement in Persia, where it plays the rôle of one of the commonest modes of locomotion. The horses belong chiefly to certain local hill breeds or are of foreign origin. In the latter group we find in the first instance the very enduring, tall (16-17 hands), broad-boned, lean Turkoman horses, which somewhat remind one of the English racehorse in general appearance. In former years certain breeds of Caucasian horses, like the Qarabagh, used also to be imported.

Strictly speaking, there are very few good horsemen among the Persians themselves; a good horseman, on inquiry, proves mostly to be a Kurd, a Bakhtiyari or a Turk. With the settled part of the Persian population

only stallions are used for riding, whereas the nomads (Kurds, Bakhtiaris, etc.) ride mostly mares. The castration of horses is practically unknown, and a gelding (*asp-i-akhta*) can be met with only as a rare exception. Of the paces the most common are : a kind of quick walk ; a kind of dog-canter (*char-na'l*), and gallop (*ba-daw raftan* or *ba-takht raftan*). Trotting (*yurtma raftan*) is very little current. The fatter the horse, the more valued and the more highly prized it is. Horses in Persia are fed on barley (*jav*), which is soaked a little in water to make it softer and easier to be chewed and assimilated by the horse, and chopped straw (*kah*), which is the chief food of the Persian horse and is generally mixed in certain proportions with dry lucern (*yunja*). For a fortnight in spring horses are generally put to grass and given a great deal of rest, when cantering and galloping are altogether avoided, under the pretence that grass-diet weakens the legs of the horse, which at that time must not be overstrained.

The sudden and rapidly increasing introduction of motor-cars on a large scale during the last ten years plying between cities and used for local locomotion, and the recent inauguration of a regular air-service threaten, however, to make the horse in Persia an obsolescent species, as it has already become in Europe.

The Persian horse-shoe somewhat differs in shape from the kind used in Europe : each horse-shoe is made of a piece of very thick sheet-iron, cut and bent in such a way that the front part of the horse-shoe is more than twice as wide (about 2 ins.) as each of the two ends (about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch). The Persian horse-shoe has no calks, and is fastened with six nails, three on each side. Its chief advantage is its lightness (it is always less heavy than the lightest horse-shoe of the European pattern). Further, it almost altogether covers the hoof so as to protect it against the sharp stones which cover almost all the roads in Persia. This type of horse-shoe is very little lasting, so that horses have to be shod about twice a month.

As regards the Persian horse-trappings, though they look somewhat cumbrous, they are nevertheless very commodious. The Persian saddle (*zin*) is very comfortable. It has one high saddle-bow in front, mostly made of ivory and inlaid with silver. The saddle consists of a wooden frame covered not with leather, but with a kind of coarse woollen cloth. The stirrups (*rikab*) are made of a piece of thick sheet-iron some 6 inches wide. They partly cover the foot of the rider and serve at the same time as

spurs, the back part of the stirrup having the shape of an elongated and sharp spike (*nish-i-rikab*). Ordinary spurs of the European pattern (*mihmiz*) are used only in the army. Stirrups of the European kind can be seen only attached to donkey-saddles (*palan*), which have the shape of an oval mattress covering the whole length of the back of the donkey.

Along with all the above enumerated amusements, we may as well mention the public baths (*hammam*) which, though obviously meant for purposes of cleanliness, offer also the opportunity of passing time in a pleasant way, as the public baths fill the rôle of a social club where all kinds of topics of the day are discussed and tea and cooling drinks absorbed in great quantities and *qalyans* smoked for hours at a stretch. The bathing procedure amongst Persians is besides far more complicated than in similar establishments in other countries, comprising not only the washing of the body, but also the removal of superfluous hair, dyeing of the hair on the head and of the beard, of the palms of the hands, of the soles of the feet and of the nails. The hair is also cut, or the head shaved, the beard trimmed and so on, so that altogether a Persian stays at the baths four hours at least, a Persian lady very often even longer, as the baths are for the latter practically the only place for social intercourse where every kind of news can be heard.

A few steps lead downwards into the premises. The first room serves for undressing, and every visitor receives here a red, blue-striped sheet (*lung* or *futa*) to cover the middle part of the body. On entering the second room, the visitor lies down on the stone floor and the bather begins to pour hot water over his body taking the same from the hot water reservoir (*khazana*) which occupies the middle of the room. After some time, when the body has been sufficiently warmed, superfluous hair is removed from the body. For this purpose a special depilatory paste (*vajibi* or *nura*) is applied to the hairy parts, which consists of a mixture of sulphur and quicklime, the consistency and colour of fresh cow-dung, and with a rather unpleasant smell. After a few minutes, the moment it begins to dry and form a crust, it is washed away with lukewarm water together with the hairs which detach themselves quite imperceptibly. Then the head and the beard are covered with a paste of a yellow-reddish dyeing matter made of the dried leaves of the plant *lawsonia inermis* (*sar-u-rish hinna basta mishavad*), which communi-

cates to the hair a fiery red colour. Should it be desired to have the hair and beard dyed black, a further application of indigo does it. The dyeing of the hair and beard is the most complicated of all the bath-procedures and takes about one hour. In the same way the palms of the hands, the soles of the feet and the nails both on one's fingers and toes are dyed with *hinna*, which is very pleasant during the hot season, as it prevents the palms of the hands and the soles from perspiring, and keeps the nails, which are apt to become brittle owing to the dry hot air of the Persian summer, soft and supple. Before, however, attending to the hands and feet, the body is again warmed by pouring bucketfuls of hot water over it, and the soles are rubbed over with a piece of pumice-stone (*sang-i pa*). Then a thorough rub-down is given to the body, after which a thick layer of soap is applied by means of a horse-hair bag (*kisa*), the soap is finally washed off with hot water, the visitor enters for a short time the bath-tank, and is then wrapped up in two dry sheets of the same description as the one originally put on (*lung*), of which one is wound around the hips and the other around the shoulders. A rest is then taken reclining in the dressing-room. Very often, of course only in summer, one can see people running out from the baths to fetch some sweets or some drink in a shop near-by, dressed only in these two sheets.

The chief entertainment of a public character are fireworks (*atash-bazi*), which in former years at least, used to be organized in the Persian capital (probably also all over Persia) not less than twenty times a year on various occasions. It may be mentioned here that pyrotechnics have reached a fairly high degree of development in Persia, and one sees there a great variety of fireworks : peacocks slowly expanding their fiery tails alternate with incandescent cyclists pedalling forwards and backwards on a tight rope ; the deafening crepitation of rockets (*fishfishak*) fills the air. On the top of the Imperial palace, which is all ablaze with illumination, the words *zinda bad Shahinshah-i Iran* ("long live the King of Kings of Persia") can be seen written in letters of fire. Soldiers are running about in the small square adjoining the palace, having stuck in their belts small Roman candles vomiting fire. It sometimes happens that such a living torch catches fire, but as the fireworks are generally arranged around some big shallow tank, the man jumps into the water and the mischief is soon settled.

It is only natural that in a country where polygamy is thought to be prevalent, marriage feasts should be frequent and celebrated with great pomp, thus taking one of the first places amongst the various kinds of amusements. Although that is not quite the case, as marriages do not occur more often than elsewhere, nevertheless a wedding gives rise to prolonged and elaborate celebrations, mostly comprising some of the already described entertainments (such as musicians, dancers, comic performances, fireworks etc.). The question is a vast one and could well serve as the subject of a special monograph. I shall therefore limit myself to a cursory review of its legal side and then give a brief outline of the ritual side of the question.

Matrimony is usually known under the Arabic term *nikah*, the marriage-feast is called by the Persian name *shadi* (lit. "Merry-making").

From the point of view of the Islamic religion the state of matrimony is obligatory for every Muslim, which can be seen from the 3rd verse, Chapter IV of the Quran, where it is said : "*Of women who seem good in your eyes, marry two, or three, or four ; and if ye still fear that ye shall not act equitably, then one only ; or the slaves whom ye have acquired.*"

As regards the traditions enjoining matrimony and condemning celibacy, they are extremely numerous and we shall quote here only three of the more essential traditions as given in the *Jami'-i 'Abbasi* (p. 235, Tabriz edition of 1322 A.H.).

(1) There is nothing better for a believer after having embraced Islam than a good wife : when he looks at her he rejoices, and when he is absent, she guards his honour and his property.

(2) Two *rak'ats* of prayer performed by a married man are better than seventy *rak'ats* performed by a bachelor.

(3) The worst of the believers are those who die bachelors.

We see thus that from the point of view of the Islamic religion matrimony is considered to be a religious duty.

According to Shi'a theologians, matrimony can be of five kinds as regards the man and of five kinds as regards the woman :

(1) Matrimony is obligatory (*vajib*), when a man without it might risk committing adultery.

(2) Matrimony is prescribed (*sunnat*), when there is no such risk, but the man is capable of defraying the expenses connected with the marriage (*nafaqa*) and can afford to pay the settlement on the wife (*mahr*).

(3) Matrimony is prohibited (*haram*), if the man already possesses four wives (*zan-i azad*) and two concubines (*kaniz*) ; similarly prohibited is the marriage between a Muslim woman and an unbeliever (*kafir*) or a Sunni.

(4) Matrimony is undesirable (*makruh*), although only in the opinion of certain Mujtahids, in absence of desires of the flesh and of means to defray the expenses connected therewith.

(5) Matrimony is only permissible (*mubah*) in the absence of the four first conditions.

The five rules for a woman are :

(1) Matrimony is obligatory for a free woman or a slave-woman, when there is danger of her committing fornication.

(2) Preferable is the marriage between relatives (mostly cousins) in order to strengthen the ties of parentage.

(3) Prohibited is matrimony for women who are suckling a child ; for infidel women who do not belong to "the People of the Book" (*ahl-kitab*) with a believer ; also for women belonging to "the People of the Book" with a believer, except temporary marriage ; finally, marriage with a near relative (son, brother, etc.).

(4) Undesirable is matrimony for insane and barren women.

(5) Only permissible is matrimony in cases not covered by the above rules.

Three categories of matrimony are distinguished. Only the union between a free man and a free woman, whereat the surviving party inherits the property of the deceased, which, according to Islamic law, belongs to the first of these three categories, can be called matrimony at all from the Western point of view. Such a matrimonial union is known amongst Persians as "permanent" (*nikah-i da'imi*). Temporary marriage (*nikah-i mut'a*) is also concluded between a free man and a free woman, but does not comprise inheritance. To the third, finally, belong connubial relations with a slave-woman, whether one's own, or belonging to somebody else.

As regards marriage of the first category, we may mention that there is no established ritual for the same in Islamic law, only the mutual consent of the two legally capable persons entering wedlock is required to be expressed in the presence of witnesses, the latter, however, according to the Shi'a law, can be dispensed with. The different regulations on which the legality of the marriage is dependent are so many, so detailed and most of them of such a special character, that it would be impossible to enumerate them in this brief sketch. It may, nevertheless, be mentioned here, that these rules are sixty-nine in all, of which one is obligatory (*vajib*), namely, the consent to be given by the parents of the girl to the demand in marriage by a Muslim, answering the necessary qualifications, as already enumerated; thirty-four things are prescribed (*sunnat*); eight things prohibited (*haram*), and twenty-six things are undesirable (*makruh*).

A specifically Shi'a institution is the temporary marriage, the admissibility of which is denied by Sunni theologians.

It is preferable in this case as well that the woman should be a Muslim, anyhow not a heathen. It is undesirable that she should be avowedly a fornicatress; also, if she is a virgin, that she should not have the permission of her parents for entering upon such a kind of matrimony. Essential for this category of marriages is the establishment of the period for which it is being concluded, because according to some Mujtahids, if the duration of this marriage is not fixed, the marriage becomes null and void. According to others, however, it must be then considered as a marriage of the first category, *i.e.* as permanent. The exact amount of the dowry (*mahr*), which cannot be less than one *dirham* of silver, must be also fixed, without which the marriage is null, whereas in the case of "permanent" marriage the omission of this point cannot invalidate the legality of the marriage. Whenever the woman happens to be an infidel, she is bound over to abstain from pork, wine, etc., for the duration of the union. As regards the number of wives of this category, there are contradictory opinions, the more prevalent view being, however, that, similarly to the first category of marriages, the number of temporary wives also must not exceed four. Children from such marriages belong to the father. Should he, nevertheless, not recognize the child as his own, the law is on his side. At the expiration of the period fixed for such a temporary marriage, the action of the contract

ceases automatically, without necessitating any further formalities.

Let us now review the ceremonial side of a Persian marriage, *i.e.* the practices that precede and accompany the conclusion of the marriage contract. The preliminary negotiations are mostly conducted by the bridegroom through some old woman who acts as go-between and who arranges the whole matter. Sometimes the young people are enabled to meet for a few moments with the tacit consent of the parents of the girl. After the conclusion of the marriage contract, the delays for the transmission of the settlement-monies (Arab. *mahr*), of the dowry and of the bride herself are fixed. The settlement can consist either of money in cash, or of various movables, mostly, however, of both. The dowry of the bride is brought into the house of the bridegroom with great pomp, and consists mostly of her dresses and the like. Finally comes the day on which the bride comes over to the house of her husband. Most of the preparations for that solemn event, both on the side of the bride and on the bridegroom, are made in public baths, where the bathing procedure and all the entertainments, connected with it, are of longer duration than usual and are conducted with greater ostentation. The dressing up of the bridegroom and the bride for the occasion takes place in their respective homes. It is generally towards sunset that the bridegroom's best men and bride's-maids arrive at the house of the bride to take her to her new home. The parents of the bride receive them with the usual refreshments of sweets, tea, cold drinks and *qalyans*. The quality of the refreshments offered is that customary for an ordinary visit but the quantities are disproportionately great. Ladies naturally are entertained in the *andarun*, whilst the men are treated in the *birun*. Finally, the bride, who is actually weeping or pretending to do so, is placed on horseback and taken to the house of her husband with great rejoicings and music. On the arrival there, the bride is brought in front of the bridegroom, their hands are joined, a few drops of water are sprinkled on their joined hands and the young couple are left in the nuptial chamber, whilst the relatives and guests adjourn to the outer and inner parts of the house, according to sex, and the marriage feast begins in reality. It does not in any particular differ from any other kind of ordinary entertainment, except for its duration: a marriage goes on sometimes for several days or even for a week as is theoretically

the custom. Many of the above described entertainments of music, singing, dancing, performances, fireworks, etc., enliven the rejoicings.

The birth of a child gives rise to rejoicings of a quieter kind. Congratulations are offered to the parents, and the visitors are received with the usual Persian hospitality. It is only natural in a Muslim country that by far greater importance should be attached to the birth of male offspring, whereas the birth of a girl is practically a disappointment to both of the parents.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the thirty regulations concerning the things to be done or avoided at the birth of a child in the same order as they are given by Shi'a theologians under the rubrics of things obligatory (*vajib*), prescribed (*sunnat*), and undesirable (*makruh*) (see for this, for instance, *Jami'-i 'Abbasi*, pp. 274-276). I may try, however, to describe these things in their chronological order, as they happen to be necessitated by the circumstances.

When the woman is in travail, the assistance of a midwife is obligatory, according to Shi'a law. In the absence of a midwife or some old woman, this duty becomes incumbent on the husband. In the absence of the latter, assistance can be given by near relatives of the male sex of the degree known as *mahram* (i.e. the near relationship of whom allows them access to the women's apartments). Failing this, any relative can be summoned to give assistance.

The child at its birth is in the first instance given a bath (*ghusl*). The baby is then wrapped up in white swathings (*khirqā*). On the seventh day the ceremony of giving a name to the new-born is performed. In the first instance the *azan* is whispered in the right ear of the child and the *iqamat* in its left ear. This custom is based (as far as the Shi'as are concerned) on a tradition of the sixth Imam Ja'far as-Sâdiq, who is supposed to have stated that this ceremony keeps off sin from the new-born and prevents him from contracting epilepsy (*ummu's-sibyan*). Some dust from the plain of Kerbela is then rubbed on the palate of the child. Should this substance not be available, water of the Euphrates is a good substitute for it. Failing this, sugar-water, or dates, or honey diluted in water, or dates chewed in one's mouth may be applied to the palate of the child in the above-mentioned way.

The head of the new-born is completely shaved and alms are prescribed to the amount in weight of the shorn hair in gold or silver, according to the means of the parents. A name (*nam* or *ism*), a *kunya* ("patronymic") and a *laqab* ("honorific title") are given to the child. A sheep (or a camel) is then sacrificed (*'aqiqa*) in the same room where the preceding ceremonies have been performed. The sheep slaughtered must answer the conditions obligatory for a sacrificial animal (*qurbani*) in general and must be a ram in the case of a male child and a ewe, if the child is a girl. One-quarter of this sheep is then given to the woman who had been acting as midwife. If no such woman had been employed, it is obligatory on the mother of the child to distribute the meat of this quarter in charity. The remaining three-quarters of the sheep are cooked and distributed amongst at least ten poor people. The parents must not partake of this sacrificial meat. The bones of the sacrificial animal must not be broken in portioning out the meat.

Should the sacrificing of the sheep for some reasons have been omitted by the parents, the child, on coming of age, can perform himself this ceremony.

The circumcision (*khatna*) ought to be performed, according to the law, on reaching majority. It may be, however, performed as early as the seventh day after the child's birth, that is to say simultaneously with the shaving of its hair. The custom in Persia is, however, to have children circumcised at the age from seven to twelve years. The operation is performed by the barber (*dallak*). Congratulations are offered to the parents, and the visitors are treated to refreshments in the usual way. A gaudy small silk shawl is bound apron-fashion round the body of the child which has undergone the operation, and is worn for the first week.

Having spoken at length of the surroundings in which the life of a Persian is passed, of his amusements and occupations, of marriage and birth, I must conclude with a description of the ceremonies which, according to Shi'a ritual, accompany the funeral of a Muslim.

The deceased is buried as soon as possible, in fact, not later than three hours after the death has taken place, except when it happens at night.

The first ceremony accomplished on the body is the washing of the corpse (*ghusl-i-mayyit*). As a general rule the washing of a male corpse must be performed by a

man, of a female body by a woman. In case of emergency, a husband may, nevertheless, wash the body of his deceased wife and *vice versa*. A father can wash the corpse of a female child under three years, and the mother the body of a son of the same age. The master can wash the body of a slave girl, but not *vice versa*. In the absence of such persons, the washing of the corpse can be performed by a *mahram*, but in this case, the shirt is not taken off the body.

Such is the law. Yet, it must be said that this particular law is never actually applied in real life : this act is always entrusted to professional "washers of corpses" (*murda-shur*). It may be mentioned by way of parenthesis that it is considered in Persia to be the lowest of all professions one can think of.

Before starting the washing of the body, it is subjected to ablution (*revuzu*'), except, naturally, rinsing the mouth and the nostrils. Next to that the privy parts of the corpse are thrice washed with lye and then covered with a piece of linen. The washer, having first washed his hands and arms to the elbows, stands on the right side of the corpse and tears asunder its shirt from neck to abdomen (this is not allowed when the heir to the property of the deceased is a child under age or an insane person). Leaving the corpse lying on its back, the shirt is pulled off from the body, which is then turned with the soles of its feet in the direction of the *qibla*. The washing itself is performed with three different waters, thrice with each : first with lote-water (*ab-i sadr*, so pronounced instead of Arab. *sidr*), with camphor water (*ab-i kafur*) and with ordinary water (*ab-i khali*). The water must not be hot. When performing these ablutions on the body, the washer pronounces mentally : " I wash this deceased one with lote-water (or " camphor water " or simply " water "), because he is to appear in the presence of God. " Head and neck are washed first, then the right side of the body, then the left side of the body. The water must be flowing over the body, mere rubbing with the hand (*mash*) is insufficient and makes the washing null. The nine ablutions having been performed, the body is dried with a towel.

In the absence of water, a "cleansing with earth" (*tayammum*, lit. "intention") may be resorted to : the washer rubs his palms on the ground and touches with them first the forehead, then the right and the left palm of the corpse, mentally pronouncing " I am performing on

this deceased one the cleansing with earth instead of washing with lote-(or camphor-, or simply) water, because he is to appear in the presence of God."

Washing with camphor water is omitted in the case of a pilgrim, who should happen to die, when performing the *hajj*. The nails of the corpse must not be pared, and its hair must not be trimmed.

The washing of the body being completed, the ceremony of "sprinkling with perfumes" (*hanut kardan*) is performed. It consists of powdering with camphor reduced to powder with one's fingers, not pounded in a mortar, the seven parts of the body which touch the ground when performing the "prostration" (*sajda*) during prayer, namely, the forehead, the palms, the knees and the big toes. The remaining powdered camphor, if any, is emptied on the chest of the corpse. This ceremony is omitted in the case of a person dead when wearing the *ihram*, i.e. during the performance of the *hajj*, as above the washing with camphor-water.

The corpse is then attired in a shroud (*kafan*), which consists of three parts : a shirt (*pirahan*), sleeveless and buttonless ; a loin-cloth (*lung*) and a pall (*lifafa*). All the three parts of the shroud must be of white cotton, not of silk or embroidered.

Two freshly broken tree-boughs, the length of an arm, preferably from a date-palm, called *jaridatayn* ("the two twigs"), are put along the body. The one on the right hand is placed between the body and the shroud, the one of the left —over the shirt, the ends of both reaching the neck of the corpse. The head of a male corpse is dressed in a turban, the ends of which pass under its neck and descend on the chest (*'imama-yai tahta-l-hanak*). On the head of a female corpse a kind of cap (*migna'a*) is put, its breasts are tied up with a linen rag (*latta*), the ends of which are made into a knot on the back. The privy parts are covered with cotton-wool and a swathe, $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards long and one yard wide, is wrapped around the hips. One end of it is first torn in two so as to be bound around the waist, the knot being made in front and the part of the swathe, which remains whole is passed from behind between the legs and under the knot on the belly, after which it is wound around the hips, as already said.

After the corpse has been wrapped in its shroud, a special prayer is read over it, the text of which varies according to the sex, age and confession of the deceased.

It comprises five *takbirs* (sections concluded with the exclamation *Allahu akbar* "God is Great") and with its variants would be too long to be quoted in this place.

The corpse must be, according to the Shi'a law, borne to the burial ground by hands, yet I myself have seen a corpse borne by horses. The procession walks as fast as possible, the mourners walking alongside with the bearers or behind them, but not in front. The nearest cemetery is preferable, unless the transport of the corpse can be afforded to some holy place, like Kerbela, Meshed or Qum. Those meeting with a funeral procession pronounce the following prayer: "God is Great. This is what have promised us God and his Prophet, and right were God and his Prophet. O God! increase our faith and our obedience. Praise be to God, Who excels by His power and Who has overcome (his) slaves by death. Praise be to God, Who has not made me belong to the group of those who have been cut off." (*Allahu akbar, haza ma wa' adana-llahu wa rasuluhu, wa sadaqa-llahu wa rasuluhu. Allahumma zidna imanan wa tasliman. Al-hamdu lillahi-llazi ta'azzaza bi-l-qudrati wa qahara-l-'ibada bi-l-maret. Al-hamdu lillahi-llazi lam yaj'a-lani mina-s-sawadi-l-mukhtaram*).

The grave (*qabr*) is dug to the depth of a man's stature. A niche (*lahd*) is further made in one of its sides, large enough to accommodate a man in a squatting position. The niche is dispensed with when the earth is so crumbly as to threaten to tumble down. The corpse is then brought to the lower end of the grave and put down a few paces distant from it, then lifted up again and taken two steps nearer, and again lowered to the ground, raised for the third time and deposited in the grave, head foremost. A female corpse is not put down in front of the grave, and is lowered into it from above. The corpse is placed on its right side, facing the *qibla*, a little earth is heaped so as to form a kind of pillow under its head, a sun-dried brick is put under its back, and the knots of the shroud are untied. The people who are attending to it in the grave, barefooted and with their heads uncovered, must be—for a woman a *mahram*, or, best of all, her own husband,—for a man—not a relative, but a stranger. When lowering the body into the grave the following prayer is pronounced: "In the name of God, with God, and on the path of God, and in accordance with the community of the Prophet of God (may God bless him and his descendants), Thy slave and the son of Thy slave has descended to Thee, and Thou art the best of those to whom one descends. O God!

make his grave spacious for him and unite him to his Prophet. O God ! Verily we do not know anything about him, but good, but Thou knowest about him more than we." (*Bismi-llahi wa billahi, wa fi sabili-llahi, wa 'ala millati rasuli-llahi salla-llahu 'alayhi wa alihi. 'Abduka wa-bnu 'abdika nazala bika, wa anta khayrun manzullin bih. Allahumma-fash lahu fi qabrihi wa al-hiqhu bi-nabiyyihi. Allahumma inna la na'lamu minhu illa khayran wa anta a'lamu bihi minna*).

After the body has been deposited in the niche in the above described manner, the "funeral prayer" (*talqin*, lit. "instruction"; "initiation") is pronounced, the contents of which are in brief as follows :

"O slave of God ! remember the covenant according to which thou hast left this world for the other world, to certify that there is no divinity but One God, Who has no equals, and that Muhammad is the Seal of His Prophets and the Prince of His Messengers, whom He hath sent to guide and to serve the right religion, so that he should reveal it above all other religions, although the polytheists may not approve of it ; and that 'Ali, may God's blessings be upon him, is the Friend of God and the Heir to his Prophet and Lieutenant (*khalifa*) after him taking upon himself his (the Prophet's) duties ; and that the heirs from his children are Hasan, Husayn, 'Ali, Muhammad Bâqir, Ja'far as-Sâdiq, Mûsâ Kâzim, 'Alî Rizâ, Muhammad Taqî, 'Alî Naqî, Hasan 'Askarî, and the expected successor Muhammad Mahdi, may God's prayers and peace rest upon them all. With this thou hast lived, with this thou hast died, and, if God Almighty so wisheth, we shall resurrect thee."

After this the niche is covered up with sun-dried bricks and the following prayer is pronounced : "O God ! bless his loneliness, remove his fears, protect him from being frightened, inspire him of Thy favours with such a favour as shall make him dispense with favours from anybody besides Thyself. Verily Thy favour is for those that seek it." (*Allahumma, salli wahda-tahu wa annis wahshatahu wa amin raw'atahu wa askin ilayhi min rahmatika rahmatan, tughnihi biha 'an rahmati min siwak. Wa innama rahmatuka li-t-talibin*).

After this, those present, with the exception of the relatives of the deceased, fill up the grave with earth, pronouncing the formula (Sur. II v. 151) : *Inna li-llahi wa inna ilayhi raji'un* ("Verily we belong to God and verily

we return to him "). The mound is made four fingers to one span (*vajab*) high, but anyhow the grave must be covered with earth to such an extent, as to protect the body from wild beasts and so as not to let pass the stench of decay.

A mark in the shape of an upright stone-slab is then put at the head of the grave, sand is strewn over the grave, water is poured over it in the direction from the head to the feet and *vice versa*, whilst all those present are facing the *qibla*. All the mourners apply then the palms of their hands to the tumulus so as to leave imprints of their fingers, reciting as they do so the XCVIth surah of the Qur'ân (*suratu-l-qadr*) seven times over, and once the following prayer : " O God ! make the earth hollow about his sides, lift up his soul to Thee, grant him from Thee Thy benediction, people his grave with Thy favour, so as to make him dispense with favours of anybody besides Thee." (*Allahumma, jafi-l-arda 'an janbeyhi wa as'id ilayka ruhahu, wa laqqihi minka ridwanak, wa askin qabrihi min rahmatika ma tughnihi min rahmati ghayrik*).

Everybody departs after this, except the nearest relative of the deceased, who once more pronounces the *talqin* the contents of which have been already given. There are other variants of this prayer in use amongst the Shi'as, and the form of it current amongst the Sunnis differs considerably from all of them. As has been said, this prayer is read twice—the first time, when the body has just been deposited in the grave. In the first instance, the body being still uncovered, the person reading the prayer stands at the head of the corpse and, taking it by the shoulders, shakes it thrice, repeating : " Listen and understand, so-and-so, son of so-and-so ! " This naturally cannot be done at the second reading when the grave is already covered.

Great importance is attached to this second reading of the *talqin* : it is supposed that the angels Nakir and Munkar (often called Nakirayn " the two Nakirs ") whose duty is to subject the deceased to an examination in the grave, on hearing this prayer read, consider a further examination unnecessary and depart, without inflicting on the deceased the usual tortures accompanying that cross-questioning.

L. BOGDANOV.

(Concluded.)

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

THE DAMASCUS CHRONICLE OF THE CRUSADES.*

THE supposedly lost "Continuation of the Chronicle of Damascus" of Ibn al-Qalânîsî was discovered in the Bodleian Library some years ago. The late H. F. Amedroz edited and published the text in 1908, but owing to lack of a translation this recovery of a valuable record seems to have passed unnoticed by European historians.

The volume before us, which is an addition to the University of London Historical Series, is a translation of extracts from the *Chronicle* which cover the period 1097-1160 (A.H. 490-555) of the Crusades. Its value to the student is enhanced by an interesting introductory survey, clear arrangement, and three useful indexes; a sketch-map might well have been added.

The historian of the first Crusade is faced by no lack of contemporary sources of information on the Frankish side, there is even the naive diary written by an unknown warrior present at all the critical events; but on the Muslim side the evidences have hitherto been taken perforce at second-hand from Ibn al-Athîr and others, who quote extensively from the *Damascus Chronicle*.

Ibn al-Qalânîsî, at the time of the bursting of the first wave of Crusaders upon Syria, held a post in the public Chancery at Damascus, and though not an eye-witness of the various battles, sieges and massacres, his *Chronicle* is an authentic and detailed account, year by year, much of it "derived from oral and written reports, sometimes taken down from the lips of actual participants." One obvious advantage of his work is the accuracy of his

* Extracted and translated from the *Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalanisi* by H. A. R. Gibb, M. A., Professor of Arabic in the University of London. University of London Historical Series.

chronology of events. For the rest, he himself explains his methods of compilation in an excursus under date A.H. 540 :

“ I have completed the narrative of events set forth in this chronicle, and I have arranged them in order and taken precautions against error and rashness of judgment and careless slips in the materials which I have transcribed from the mouths of trustworthy persons and have transmitted after exerting myself to make the fullest investigations so as to verify them, down to this blessed year 540. Since the year 535 and down to this point I had been engaged with matters which distracted my mind from making the fullest enquiries into those current events which required to be set down in this book, and from seeking out the truth concerning them and all the attendant circumstances. Consequently I left a blank space after the events of each year, in order to insert therein those narratives and events the truth of which was ascertained. ”

A large part of the *Chronicle* details, with accurate dates, politics and happenings in the Damascus and its environs of 830 years ago rather than the wide-spread marching and counter-marching caused by the influx of Baldwin, Tancred, Godfrey, Bohemond, their companion princes and barons and miscellaneous following. And naturally none of the important events mentioned in the *Chronicle* is entirely new to history. “ Nevertheless, ” to quote Professor Gibb, “ the original work of Ibn al-Qalânîsî still retains so much material not utilized by the later compilers, and so many features of its own, that it will form an indispensable source for all future students of the early Crusade. It makes it possible, for example, to trace for the first time the hardening of Muslim feeling against the Crusaders, and the stages by which the mutual jealousies of the Muslim princes were overborne by the rising temper of the people, which came to expression in the reign of Nûr al-Dîn and culminated in the great *revanche* under Saladin. ”

In the year 1097 Ibn al-Qalânîsî records “ a succession of reports that the armies of the Franks had appeared from the direction of the sea of Constantinople with forces not to be reckoned for multitude. As these reports followed one upon the other and spread from mouth to mouth far and wide, the people grew anxious and disturbed in mind. ” This was the first serious incursion of the Christian invaders whose occupation of the land

started the religious wars known as the Crusades, destined to last over a period of three centuries and to involve the death of how many millions of human beings ?

Syria, when the first act of this terrible drama was staged, seethed with wars and political unrest to such an extent that the seemingly formidable undertaking of the Cross-bearers was made comparatively easy, and the subsequent establishment of the Crusading States was facilitated. Professor Gibb thus summarizes the conflicting elements in Syria at this period :—

(1) The Fâtimid Empire ; (2) the local Arab tribes and princes ; (3) the Saljûqid Turkman princes ; (4) the Turkish military officers, or *amirs* ; (5) the independent or non-Saljûqid Turkman tribes ; (6) the general body of the population.

Some twenty years before the influx of the Crusaders the first Ghuzz migration (Turkman) made itself felt in Syria. Atsiz, one of their leaders, had seized Palestine for the Saljûqid Sultan Alp-Arslân, and subsequently added Damascus to his conquests, only to be defeated in an attack upon the outposts of Egypt. Alp Arslân's successor (Malikshâh) sent his brother Tutush into Syria to reconquer and hold what territory he could. He seized Damascus, and recovered Palestine from the Fâtimids, whose power was already considerably weakened by the setting up of small principalities by the shaikhs of semi-nomadic Arab tribes.

Eventually Tutush strove to oust the Sultan himself (Barkyâruq son of Malikshâh), but was killed in 1095 at Rayy, and the breakdown of his power, aggravated by the rivalries and wars of his generals and his sons Rudwân and Duqâq, was the chief factor in the weakening of the Muslim arms to face the Christian invader. From Jerusalem to the Caspian the Seljuk princes had their hands tied by civil dissensions and rebellion. Independent Turkish principalities arose with surprising rapidity, encouraged by the peculiar administrative practice of the Saljûqids known as the Atâbegate. To each governing member of the ruling house "was attached a Turkish general, who bore the title *Atabek*, or 'tutor,' and who was responsible for their military education and the government of their provinces"; it was inevitable that in due course the Atâbeks should substitute their own dynasties for those of their protégés.

With regard to the numbers engaged in the encounters of the Crusades the *Chronicle* does little to enlighten our ignorance ; it deals with " vast hosts " and " great multitudes " rather than with definite numbers. Of the Franks we read elsewhere that some 170,000 assembled before Nicea, about 100,000 were at Antioch, and perhaps 30,000 survived battle, pestilence, and desertion to take part in the horrors of Jerusalem. But continual reinforcements arrived from Europe in the Genoese, Venetian, Pisan, and Frisian fleets. In bravery and tactics the Seljûk Turks had nothing to learn from their foes, but lacked at that time cohesion and a leading spirit, relying much on alliances and help from Egypt.

As an example of the vigour of the *Chronicle*, and of the competent translation, we may quote part of the account of the siege of Tyre (A.H. 505) in which, for once, the virile courage and ingenuity of the defence triumph over the superior siege equipment of the Europeans. The governor of Tyre, 'Izz al-Mulk, despairing of help from Egypt, had been reinforced from Damascus, from which place contingents were also sent forth to harry the Frankish territories. The Franks invested Tyre on 25th Jumâdâ I, 505. " They set about constructing two wooden towers with which to make the assault on the wall of Tyre, and Zahîr al-Dîn, Atâbek at Damascus, deployed his forces against them several times in order to distract them so that the troops in Tyre might make a sortie and burn the towers.

" The Franks became aware of his object in these manœuvres, and having dug a trench around them on all sides, posted armed men along it to defend both it and the towers, paying no heed either to what he might do or to the raids which were made upon their territories and the slaughter of their inhabitants. When the winter storms commenced, they did no harm to the Franks since they were encamped on hard, sandy soil, while the Turks on the contrary suffered great hardships and bitter distress in their position, yet they did not cease from raiding and making booty, and cutting off supplies and provisions from the Franks, and seizing all that was conveyed to them.....

" The construction of the two towers and the battering-rams to be placed within them was completed in about seventy-five days, and on 10th Sha'ban they began to be moved forward and employed in the attack. They were brought up close to the city wall and fierce fighting

went on round about them. The height of the smaller tower exceeded forty cubits and that of the greater exceeded fifty cubits. On 1st Ramadan the men of Tyre made a sortie from the bastions with greek-fire, firewood, pitch, and incendiary equipment, and being unable to penetrate to either of the towers, threw the fire close to the smaller one where the Franks could not protect it from the flames. The wind blew the fire on to the smaller tower, which was completely burned after severe fighting around it and a hand-to-hand struggle in its defence. Many coats-of-mail, long shields, and other objects were recovered from it as booty.....

“The townsmen had recourse to the underpinning of the wall of that bastion which was opposite the tower of the Franks and cast fire at it. The underpinning caught fire and the face of the wall fell in front of the tower and prevented it from being moved close up to the wall. The place which they had intended to attack was now defended only by a low wall, but as it was commanded by the city bastions, the tower could not be brought up to that point. The Franks cleared away the debris, and dragged the tower towards another of the bastions of the city where, having pushed it up until it was close to the wall, they battered the wall with the rams which were within it and shook it, so that some of the stones were dislodged from it and the townsfolk were on the point of destruction. Thereupon a certain man of Tarâbulus, one of the leaders of the seamen, who was acquainted with forging, and possessed some understanding and experience of warfare, set to work to construct grappling irons, with which to seize the ram, as it was butting the wall, by the head and the sides by means of ropes, which were then pulled by the townsmen until the wooden tower almost rocked with the vigour of their pulling on them..... The same sailor also took baskets of vine leaves and rushes, and having filled them with oil, pitch, kindling wood, resin, and peelings of canes, put fire in them, and when the fire caught he fixed them...so that they hung over the tower of the Franks and the fire dropped down on top of it. They would make haste to extinguish it with vinegar and water, and he would quickly hoist another, at the same time also throwing boiling oil on the tower in small pots.....” Eventually the Franks despaired of capturing the city and prepared to retire.

Ibn al-Qalânîsî's faithful record ends in 1160; he died in the early part of that year.

SIRDAR IQBAL ALI SHAH'S LIFE OF THE PROPHET.*

SIRDAR Iqbal Ali Shah has earned considerable reputation in England as a clever journalistic writer upon Oriental subjects, and his life of the Prophet, certainly his most ambitious effort, is the *tour de force* of a clever journalist, who writes in haste and with his public well in view, gleaning from here and there, having no time for thoughtful reading or profound research. But—and this is the advantage that the journalist has over the learned writer—the impression he creates is much more vivid than that conveyed by more laborious work, and it is adapted to the capacity of his public, which he has judged to a nicety. The picture chosen for the frontispiece—a picture of an Arab of the desert prostrate in prayer beside his camel at the hour of sunset—has already, for long years, been found in homes of the English middle class, and thus has sentimental associations for large numbers of the English reading public that frequents the lending libraries; and it is the lending libraries for which popular literature in such expensive form is obviously designed. The author quotes much from modern writers, and where he draws on real authorities the result is given in such a way as not to tire the reader or demand an effort from him. Ibn Hisham's recension of Ibn Ishaq's *Sirah* contains all the earliest reports relating to our Prophet's life, and therefore the modern biographer of the Prophet ought to follow Ibn Hisham and no-one else. Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah has not followed Ibn Hisham—it would have required months of study to do so conscientiously. He has followed no-one. In the manner of the brilliant journalist he has gleaned from here and there, arranged his gleanings with a practised eye and hand, and published the result so hurriedly that two or three misprints are found on almost every page and several blunders meet the eye which could easily have been corrected on revision. And yet the impression is clear, striking and—marvellous to relate—upon the whole, quite faithful. The writer has a Muslim heart, and the Muslim heart caught fire from the subject. This has given to the whole that glow of evident sincerity which alone can make a book of this description memorable for the reader. Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah has concentrated his main effort on the contrast between pre-Islamic Arabia and the Muslim dispensation. The Prophet stands forth from the old Arabia and, by the power of Allah, conjures up the

**Mohamed : The Prophet.* By Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah, London, Wright and Brown 21s net.

new. It is a book that will endear the Prophet's name to hosts of unsophisticated English readers, who live outside the radius of learned works.

M. P.

EDUCATION IN INDIA.*

The appearance of a plain survey of the whole field and question of English education in India, from the Christian missionary pioneers in Bengal, past the Mutiny and Macaulay and Bethune, up to the present day, by one who is neither English nor Indian and who regards the whole huge structure neither with affection nor hatred, but merely as a historical phenomenon of considerable human interest, is an important literary event. We hope that Dr. Gerta Hertz's work will shortly be translated into English and the Indian languages so that the people most concerned may have the benefit of its clear thinking. The book is of especial interest to Muslims since the writer has devoted quite as much attention and research to their educational problems as to those of the Hindu majority, and treats of them with sympathy and understanding.

One curious omission we have noticed in the book. Though Dr. Hertz refers more than once to the language of instruction, and her statistics go down to 1927, there is only one mention of the Osmania University, and that is in a mere list of universities founded later than the original three. It is true that, Hyderabad being outside British India, the Osmania University may be considered foreign to the subject of the book. But education in Hyderabad had followed British Indian lines until the university was founded, and the innovation of providing University instruction in an Indian language reverberated throughout British India with immense effect. In connection with Muslim ideals of education, also, we should have expected the author to devote to it at least a paragraph since she has given several pages to the University of Aligarh. Though it is no part of the British system of education in India, the Osmania system is certainly an outcome of it, and indicates what may well be in the end the general outcome.

As an introduction to the study of the British system Dr. Hertz has written chapters on the original Hindu and Muslim educational systems, with which neither Muslims nor Hindus will find any fault; and the concluding chapter, which is entitled: *Schluss: Pädagogische und politische Answirkungen* ("Conclusion: Scholastic and

**Das Britische Erziehungswesen in Indien.* By Dr. Gerta Hertz. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1932. Price 14 Marks.

political developments") is full of just remarks. The author denies that, before the advent of Gandhi, the Indian National Congress was the organ of "the anglicised, radical, anti-English product of the English system of education," as Dibelius has described it. On the contrary, "the Indian *intelligenza* held from 1885 onward a sort of Mock-Parliament and once a year passed impotent and loyal resolutions." The political importance of Gandhi is that he so aroused the Indian consciousness "that the people and the Indian youth suddenly and with astonishment realised their own worth, and no longer waited to receive their honour from the English." This is a long way from an Englishman's description (quoted in a previous chapter) of the English-educated Indians of fifty years ago: "Their highest ambition is to be like us." But both are the result, at different stages, of the British system of education in India.

Dr. Hertz's account of the initial reluctance of the Muslims to accept English education the far from ignoble reasons for that reluctance and the way in which it was eventually overcome, thanks to the efforts of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and others, is sympathetic and complete. The acceptance has, of recent years, been so whole-hearted that in 1927, we are told, the number of Muslim students was considerably greater than that of Hindu students in proportion to their respective populations.

The book is a masterly exposition of the history and problems of education in India, and the author's opinions are of weight since they are quite unprejudiced and founded upon perfect knowledge of the facts.

M. P.

THE LEGACY OF ISLAM.*

The magnitude of the bequest of Islam to the world is not generally realised in its full measure. The enormous contribution of this religion to the sum-total of human achievement in every field deserves to be studied by Muslims and non-Muslims. Such study will serve as an incentive to the former while it is certain to enlarge the latter's sympathy. Every great religion has played its part in the development of human knowledge and civilization; and Islam has done a great deal towards the elevation of mankind to a higher level of moral and material progress. We are indebted to the late Sir Thomas Arnold for many illuminating works on this subject,

* *The Legacy of Islam*, Edited by the late Sir Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1931.

the last of which (appearing after his lamented death) is the volume before us. It is a symposium of learned essays from the pens of eminent writers, edited by Sir Thomas and his fellow-worker Mr. Alfred Guillaume, both of whom are among the contributors. The treatment of the various aspects of Islamic civilisation, art, literature, science, architecture, mysticism, philosophy, theology, medicine, law, music, astronomy, mathematics, geography and commerce, has been assigned to well-known authorities on the respective subjects, who have dealt with them in a comprehensive, yet concise manner. The aggregate value of these sympathetic and enlightening monographs, covering so vast a field, cannot be too much emphasised. The influence of Islam is shown to have penetrated all branches of human activities in the West.

At the time when the Arabs conquered Spain, Europe was in misery and decay, both materially and spiritually, and, as stated in the first essay on "Spain and Portugal" by J. B. Trend, "Spanish Muslims created a splendid civilization and an organized economic life, having played a decisive part in the development of art, science, philosophy and poetry, and its influence reached even to the highest peaks of the Christian thought of the thirteenth century, to Thomas Aquinas and Dante." Naturally, therefore, much of the influence of Islam on Europe came from Spain, although Islam had touched the West in earlier centuries through other channels. It was the Muslims who first introduced paper, which formed the ever-lasting concrete basis for the spread of knowledge in Europe. Nothing in Spain gives clearer evidence of the debt to Islam than the Spanish language which to this day bears its indelible marks.

The greatest contribution of the Muslims in Spain to European thought was the work of philosophers. Alfonso X, El Sabio, King of Castille and Leon from 1252 to 1284, reputed to be the greatest apostle of Muslim learning, is credited with having compiled vast works from Arabic sources. In another field chess is reckoned as a characteristic product of the legacy of Islam to Europe. The chess-problem is considered to be the kind of mental activity peculiar to Muslims. Referring to the pitiful story of the expulsion of the Moriscos, the author observes that Arabic was spoken in the Peninsula during the life-time of Cervantes, who declared that the original of *Don Quixote* was the work of a Moor called 'Side Hamete ben Eugeli' and that it too had originally been written in Arabic.

The Crusades, another point of contact between East and West, were productive of many benefits in the fields of commerce, arts and crafts, trade-routes, the growth of new instruments of credit and finance, and the development of the art of war in the West. In the realm of literature they produced a great deal of written history and furnished a theme to many Western poets. Moreover, Europe found in them a new form of internal union and a new influence on its own inner life, together with a new and wider world-outlook. "This widening of view," as the author of the essay on the Crusades remarks, "with the growth of exploration and of geographical knowledge by which it was accompanied, is the last, as in its sweep it is the greatest, of the results of the Crusades."

In the field of geography Islam produced such scholars as Abu Zaid al-Balkhi, Al-Hamdari and Al-Bîrûnî, the last two being responsible for the famous descriptions of the Arabian peninsula and India. Al-Mas'ûdî the globe-trotter, wrote several books based on the geographical and ethnographical knowledge gathered during his travels. There was also Al-Idrisî, who is credited with several original works on geography; and who can forget the travels of Ibn Batuta from Morocco to Astrakhan and from Astrakhan to India? Many Muslims of the old days travelled as far as Korea and Japan; and it was an Arab pilot who showed Vasco de Gama at Malindi the way to India. The commercial instinct among the Arabs led them to trace several over-land trade-routes by the "ship of the desert" to China and such distant countries of Europe as Russia, Finland, Sweden and Norway, where an enormous number of Islamic coins have been found. By this way, as the author says, "the great riches of material culture, which the Islamic world had gathered for nearly five centuries were poured down upon Europe. These riches consisted not only of Chinese, Indian and African products which the enterprising spirit of Islam had fetched from far distant lands....."

The astrolabe was a most valuable scientific instrument bequeathed by Islam.

The influence of the Islamic minor arts on European work is noticeable in the use of Arabic inscription as an ornamental design on a border or frieze, or a shaped cartouche.

Muslim inlaid metal work, which reached perfection in the 12th century, was an object of admiration and is widely copied even to this day. From an early period

the Muslims were masters in enamelling work of many kinds, especially in the application of coloured glazes to earthenware. In "lustered pottery" and enamelled glass-work they achieved great triumphs. In the textile arts, they greatly improved upon the sumptuous silken designs of Persia, Syria, and Egypt when they conquered those countries. The carpet is another gift of the Muslims to Europe. Their exquisite ivory-work, beautiful designs of printed-books and new methods of decorating leather covers form a notable contribution to European minor arts.

A supplementary article on the above subject from the pen of the late Sir Thomas Arnold discusses the wider field of Islamic art and its influence on painting in Europe. He fails to trace to Islam any new direction in pictorial art, but notices the effect of the direct contact of the Christian world with Muslim culture in sculpture, architecture and metal-work. Oriental *motifs* were largely adopted for ornamental purposes. These *motifs* became introduced into paintings during the period of the Crusades, and later turbaned figures and Oriental physiognomies appeared in Italian pictures.

In architecture, the early Arab conquerors possessed neither skill nor taste, as they were not town-building people but nomads. They inevitably employed local craftsmen or those brought from one conquered country to another. It is well-known that Armenian masons were engaged in Egypt and Spain for construction of mosques. It is, however, remarkable that in all countries, despite their ignorance of architecture, their own particular individuality is found in all buildings of however diverse origin. It is perhaps due to the standardization of the mosque form which was attained by the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. On the whole, the author says, the architectural debt of the Western World to Islam is substantial. The invention of the pointed arch is ascribed to Muslim masons in Syria and elsewhere. So is that of the Ogee arch and possibly of the 'Tudor' arch. The use of engaged shafts at the angles of piers is a Saracen innovation of the eighth century. The Arab *mashrabiyyah*, or lattice of wood-work, was copied in English metal *grilles*.

We have not mentioned the most important sphere of influence, the field of thought, the space at our disposal

being limited, and the essays on that aspect of the subject being such as would have called for detailed criticism. They are the most interesting portions of this deeply interesting book, which we warmly recommend to all our readers.

A. A.

THE TIGER. *

Of all historical personages Babar stands least in need of a biographer, so vivid is the impression of him and his times which one derives from his delightful Memoirs. Biography, in his case, can be nothing more than annotation of those Memoirs, an attempt to fill up some exasperating gaps therein, and provide the historical background. The substance of Monsieur Grenard's narrative is thus an abridgement of the Emperor's own work, and though lively enough, seems rather trifling in comparison ; but he does attempt to fill the gaps and does provide the historical background, a fact which gives his work intrinsic value. The style of writing is at times too florid for the English taste—this, perhaps, would not be noticed in the original—but he gives evidence of wide reading, and his observations nearly always hit the mark.

He knows, what many writers do not know, or forget, that Turkish rulers have been the greatest Art patrons in history. That arts which we call arts of peace should have flourished and progressed continuously in an era of incessant warfare is an anomaly which Monsieur Grenard explains as owing to the fact that all the warring chiefs were patrons of those arts, so that change of rulers mattered nothing to the artist-artisans. The real reason is that the Islamic theologians—whose power he mentions more than once—held warfare between Muslims an irregular affair for which “the quiet people” could not be recruited and by which they ought not be disturbed ; and that they had power sufficient to impose their view to some extent upon the turbulent. A chief who wanted to make war upon another was supposed to use only his own slaves as fighting men. If he called upon a peasant or an artisan he was held blameworthy ; and the peasant or the artisan who joined his army was held blameworthy just as a civilian meddling in warfare is held blameworthy to-day. Monsieur Grenard sees in the Turkish and Mongolian chieftains with whom Babar struggled, or who joined his standard, feudal suzerains and feudal vassals such as Europe knew. He has missed the key to the whole riddle

* *Babar ; First of the Moguls* :— By Fernand Grenard. Translated and adapted by Homer White and Richard Glaenzer. London, Thornton Butterworth Ltd. 1931

of the Asiatic social system—the fact that Real Estate does not exist in Asia. Those whom he calls nobles of the country, and who so styled themselves, were in their legal status only fighting slaves rewarded for their services with a fief for life. Only the actual tiller of the soil, the actual producer, the peasant, the merchant and the artisan, had hereditary tenure of their property. Shah-Jehan wrote from his comfortable prison to reproach Aurangzeb for having allowed the wives and children of a noble to keep the savings which the nobleman had made during his life-time, when at his death his whole estate reverted to the Emperor. It was, said Shah-Jehan, a very dangerous precedent to create. The so-called nobleman was nothing but a favoured slave, and the effort of the Emperor was to prevent his kind from ever becoming noblemen in the European sense *i.e.*, an Estate of the Realm. When they were able to usurp a portion of the Emperor's power, the ruin of the Empire had begun.

A warlike adventurer from his childhood, at one moment on a throne, the next a fugitive with few retainers roaming the mountains pinched with cold and hunger, roughing it with the roughest of his soldiers on occasions; at one time a great wine-drinker and partaker of hashish, a conqueror of many lands, an Emperor, Babar retained a cultivated mind, a humorous and modest outlook upon life, a kindness for 'the quiet people' and a conscience. It has been said that no great man in history ever showed such never-failing kindness and courtesy to his elderly and needy aunts as Babar did.

We have noticed some mistakes—for example, Abdul-Fazl (repeatedly) for Abu'l-Fazl—which ought to be corrected in a subsequent edition. The book contains seven illustrations from contemporary paintings, a photograph of the tomb of Babar and a sketch map of Central Asia. It is also furnished with a bibliography and index.

“ IRAQ-WA-IRAN. ”*

This book contains an account in Urdu of the pilgrimage made by the author to the holy places of Mesopotamia and Persia. He states that, at the instance of his many friends, he has published this book in the hope of interest-

* '*Iraq wa Iran*. By Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur, Baigum Palli :— Price Rs. 5/- can be had from the author, or Hyderabad Book Depot, Hyderabad-Deccan.

ing the general reader and affording useful guidance to the pilgrim.

It contains very full information regarding routes and roads, civilization, ways of living, customs and manners of peoples of Mesopotamia and Persia, as well as short historical sketches of various places. The Government, commerce and industries, means of transport and communications of those countries are described and there is a vivid description of the holy places. The book is profusely illustrated. These illustrations, together with a coloured map of Mesopotamia and Persia, showing routes, roads, railway lines, the names of holy places and railway stations, add much to the usefulness of this interesting and readable book.

In the first chapter the author gives directions with regard to the securing of passports from the British Government ; banking facilities ; touring kit ; the transshipment of dead bodies from India to the holy places of Kerbala and Najaf. The second chapter is devoted to the sea and land routes and the halting stations. The geography, history and the spiritual grandeur of the holy places of Mesopotamia—Kûfa, Najaf, Kerbala, Kâzimeyn, Sâmèrah—form the subject of the third Chapter.

The author beautifully describes the City of Baghdâd ; outlines its history ; gives a brief account of its people, their manners and customs, trade and commerce ; Amîr Faisal and his Government and the rapid strides the Government has made in matters of sanitation and public health ; the creation of a City Improvement Board ; the establishment of dispensaries, posts and telegraphs, wireless and telephones. He draws a striking contrast between the *pardah* system of India and that of Iraq which is worth reading. There, women with the veil on their faces, go out shopping, attend mosques, walk in the gardens, while their Indian sisters remain imprisoned within the four walls of their homes, and go out only in tight closed conveyances. The Nawab Sahib visited all the sacred tombs of 'Irâq and gives a graphic description of them. He found great friendship and a spirit of toleration prevailing between Shîas and Sunnis in Mesopotamia and has expressed the hope that the same harmonious relations will prevail for ever throughout the Muslim World.

He then went on to Persia of which he has given

as comprehensive a bird's-eye-view as of 'Irâq, and has described briefly the phenomenal progress made in every department of activity during the regime of His present Majesty, Shâh Reza Shâh Pahlavi.

The Persians he describes as cultured people, tolerant towards Muslims of other sects and people of other nations. The upper classes and those who have received their education in Western countries indulge in the luxury of wine-drinking, and even think that it is allowed by their religion. The middle and lower classes are addicted to opium-eating. Now every effort is being made by the Government of the present Shâh of Persia to wean the people from this habit. Persian women he describes as freedom-loving. Several child-welfare centres have been established. Marriages in Persia, are very simple, free from elaborate ceremonies. Young men are independent of their parents in the selection of their partners in life. The general condition of the very poor, the Nawab Sahib says, is pitiable; though begging has been prohibited by the Government in Tâhran.

A separate chapter has been devoted to the history, geography, mines, products, trade and commerce of the sacred city of Meshed; and there is a very moving description of the Moharram ceremonies as observed by the people of Persia.

The get-up of the book is excellent. Of course, there are printing mistakes, which we hope with the author, will be rectified in a second edition. A list of *errata*, the usual adjunct of books printed in India, has been attached to the book.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Tadhkiratu 'n-Nawadîr.—A catalogue raisonnée of the publications of the Dâ'iratu'l-Ma'ârif. Hyderabad, Deccan. 1350 A.H. (In Urdu).

Modern India Thinks.—A Symposium of Suggestions on Problems of Modern India. Compiled by Keshavjee R. Luckmidas. Foreword by Kanaiyalal H. Vakil. Bombay, Taraporevala. 1932. Rs. 6.

Rock-Cut Temples Around Bombay.—By Kanaiyalal H. Vakil. With 54 illustrations and 5 plans. Bombay, Taraporevala. 1932. Rs. 3.

Europe's Debt to Islam.—By Syed M. H. Zaidi. With a preface by Sir P. C. Ray. Calcutta, 1930. Price Re. 1-2-0.

Tarikh Adabiyat Iran.—A translation in Urdu of the late Professor E. G. Browne's "Literary History of Persia" by Professor Sayyid Sajjâd Huseyn. Anjuman Taraqq-i-Urdu. Aurangabad, Deccan. 1932. Bound Rs. 4-8-0. Unbound Rs. 4.

The Philosophy of Islam.—By Khan Sahib Khaja Khan. 2nd Edition. Madras, Hogarth Press, Re. 1-4-0.

A Digest of Anglo-Muslim Law.—Compiled from the Original Arabic sources. By Haj Mahomed Ullah ibn S. Jung. Allahabad, Juvenile Press. 1932. Rs. 5.

The Muslim Revival.—A Quarterly Magazine. Ahmadiyya Buildings, Lahore.

Yueh Hwa Magazine.—Peiping, China. (In Chinese)

The Holy Mothers.—By Syed Wizarat Ali. Short biographies of the wives of the Prophet. An excellent little book. Delhi, Qaisar Hind Press. As. 10.

The Muslim Youth.—A Monthly Magazine in English, Madras.

Science.—A Magazine of scientific matters in Urdu. Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu.

Peniel.—A Quarterly Magazine. Edited and published by Alice Riggs Hunt. Hawthorne, New York.

Moslemische Revue.—Edited by Maulvi Sadr-ud-din and Dr. Phil. S. M. Abdullah. Berlin--Wilmersdorf, Brienner—Strasse 7. (In German.)

Sunrise.—Lahore.

Safina-i-Niswan.—A Magazine for women. Hyderabad, Deccan. (In Urdu).

Saqi.—A Magazine of Muslim culture. Hyderabad, Deccan (In English).

Ad-Dia.—A monthly magazine, learned, literary, educational and social. Edited by Maulana Suleyman Nadvi and Sheykh Taqi-ud-udin Al-Hilali. Lucknow (In Arabic).

The Khyber Mail.—An English Weekly. Peshawar.



MEMOIRS OF THE LATE RT. HON'BLE SYED AMEER ALI

(Continued from our last issue.)

THE BRITISH RED CRESCENT SOCIETY AND THE BALKAN WAR.

IT WAS sometime before the Great War that I was invited by the "Chatham Dining Club" to address them on the subject of British Policy towards the Moslem States. This Club was established by earnest young Conservatives, afterwards destined to play a great part in the administration of the Empire. Earl Percy, now Duke of Northumberland, and Mr. George Lloyd, M.P. at one time Governor of Bombay, now Lord Lloyd, and British High Commissioner in Egypt, and other young statesmen, were members of this select circle. The Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M.P., Sir Mark Sykes, and others, were among the most ardent. Alas, like so many of the pick of British youth, Major Ommaney was killed in action, Mr. Samuel Pepys Cockerell died of smallpox on service in Egypt and great-hearted Aubrey Herbert came to an early end as a result of hardships and wounds undergone during the war.

They asked me several times to speak to them on the cultural influence which Great Britain could, by reason of her position and prestige, exercise throughout the Moslem world. I pointed out that ranging from the confines of the Atlantic almost to the Pacific there was a block of Moslem countries with ideals and modes of thought intrinsically prepared to accept the cultural dominance of Great Britain and that it was her moral duty to take up that position.

I had long considered it a discredit to the Islamic world that the capital of the British Empire which ruled over vast millions of the followers of Islam did not possess a suitable place of worship for the Moslem subjects of the

King and Moslem visitors coming to England. In November 1910 I launched the project I had cherished of a Mosque in London.

The Executive Committee applied officially for the gracious patronage of the Sovereign, but we were informed that the Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley, had advised adversely. Our application was accordingly refused.

The Sultan-Caliph Mohammed V and the ex-Shah of Persia gave their assent to become Patrons of the fund and contributed £1,000 each, in furtherance of the project. The Late Nizam also subscribed rupees 25,000 and His Exalted Highness Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk has recently contributed £1,000. We also received other subscriptions from Persia where the project has aroused great enthusiasm.

I perceive with sorrow that there appears to be, for some occult reason, a general decline of interest in the furtherance of the duties enjoined by their religion among the rich Moslems of India. With some notable exceptions, magnates and ruling chiefs, whilst ready to contribute lavishly to objects favoured by Government functionaries, tighten their purses when an appeal is made to them for a pious or a religious purpose with every guarantee for its proper performance.

This is in glaring contrast to the Moslems of North Africa, who with the assistance of the French Government have collaborated in building a Mosque and Institute in Paris worthy of the Moslem citizens and colonials of the French Empire.

Comparatively a small proportion only of the large sum needed for a Mosque in London was subscribed, and this fund is deposited in the Bank of England under the Trusteeship of Lords Amphil, and Lamington, and H.H. the Aga Khan, associated with me.

In 1926 Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal came to England accompanied by her younger son Hamidullah with the object of procuring his recognition as her successor on the throne of Bhopal. Whilst the Begum was in London she made promises of help to build the Mosque and also to add an annexe to the Mosque at Woking, which her mother had greatly assisted in founding. These promises have not yet come to fruition.

For students of European history the annals of the great Sultans of Turkey are full of interest. No nation

suffered so much from hostile attacks, and survived, as the Ottoman Empire between 1800 and 1914. There was a War in 1812; another in 1829; another in 1840; the Crimean War commenced with an attack on the Turkish Danubian Provinces in 1854. Turkish frontier towns both there and in Armenia became famous for their gallant defence under British officers. In 1876 the Servians were hopelessly defeated by a great general of the old regime: but they were saved from re-conquest by the intervention of Russia, which in 1877 forced another War on Turkey. A vivid account of the events of the time is to be found in Queen Victoria's letters.

The upshot will be remembered by all. An independent Turkey and the independent control of the Straits was then a cardinal principle of British Policy. Lord Beaconsfield sent the fleet up the Dardanelles and brought Indian troops to Malta, to show the Russians that he was prepared to maintain the policy of the Empire at all costs.

My interest in old Turkey dates from 1877: from the Journal called the "Dar-ul-Khilafat" which was published in Arabic at the time in Constantinople, I was able to follow the course of the struggle between *Constitutionalism* under Midhat and *Absolutism* under Abdul Hamid backed by that Arch-intriguer Ignatieff. When the Russians had marched on Constantinople there was great excitement in India. A large sum was subscribed for the relief of the Turkish sufferers which was sent through the British Consul as there was sympathy with them at the time in England.

In 1897 the Greeks wantonly attacked Turkey, but were badly beaten by Edhem Pasha; the Crown Prince Constantine who commanded the Greek Army incontinently fled to Athens. The Turkish pursuit was stopped by England and Russia. Some years later the Turks were unexpectedly attacked in their North African Province by Italy. They had no field hospitals or equipment and but few doctors to attend to their sick and wounded. Nor was there any provision for the relief of the starvation and distress which overwhelmed the civilian population of Cyrenaica and the Tripolitaine. The small body of Turkish regular troops were wholly outnumbered but they and the Arabs fought heroically and suffered terribly. The wantonness of the attack and the sufferings of the people naturally caused excitement among the Moslems in India. As the British Red Cross would give no help

some English sympathizers resolved to form an independent society styled the British Red Crescent Society to give relief to the sick and wounded and to help the starving irrespective of race or religion. The original Committee was composed of twelve members and I was elected President. The constitution of the Units and the despatch of relief was in my hands. The British Foreign Office gave every facility to our humanitarian efforts and our surgeons and hospital attendants met with great civility from the French Authorities on their way to the battle area.

It will be remembered that the Tripoli War commenced with the descent of an Italian fleet and army, without any premonitory tension, on the Coast of the African province of Tripoli, then an Ottoman possession. The following note compiled from the reports of the Society may be of interest : -

The staff of the first field hospital, under Captain Dixon Johnson's (late Inniskilling Dragoons) direction, consisted of :

Dr. Bernard Haigh.

Mr. Charles E. Holton Smith.

Dressers, dispensers, and male nurses.

As this hospital was the first practical exhibition of Moslem and English co-operation in a great work of mercy, its departure from London on February 14th, 1912 attracted much attention. The equipment comprised sixty beds and the latest appliances for surgical operations. The Mission also carried funds for the relief of Arab non-combatants, consisting mostly of women and children who were in a state of acute distress.

Dr. Bernard Haigh had often to work with inadequate help, owing to the illness of his assistants ; at one time, indeed, three members of the staff were on the sick list. An incidental advantage of the presence of the Mission was the help it was able to afford to at least one war correspondent working under exhausting and difficult conditions. Dr. Smith practically saved the life of Mr. Alan Ostler in March at Azizia. The Central News wiring at the time said : " Mr. Alan Ostler, the correspondent of the ' Daily Express ' is recovering from a severe illness (typhus). He probably owes his life to the magnificent devotion of Dr. Charles Smith of the British Red Crescent Mission who, rather than leave his patient during the crisis of the illness, watched by his side day and

night in the open desert with a single sentry on guard." Mr. Ostler himself says : " The Mission had come out under the auspices of the British Red Crescent Society, although I hope that some of the money spent upon it came from purely British pockets."

Owing to the large influx of sick and wounded it became necessary in May to send out an additional dresser and three male nurses. The area of the conflict having extended, the Committee decided in June to send out a further unit under Dr. Gordon Hill, with a complete ambulance and with food supplies and clothing, the latter for relief work. This unit left London on June 12th accompanied again by Captain Dixon Johnson, who had returned for the purpose.

" The British Mission took in out-patients from all the surrounding country, unlike the other hospitals which treated military invalids only. Daily the little tents were thronged with sufferers from ophthalmia and sores and old diseases. Mothers came bringing ailing children, men who had suffered long came confident of help, and always received it. They lost their terror of the knife when in the surgery tent they saw tumours and ulcerous growths, removed without a sign of pain. Against ophthalmia, the curse of all lands wherein dust and flies abound, the English doctors waged a mighty war and many who had hardly known daylight from darkness blessed them for the gift of sight restored. " *

Early in September another doctor was sent to replace Dr. Smith who had returned to England, Dr. E. Griffin underwent the greatest trials on this journey to Tripoli, and, besides his own possessions, lost all the medical stores and supplies entrusted to him for Dr. Bernard Haigh. After great difficulties he reached the main hospital where he worked devotedly, until March 1913. Dr. Griffin was awarded both the D.S.O. and M.C. when serving in the R. A. M. C. during the Great War.

An eye-witness says : -- " It is a splendid work ; you are helping both the heroic army which has so gallantly resisted the Italians, and the uncomplaining poor of Tripoli who have suffered bitterly from War following upon many bad seasons. I only venture to hope that, having made so fine a beginning, your Society will find it possible to continue, even to extend, the work. "

* Alan Ostler of the " Daily Express " in his account of the work of the Mission.

On the conclusion of peace between Turkey and Italy the Society left a small Mission at Yffren, consisting of Drs. Turnbull and Griffin and two assistants, to minister to the sufferings of the patients still remaining in the hospitals and the vast number of sick people who had learned to look to them for medical relief. Dr. Griffin shortly after returned to London, via Turin, whilst Dr. Turnbull remained in charge of the Mission's work of mercy until Yffren fell into Italian hands. He and his assistants with the interpreter were kept in detention by the Italians for several weeks when, by the intervention of the British Consul, they were released.

While the British Red Crescent was carrying out this relief work in North Africa the storm burst which had hung over Turkey for a long time in another direction, and which was virtually the preamble of the calamity which fell on the whole world in 1914. She was attacked by four Balkan States, Bulgaria, Servia, Greece and Montenegro, with the prospect of the ill-concealed support of the "Colossus of the North" and her allies, open and covert. The genesis of the war, needs some prefatory remarks. In 1908 the Turkish "Committee of Union and Progress" were able to checkmate and ultimately to depose Sultan Abdul Hamid. They sent a Parliamentary Deputation to London with the object of bringing about an "Offensive and Defensive Alliance" between England and Turkey. The Deputation was received with great ceremony and a Luncheon, at which the Prime Minister was present, was given to them by the Foreign Secretary.

That stalwart patriot Ahmed Riza Bey, who had spent many years in exile from Turkey for his political opinions, dined with us that same night. He waxed very eloquent over what Turkey would be able to do for her internal development with the possible help of England. The failure of the hopes of the Turks is writ large in history. England was too much pledged to Russia to take up their cause.*

* The following quotation from a letter written at the time refers to the movement for Reform in old Turkey and to the Syed's sympathy with it:—

"His valuable interpretations of the text of the Koran which have enabled the Turkish Reformers to convince the Sheikh-ul-Islam that the grant of a constitution by the head of a Moslem State was not opposed to the precepts of the Koran, and that the Caliphate would not suffer in prestige by admitting non-Moslems to civil equality and rights with Moslems in the Courts of Law. The far-reaching effects of Mr. Ameer Ali's works for the salvation of Turkey will be better appreciated by the historian of the future."

Whilst the Turks were still in some sort of favour, or perhaps it would be more correct to say while England was maintaining a neutral attitude, the Greek Minister Dr. Gennadius came to me several times to ask me to use my good offices as a friend to forward a *rapprochement* between his country and the Ottoman Empire. He advocated an Offensive and Defensive Alliance between the two nations. I was strongly in sympathy with this proposal. Had the Turks acted on these suggestions the history of the Near East would have been differently written. But the Turkish Ambassador allowed himself to be swayed by the counsels of two men, one of whom could hardly be described as a statesman. I was told they had just concluded an arrangement with one Balkan State (it is not necessary to mention which) and "were prepared to fight Greece with one hand tied behind their backs." If, however, Greece would agree to the rendition of Tressaly, they would accept the proposal. Mr. Gennadius would not, perhaps could not, accept this condition - and much to my regret the matter was dropped.

Later I received an informal message from Count Benckendorff the Russian Ambassador asking me if I would be good enough to call on him, which I took an early opportunity of doing. He received me most courteously, and we had over an hour's friendly and candid talk on the Eastern Question. He imposed no limitation on our discussion or suggested that our conversation was in any way confidential. He told me in substance that the Balkan States proposed to form a confederation designed against Austrian ambitions; "would Turkey be inclined to join as *primus inter pares*?" (I understood that Russia encouraged the plan). I replied that I could not answer his question without ascertaining the views of Tewfik Pasha the Turkish Ambassador. Count Benckendorff agreed with me that I should do so, and I accordingly made an appointment with the Turkish Ambassador and told him of my conversation with the Count. He expressed gratitude for the courtesy and consideration shown by the Russian Ambassador, and added "before writing to my Government on the subject I should like to be clear on one point, if Turkey is attacked by Austria, would Russia or the Balkan Confederation come to her assistance?" I submitted the question to Count Benckendorff and so far as I remember the answer was an emphatic *non-possumus*.

The next I heard of the Balkan Confederation was in somewhat tragic circumstances. In August 1911* when I was staying in the Engadine an Austrian diplomat, an old acquaintance, came over on a visit from St. Moritz, and gave me the first news of the Balkan conflagration.

The veteran soldier and Grand Vizier Ahmad Mukhtar Pasha, I believe, did his best to meet the enemies' onslaught but had immense difficulties to contend with. The Bulgarian and Servian forces marched up to Chataldja where they were held by the Turks. The Red Cross sent a unit under Colonel Doughty-Wylie (who afterwards fell in action *against* the Turks at Gallipoli and was awarded a posthumous V. C.) to help the sick and wounded, but this unit was hardly strong enough to help both armies.

All my leisure from judicial work was now engrossed by the increasing responsibilities of the British Red Crescent Relief. The following is a brief summary of some of the Society's activities during the Balkan Wars :—

The Treaty of Lausanne, signed at Ouchy on October 18th, 1912, had brought the Turco-Italian War to an end; on the outbreak of the Balkan conflict so long expected and feared by Europe, the first hospital of the Society in Tripoli was promptly closed in order to transfer Dr. Bernard Haigh with a fully equipped field hospital to Constantinople.

On October 17th, the Committee determined to despatch a further Mission at the earliest possible moment to Constantinople.

Through the kind help of Mr. Harold Nicolson, at the time attached to the British Embassy in Constantinople, accommodation was secured in advance for the members. The unit including the British Hospital sisters under Colonel Surtees, C. B. (late Coldstream Guards afterwards Brigadier-General Surtees) as Director of the Mission, left London on November 1st, travelling from Marseilles. They arrived at Constantinople on November 14th 1912, and our hospital was located at Scutari. The Society was most fortunate in obtaining the services of Colonel Surtees, who had filled with distinction the position of Military Attache at Constantinople and also at Athens, and possessed an intimate knowledge of Turkey and its people and languages.

Within a fortnight of the departure of the first unit, the second was despatched with two more surgeons. It met with considerable difficulties from the Greek authorities. In spite of the fact that the Foreign Office had

* For 1912—Ed. "Islamic Culture "

duly advised the Athens Government on behalf of the Society of the despatch of the Mission, the whole of the staff were searched and taken prisoners of war and detained four days. The representations made on the subject then secured their release.

On arrival, Dr. Baynes, found cholera raging among the Ottoman troops, and hearing that all cholera suspects were being drafted *en masse* to San Stefano (twelve miles from Constantinople) immediately visited the place. He found the conditions at San Stefano appalling.

With the assistance of Major Doughty-Wylie, the chief of the British Red Cross Mission, he established a temporary hospital by obtaining twenty military tents, no house being then available for hospital purposes.

Towards the end of December the International Board of Health paid Dr. Baynes the compliment of asking him to accept charge of a new hospital to be established at San Stefano, and to manage it with the British Red Crescent staff. He accepted the responsibility and the hospital was formally opened on January 23rd 1913.....

At the end of October 1912, a communication was received by the President from the Foreign Office stating that numbers of Turkish wounded were lying untended at Sofia, Philippopolis, and Adrianople. The Bulgarians were unable to cope with the demands upon their medical resources and naturally first attended to their own sick and suffering. The British Minister at Sofia cabled that a Mission would be welcomed. The call could not be refused, particularly as a handsome special donation towards responding to it was made by His Highness the Aga Khan. The matter being urgent, a staff was engaged by the Committee and despatched on November 12th 1912, with some medical panniers and drugs.

Dr. W. E. Haigh with Mr. C. R. Taylor (a volunteer), two dressers, and two orderlies, constituted the Mission.

Two ladies, Miss Gregg and Miss Peddar, also volunteered to assist Dr. Haigh and they joined his staff for more than two months. It is a matter for special satisfaction to record that Her Majesty the Queen of Bulgaria rendered the Mission most valuable assistance in supplying quantities of tinned milk, dressing, etc.

Mr. Turner wrote about Adrianople after its surrender to the Bulgars on April 4th as follows :—

‘ You will be glad to know that owing to your promptness in sending money we were able to take provisions

into the city days before any one else, and up to the present yours is the only relief that has arrived. The city was in great disorder, and some of the Turkish hospitals in the direst straits—patients had had no food for four days. I distributed at once flour, potatoes, beans, rice, cheese, oranges, etc., to those hospitals and shall continue to do so if they need."

"The Turkish prisoners were also in a terrible plight—some 6,000 are confined on an island in the river on one side of the town, and 15,000 or 20,000 on the banks of the river, on the other, with no shelter, except a few tents for the sick—entirely inadequate—and no warmth. Provisions which at first were one loaf per day to eight men, are now one loaf per man. Everyday at least 200 die. They are being marched off as fast as possible, but there are still at least 20,000. We have established a soup-kitchen on the island, and to-morrow establish another on the banks of the river. As our stores are at present the only ones available, the American missionaries are assisting us."

He was followed immediately by Dr. W. E. Haigh, accompanied by Miss Peddar and Doctors Calthrop and Bayliss.

In the midst of these onerous duties Dr. Haigh found it necessary to visit the hospital at Kniajevo, one sister having charge of a ward of serious typhus cases. Both the sisters there were working under terrible difficulties. Writing on April 17th Dr. Haigh says:—

"We have had all sick from the Marash encampment cleared off and possibly 400 to 500 of them are now under a roof and having direct attention.

"Four days ago we were directly responsible for the feeding of two hospitals of this kind, with controlling and medical interests in three other buildings. Apart from our help the Bulgarian authorities are giving nothing but bread—although they have a ration once a week on paper of rice, churba, and meat."

Major General Broadwood,* whose kind help as a volunteer the President had been able to secure, for relief at Dedeagatch, then took charge of the relief work at Adrianople. His energetic and earnest representations to the Bulgarian authorities respecting the treatment of the prisoners were effective. The following extract will

* Killed at Loos in the Great War.

give an idea of the work organised by this distinguished officer. Writing on April 15th, he says :—

“ Your funds have hitherto been employed in alleviating the conditions of the prisoners of war, some 25,000 here, (Adrianople), and 10,000 at Mustapha Pasha. The prisoners had been neglected and many were in a deplorable state of sickness and want ; they were dying in large numbers. We moved as many as possible of the sick into the existing Turkish hospitals and established two further temporary hospitals containing some 200 and 600 respectively. Soup is being issued to some 5,000 prisoners in addition, and I am establishing cooking arrangements for the weakly prisoners at Mustapha Pasha.”

Reporting on these, General Broadwood says :—

“ Families of officers and soldiers and of Government employees or pensionaires of the Government have all to be dealt with for the present. We are doing what we can to tide over the present stress by a daily distribution of 15,000 loaves of bread and the allotment of monetary relief in special cases.”

The distribution of loaves was later increased to 20,000 a day. The number of prisoners of war divided amongst various camps and hospitals was estimated by General Broadwood at from 20,000 to 25,000.

General Broadwood reported to the British Red Crescent Committee that the number of lives saved by Dr. Haigh and his colleagues could hardly be estimated. He added : “ I am giving bread daily to nearly 45,000 people, on which the Mufti and other Turkish gentlemen assure me the city is practically dependent.” No more striking testimony could be given to the value of the Society's work than these simple unadorned statements.

A soup kitchen was started in Constantinople under the direction of the Rev. Robert Frew who had with such devotion and self-sacrifice assisted Dr. Godwin Baynes in tending the cholera patients at San Stefano. It was first proposed to give 2,000 portions of soup daily, but the numbers presenting themselves and begging for food were so great that the work had to be extended and eventually 7,000 people were fed every day. No small proportion of them came from miles away bowl in hand to fetch the daily dole. The distribution began at one o'clock, and often lasted four hours, the representatives of about 1,500 Turkish families passing through the tent every day. The cost of running the kitchen for feeding these people

was estimated at £600 per month, and the relief lasted up to June 22nd, 1913.

Mr. Frew was assisted in his work of ministering to the starving thousands by Sister Warriner, one of the nurses of the British Red Crescent Hospital staff, who had been sent out when cholera was raging among the Turkish soldiers. She attended to mothers and babies.

The British Red Crescent Society's representatives were thus able to save the lives of thousands of these babies and small children.

In addition to this relief work, Sister Warriner found many cases of smallpox, measles, and other illnesses needing care. Patients too ill to be nursed in the mosques were then taken by ambulance to the refugee Hospital, where they had every care. In addition to the refugees housed in the mosques some were living in houses, stables, and rough shelters. These were more difficult to find and to deal with, but, as far as possible, they were visited from time to time.

After the recapture of Adrianople by the Ottoman Army, the Rev. Mr. Frew undertook the stupendous work of relieving the destitute Moslem peasantry of Thrace. Their houses were burnt down, their fields were unsown, their cattle were killed or sold for food. The land was in absolute desolation from one end to another. These were the people whom Mr. Frew undertook to help with the British Red Crescent funds, and nobly he did this work.

In the meantime his place in the administration of the soup kitchen was taken by another volunteer, Mr. Stephen Hobhouse, to whom also the Society owes a deep debt of gratitude.

In March, Captain Wyndham Deedes (now Brigadier-General Sir Wyndham Deedes, then of the Ottoman Gendarmerie), joined Sister Wheatley in the administration of relief in Asia Minor, on behalf of our Society. In addition to the thousands of families succoured by Colonel Surtees and His Highness Damad Ferid Pasha's Committee on behalf of the Society, Captain Deedes and Sister Wheatley relieved altogether 27,291 Rumelian refugees in seventy-seven villages in the vilayet of Broussa (Khudavendghiar).

Appeals came in from the British Consul-General at Salonica and the Committee forthwith allocated a sum of £100 per week to supply relief. With this money a French Sister-of-Mercy, Sister Augustine, was enabled to establish soup kitchens which fed daily more than a thousand people.

Having regard to the utter impossibility of immediate repatriation of the refugees owing to the certainty, as stated by Colonel Delme-Radcliffe, of their being massacred, the Committee remitted weekly £200 to Mr. Consul-General Lamb during the whole time the distress was at its worst to supply sufferers with bread. Altogether the Society remitted £1,600 to the Consul at Salonica.

Feeling that the only hope of saving the lives of these refugees, or at least of the remnant that could survive till then, was to supply them with means of transport to Asia Minor or Egypt, the President appealed direct to His Highness the Khedive for assistance. His Highness immediately wired back in reply: "Two thousand pounds sent British Consul five days ago. Another four thousand pounds worth of food leaving in Red Crescent steamer, chartered at two thousand pounds making eight thousand sent to Salonique alone. We are doing our utmost, and beg to thank you for generous assistance."

In Western Macedonia and Albania there was great need. In December 1912 a telegraphic appeal was received by the Foreign Office from His Majesty's Vice-Consul, saying that "there is urgent need of immediate assistance for 10,000 entirely destitute Moslems now in Monastir."

Pere Clement, Superieur de la Mission Sacre Cœur, (a French mission at Gallipoli,) gave the Society invaluable assistance in relieving the distress among the Moslems of the Gallipoli district and wrote in the following terms:—

"The Mussulman refugees continue to flock here, returning from Asia, whither they had fled at the commencement of the war; and now that peace is at last to be signed they have been sent back to people our 'deserts.' It is just a mass of ambulatory misery."

THE WORLD WAR.

On the 2nd of November 1912 the "Morning Post" had published a letter from me in which I expressed my conviction that the first Balkan War had caused the collapse of Turkey as a great power, and had brought nearer the inevitable conflict between Slav and Teuton; but I little thought that it would come so soon and involve the rest of the world. The Great War came upon us like a thunderclap. My belief had been that self-interest, if not intellectual and racial ties, would outweigh individual

ambitions or machinations which were tending to involve Great Britain and Germany in a colossal conflict. On the declaration of War by Great Britain, the British Red Crescent Society again commenced its activities. It presented to His Majesty's forces operating in Flanders a fully equipped Motor Field Ambulance.

When the Indian Contingent arrived in the North of France the Society's help was asked by a number of Officers, to supply the men with "comforts" to mitigate the rigours of the climate to which they were unaccustomed. As this form of activity was not included in the objects of the British Red Crescent Society, I inaugurated a separate Fund under the name of "The Indian Troops Comforts Account," which was worked by the voluntary assistance of friends in England. We received most generous help in money and material from all parts of Great Britain, and were thus able to supply to a number of Indian Regiments, through their Commanding Officers, additions of special things to their already generous diet, as well as comforts and footwear; and most welcome of all, as we were told, waterproof turban covers and trench boots, and such-like. Adjutants and other officers were good enough to write direct to me for any particular needs of the men under their charge. The diversity of nationalities among Indian Regiments, requiring different kinds of food and necessaries, etc., made our task anything but monotonous.

Besides the comforts for soldiers at the front, we sent parcels of food and of articles to ease their captivity, to the Indian and Algerian prisoners in German hands. We also communicated for them with their families during their detention, and it was gratifying to me later to get letters from Indian soldiers who had returned safely to their homes.

At times British Officers who were prisoners of war, informed me, through letters to their relations at home, of certain hardships to which captured Indian Officers were subjected. One was a case of solitary confinement. With the kind help of neutral Embassies I was able to mitigate their lot.

NOTE.—The following letter from the Secretary of the Indian Soldiers' Fund was found among the Syed's papers, along with one from him referring to it. As will be seen it refers to the prisoners taken by the Turks at Kut, namely the whole of the survivors of Townshend's Army.

THE ANGORA TURKS.

The story of my conflict of opinion with the Angora Turks may here be related. I had long made efforts on behalf of Turkey in the affirmation of her rights in the comity of Nations, and in the relief of the suffering and distress to which her unfortunate people had so often been subjected, and I believe that the much abused "Old Turk" who was a nature's gentleman, was grateful.

In 1877 when the Russians were hammering at the gates of Constantinople I used my endeavours to explain

What action was taken on the Syed's communications is not known; probably any continued relief was rendered abortive by the entry of the United States into the war, and the withdrawal of the only neutral Ambassador who had any influence with the Turkish coterie responsible for the conduct of the war.

THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM IN ENGLAND.

Indian Soldiers' Fund Committee.
1, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
London, S. W.

"DEAR MR. AMEER ALI,

I wonder if you will be able to be of any help to us in the following matter :—

As you know something like 14,000 prisoners were taken by the Turks at Kut, of whom between 9,000 and 10,000 were Indians. During the past few months, the Turks have been gradually transferring these prisoners to Asia Minor, but, in spite of every effort on the part of the India Office and Foreign Office no official information has so far been received as to the exact place in Asia Minor where the prisoners are being interned. It has, at different times, been stated that the men or officers were to be sent to such places as Angora, Brusa, and Konia in Asia Minor, and some we know are at Afiun Karahissar. Others are still at Baghdad, especially those that are sick, and some we know have arrived at Aleppo, on their way to their final internment camps.

Towards the beginning of July a Conference was held at the India Office, at which the Foreign Office, India Office, War Office, Royal Army Clothing Department, Prisoners of War Help Committee, and ourselves were all represented, to consider measures for sending comforts and clothing to these prisoners of war, and to get a route to them opened out through the kind offices of the American Ambassador in Constantinople. The subject, however, is beset with difficulties because a land route to reach Constantinople must necessarily pass through Bulgaria, and the ports, such as Smyrna, Adana, Alexandretta, at which supplies might be landed, are all, of course, enemy ports. So far no satisfactory communication has been received from the American Ambassador, and everything is at a standstill.

to the West how necessary was an independent Turkey to the peace of Europe. This was, and had been for long before, the keystone of the foreign policy in the East of the British Government ; but a large party took a contrary view which afterwards to a great extent prevailed.

As will be seen above, when Constantinople and its neighbourhood were crowded with refugees from different parts of the Turkish Empire, the British Red Crescent Society, under my guidance, helped the administration to relieve sickness and starvation among the homeless people ; and the munificence of His Exalted Highness the Nizam enabled us to do some good work with the assistance of British and French workers on the spot.

When the notorious massacre in Smyrna was committed by the Greek forces at the time of their landing in 1919, numbers of suffering Moslems also received assistance at the request of British residents and eye-witnesses. The need for this is shown by the following authentic account of the occurrences in Smyrna and the Aidin District in 1919 by a British eye-witness.

“ The Turkish authorities issued a General Order the day before the landing that no resistance was to be offered —a time was also named for handing over G. H. Q.

“ The order seems to have been obeyed, but the Greek troops broke into some of the places where Turkish officers

Although we know that the Turks treat their prisoners with humanity, we also know that they themselves are none too well supplied with ordinary comforts, hospital comforts or clothing. We also know, from private letters, that many of the officers, even of high rank, have no clothing other than the rags in which they have done long marches on the way from Baghdad all these months past. We have sent to the American Ambassador £1,000 in cash for distribution through the Ottoman Red Crescent, and with the help of the American Consular Officials the British Red Cross Society has done the same thing, or rather has sent £2,500 to provide hospital comforts, through the same agency. The Red Cross Society, I may mention, is willing to spend any sum of money in reason to get stores forwarded to these prisoners. We ourselves have at the present time over £13,000 in hand for expenditure on providing comforts and clothing for the purely Indian portion of the prisoners. Nothing, however, can be done until a route is opened and we know definitely where all the prisoners are to be.

You, I know, are interested in the Red Crescent Society, and it occurs to me as quite likely that you may have friends in Constantinople who could assist us with the Turkish Government in (1) distributing gifts consigned to the American Embassy in Constantinople ; (2) in getting those gifts through Bulgaria by some agency ; or (3) in getting the Turkish Government's permission to land supplies in a neutral ship at a port, such as Scutari, Smyrna, Adana, or whatever place may be convenient to the Turkish Government,

were gathered and shot down all who refused to cry 'Zeto Venezelos.' I am told that between 200 and 300 officials were killed, but am not able to substantiate the statement as to numbers.

"The Vali was dragged along the quay with his hands up and carried a prisoner on board a Greek ship. His fez was taken off and trampled under foot. His wife (a purdah lady) was hurt and his house looted. The Chief of the Turkish Staff was bayoneted in the face and thrown into the hold of a Greek cattle-ship among the cattle. The senior doctor of the Turkish Army Corps was murdered, and on Monday last the body had not been found. The Chief of the Artillery was also murdered, his brother a young doctor was robbed of everything even to his wedding ring; he showed me the mark made in getting it off, and said in some cases fingers had been cut to remove rings. His wife, though a Russian, was robbed of everything too.

"These are only a few cases I saw myself—everywhere it has been the same. In the villages not only have houses been looted but burnt or pulled down.

"What the Allied fleet was doing to allow this sort of thing to go on I don't understand, for the Greeks, both Military and Civil, took a hand in it—and it was not until they were attacked that the Turks showed any fight. The Greeks claim that Smyrna is Greek—as a matter of fact Christians are in a majority here—but not Greek Christians. Of Ottoman Greeks and Ottoman Turks there are more Ottoman Turks.

Will you please let me know whether you can help us in any of these ways? We know from private sources that many of the officers are in a very bad state owing to the long marches which they have undergone between Baghdad and Asia Minor, and that very many of them are suffering from dysentery and other exhausting diseases. Sir John Hewett and my Committee, like many other people, are appalled to think what the result may be unless clothing and comforts can be got through to these men before very long. They will probably most of them die of cold, apart from anything else, if left in places on the highlands of Asia Minor during the winter without proper clothing; and men suffering from dysentery will require medical comforts not to mention such things as condensed milk, etc.

Yours sincerely,
P. D. AGNEW,
Hon. Secretary.

" In other places, such as Mainsa, which I understand the Greeks are to occupy, four-fifths of the population is Moslem.

" There are a few purely Greek villages near Smyrna, but the population as a whole is Moslem. Can nothing be done to get a Commission of Inter-Allied Commissioners who know the country—sent to report on the population?

" This time I have been to Dianan and Dinizle, both places full of refugees from the Aidin District, which, as you probably know, has been destroyed by the Greek Army. It seems that after occupying Aidin the Greeks began to arrest all Turkish notables in spite of the expostulations of the Turkish Government. They next began a house to house visitation for arms—violating harems and insulting and robbing the ladies. This induced a number of Moslem families to leave the town and seek refuge in the mountains. The Greeks promptly burnt their houses, and, of course, the men returned bent on revenge and the trouble started. The Greeks used machine guns and mowed down everybody including a number of Christians, and they killed every Moslem they could lay their hands on, women and children were shut up in houses nominally for safety and then the houses were burnt, and all the usual horrors attendant on massacres went on. I think the worst individual act of cruelty was the fate meted out to four women who defended themselves and their homes with their husbands' guns. They were caught and killed by being impaled on wooden spikes.

" When the town had been destroyed the Greeks attacked the farms and villages, 69 of the latter have been wiped out and all farms belonging to Moslems have been destroyed. There must be about 100,000 refugees, at least, about the country, most of them escaped with only the clothes they were wearing and are in the depths of misery. 9,716 are said to have been killed, while there is a long list

STRATHPEFFER, N. B.

18th August 1916.

" MY DEAR —————

I have received a very important communication from Agnew, asking my advice as to how they might send help to British prisoners in Turkey, and if I can give any assistance. The Foreign Office, the War Office, the India Office, the Indian Soldiers Fund, and the Red Cross, had a joint conference but could not arrive at a solution. Agnew now writes to me,

of missing. What is going to happen to these people during the winter I can't think..... The further advance of the Greeks has been stopped by the 'National Turkish Army' which also turned them out of Nazili. Even many of the Ottoman Greeks themselves are beginning to regret the advent of the Hellenic Army, they say 'that if they remain, Anatolia will become a second Macedonia.' Besides, they got rather a sickener of their Hellenic friends at Aivali. There a band of about 1,500 Turks attacked the Greek Army some 3,000 strong with guns, and the Greeks ran away. The local Christians wanted to run, too, but the Hellenes found them in the way, and turned on them with their bayonets. The result was that, between the advancing Turks and retiring Greeks, they got pretty well wiped out. When they had finished retiring the Greek army wiped out all the Moslem villages in that region in revenge

"You know the first Greek Division to land in Smyrna was the very Division which murdered our Marines and the French at Athens before Greece was starved into war. We have short memories, have we not? And, of course, the man in the street knows nothing of what has been going on."

We appealed to Mr. Lloyd George to stay the advance of the Greeks but our request was unheeded.

The Rev. Mr. Frew, formerly British Chaplain at Constantinople, who had so nobly assisted the British Red Crescent Society's charitable activities there and in Thrace during the Balkan Wars, again went forth on our behalf to the districts of Anatolia where the suffering was most acute. Our help was given without stint to Mustapha Kemal's new society for the welfare of the Turkish children, and it continued to the very day on which the Angora Turks singled me out for violent personal attack.

As you are not here I consulted General Rundle who is here.

He said the question is a very big one and that I ought to give my views to Grey or to Hardinge or to De Bunsen, and not to someone in a subordinate position like Agnew. I propose to write to Agnew and say that I would be only too glad to give any assistance I can, and am willing to write to the Turks I know, as he suggests.

But in order that help may reach its destination effectively, the question has to be dealt with, in my opinion, by the F. O. in an Imperial manner.

I am, therefore, submitting a Memorandum to Lord Hardinge direct. What do you think of this? _____"

After the defeat of the Greeks and the flight of Sultan Wahid-ud-din (Muhammad VI) in 1922 the Angora Turks elected Abdul Majid as Caliph. This cultivated and patriotic man received the "*Bai'at*" of the Turkish Assembly and the spiritual allegiance of the Turkish nation.

The Caliphate is a spiritual dignity which has existed since the early days of Islam. Like the Papacy in Catholic Christendom, it is the keystone of orthodox faith. It commands respect even among Moslems who are not strictly orthodox and who give spiritual allegiance to other Pontiffs.

Some time after this the Angora Turks planned the total abolition of the Caliphate, at the instigation, as was supposed, of their Premier Ismet Pasha.

H. H. the Aga Khan, himself the sole spiritual leader of a large sect of non-orthodox Moslems, and I, felt it our duty jointly to appeal to Angora for the maintenance of the Caliphate with its age-long traditions, and the world of Islam was at one with our sentiments.

As unprejudiced readers agreed our letters to Fethy Bey and Ghazi Ismat Pasha contained no reason to justify the subsequent fury of the Angora Government, which prosecuted the unfortunate editors of some Constantinople newspapers for publishing them. In addressing the Tribunal the Angora Public Prosecutor stigmatised H.H. the Aga Khan and me as "the real criminals."

In December 1923 Shevki Pasha, with whom I had been on friendly terms during his stay in England, came to ask me to overlook the conduct of the "new Turks" towards me. I replied that unless a public apology was offered for the violence of their expressions, I would no longer be concerned with them, and I have maintained this attitude.

The Turks of Angora have this year (1928) disestablished Islam as the State Religion of Turkey. "The Times" in a leading article on the matter aptly said "New Turkey is apparently borrowing its principles from the banks of the Neva and the Seine."

Turkey possessed the sympathy and support of the Islamic world so long as she maintained the Caliphate, but alienated it the moment the Caliph and his family were ejected from her territory without provision and with the confiscation of all their property, to subsist on the charity of other Moslems, and some Christians, in a Christian country.

This act of the new rulers of Turkey has been worthily denounced by the Ulema of Al-Azhar, the rigorous representatives of orthodox Islam.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

In November 1909, I was appointed a member of His Majesty's Privy Council in order to serve on the Judicial Committee. This I have done for nearly 19 years.

For the first three years I gave my services entirely without stipend ; as did Sir John Edge. It was only on Sir Arthur Wilson's retirement that Sir John Edge and I received the " indemnity " under Act II and III, Will. IV, but this so-called " indemnity " did not cover a fraction of what was entailed in attendance at the sittings of the Board. The sum considered sufficient in 1832 was wholly inadequate 80 years later. The Appeals had increased immensely and sittings were almost constant. But we who were appointed as experts in Indian Law did not receive from His Majesty's Government even the emolument paid to the members of the Council of the Secretary, of State for India. It is only now *after* our long services that a measure has been introduced to give new members of the Judicial Committee ten times the " indemnity " we received.

When I joined the Judicial Committee Lord MacNaughton ordinarily presided at the sittings of the Board. He was unquestionably the ablest member of the Judicial Committee and his experience was most valuable. In his time each member of the Board took charge of the judgments in rotation, nor was any case ever taken out of turn. He thus maintained a uniformity of practice with a sense of responsibility among his colleagues. Since his death this time-honoured system which had worked so admirably for more than a century has disappeared.

On a recent occasion when the President had allotted me a judgment to write, a member of the Board suggested that it would have more weight if delivered by a Peer ! I was, therefore, required to write a Memorandum for the use of my learned and noble colleague.

How necessary it was to have on the Board a member thoroughly acquainted with the customs and institutions of India as a whole and some knowledge of the ordinary phrases in use in the different parts of the country, will appear from the fact that " Wilson's Glossary " was in

constant use for the interpretation of common terms ; often the meaning of quite simple words was a subject of debate among opposing counsel.

As the Indian Appeals came from every part of the great sub-continent, experience of one Province or of one High Court or of one community is insufficient. It was essential, I found, to have a general idea of the entire Indian Empire and the various people. To quote one instance only, the Burmese are quite distinct from the peoples of India ; and the growth of their institutions has proceeded on different lines.

There has been much talk within the last year or two of "improving" the Judicial Committee.

Shorn of its verbiage, the implication involved in this statement is that the administration of justice has hitherto been defective, and that the great minds who now rule the Empire have only just awakened to the idea. This plain statement will, I fear, affect the confidence of the people of the Eastern Empire of England in the administration of justice. It will lead them to think that men like Barnes Peacock, Kingdom, Colville, MacNaughton, and others before and since, had not been competent and that their incapacity is only now comprehended.

I have been a party to a number of cases in which I have fundamentally differed from my noble colleagues. I would be very loth, however, to charge them with incompetence. English Law, like all highly developed systems, is a paradoxical jumble of principles. In deciding the cases to which I refer, the majority, in my opinion, wrongly applied English doctrines to Indian institutions. But it would be impertinence to say that there was incompetence—a charge now levelled at a judicial body whose reputation should be sedulously maintained as a matter of State policy.

Two currents of opinion with regard to the Judicial Committee are running in India. One is represented by the Government of India, which naturally desires to have in its own hands the nominations to it under cover of the phrase "the improvement of the Judicial Committee." In its desire to introduce its own proteges under pretext of "recent experience" it has failed to perceive the slur cast upon all the past Lords of Appeal who have sat on the Board, and that this weakens the authority of the judgments delivered before the access of "recent experience."

So far as Hindu Law is concerned, neither Manu, Yanjnuvalkya, Vijnaneswara or Jamutavahana can receive much light from "recent experience." If the Government of India had due understanding of the work of the Judicial Committee, it would have realised that the cases in which "recent experience" can be of the slightest value are few and far between.

A Bill has recently been introduced in Parliament for the reconstitution of the Judicial Committee. It frankly abolishes the old established rule of "Judicial experience" as being the *sine qua non* for eligibility for appointment to His Majesty's Privy Council. It embodies in a concrete form the spirit of the age which has manifested itself in India. "Judicial experience" hitherto furnished a definite standard of qualification. Under the new measure there is none: every legal practitioner above the grade of a "Mukhtar" of fourteen years standing is declared eligible for appointment to the highest Tribunal of the Empire which has until now commanded the confidence of India, and has been the admiration of the world.

(Concluded.)

OMAR (AFTER THE CONQUEST OF PERSIA)

Loud throbs Medina's heart with prayer and praise ;
Her conquering hosts from Persia's fields return !
All eyes upon the heroes fix their gaze,
While anxious hearts for missing faces yearn.

Outside the Prophet's mosque the elders stand
Around their chief to welcome and to greet
The noble leader* and his valiant band
Who come to lay their trophies at his feet

Who sent them forth. He marks the joyous stir
Of grateful hearts rejoicing in their gain
He, throneless King and pompless Conqueror
Of Syria's lands and Persia's wide domain !

A tall stern man, who long had passed his prime,
An iron mind within an iron frame,
Ordained to stamp faith's edicts upon time :
Omar, a man of might, a mighty name.

His were the words " Saad Wakkas, be it thine
O'er godless realms God's levin-bolt to fling,
To purge with purer flame the Magian's shrine,
To tame the high-born pride of Persia's King."

Saad heard—and went and conquered. Quenched the star
That long had shone upon the Persian race.
Soldier of fate, his victory near and far
Was to send forth the beams of dawning grace !

And now he comes to spread upon the ground
Trophies of nameless price from Persia won ;
Bright jewels heaps before him and around,
That once adorned the votaries of the sun.

* Saad bin Wakkas

The Caliph looks, then turns away his eyes.
Another vision sleepless memory brings ;
He hears the voice that taught him to despise
The glittering toys that grace the pomp of kings.

What thoughts are his upon this glorious day
(More glorious than an Alexander's dream !).
Deep thoughts, high thoughts, and sad thoughts that dismay
The soul that takes life's gifts for what they seem !

" Lo ! Persia's kingdom lies a crumpled scroll !
" As he foretold who sleeps in yonder grave.
" God's peace and blessings on the Prophet's soul !
" Glory is God's, not mine, His humble slave.

" All, all upon this earth shall pass away :
" Kingdoms and Kings, wealth, power, glory, fame—
" The weak heart's snare, the playthings of a day,
" The weak soul's lure, the echoes of a name.

" Thy power abides, and Thine the hand alone
" That holds the kingdom of the earth and skies.
" Lord of all worlds ! Creation is Thy throne.
" And all eternity beneath Thee lies "

Such are his thoughts ; he turns the crowd to scan.
" Say, who hath seen the Persian on his throne,
" Decked in his jewelled trappings ? Dress yon man
" E'en like the king, that to us may be known

" Vain Yezdgird's form—poor phantom of a king !"
A Persian captive wears the diadem
His monarch wore, his collar and his ring,
His shoes of gold, his robe with jewelled hem !

" For these he lost his life . . . when he had lost
" His kingdom . . . and his warriors . . . through his pride.
" He had the choice . . . and chose at mortal cost
" That which hath fled, not that which shall abide " !

NIZAMAT JUNG.

ABU'R-RAIHAN AL-BERUNI

DR. Zia ud-Dîn Ahmad has given us in the July number of this Journal an appreciation of the remarkable scholar who through misfortune came to India and has left us one of the best accounts of that country during the Middle Ages. Though I am not quite as enthusiastic as Prof. Sachau is stated to have been in calling him the greatest intellect that ever lived on this earth, I will readily admit, with others, that he was a most remarkable man and far in advance of his time.

At this point I wish to correct one or two errors of the learned doctor. In the autograph written by Al-Bêrûnî in Ghazna in the year 416 A.H., of which I shall speak later, he calls himself Abu'r-Raihân (with article and vocalized with a fatha) and Al-Bêrûnî (written with a fatha also). The reason why I write Bêrûnî (with yâ'i majhûl) is because it is impossible to indicate the sound E in Arabic script and because the word for *outside* was in his days pronounced *berun* with yâ'i majhûl. In India generally not much value is laid upon the correct rendering of proper names when written in Latin characters, but I believe we owe it to the great scientist that we should write his name with scientific accuracy.

I had the pleasure when in Aligarh to read some parts of the Qânûn al-Mas'ûdî with Mr. Faruq. Unfortunately the copy made from the ancient manuscript, once at Aligarh, is far from satisfactory and marred by an Urdu translation being written in many cases between the lines. As matters stand, all good manuscripts which are known to exist are at present in the libraries of Oxford, London, and Berlin. The latter copy is actually the one which at one time was in Aligarh. I may be misinformed, but as far as I could ascertain, the manuscript in question was at that time *private* property and was sold lawfully by the owner to the State Library of Berlin. It is a further matter of the greatest regret that, while in India there are many competent persons who could edit the Qânûn al-Mas'ûdî but for want of pecuniary means, as Dr. Zia ud-Din says,

the very reverse is the case in Europe. The means could be found but the scholars equipped for such a task are very few, because the work requires not only a *good* knowledge of Arabic but also *historical* training in Arabic Mathematics and Astronomy. Here is therefore a ground for successful co-operation. That this is not only desirable but imperative is proved by the fact that unfortunately the work of Dr. Zia ud-Dîn is hardly known in Europe, while he appears to be unaware of the exemplary German translation of the Trigonometrical portion of the work by the late Dr. Schöy, edited by Prof. Ruska after the former's death.

Professor Sachau could hardly have hoped that such a thing as a work by Al-Bêrûnî in his own handwriting, nor another in the writing of his biographer, Ghadanfar, should have come to light, but such is actually the case. The former has the title of *Tahdîd Nihayat al-Amâkin fi Tashîh Masâfat al-Masâkin* and he completed his final copy in Ghazna in 416 A.H., when he was 54 years of age. The manuscript is in an excellent state of preservation and is in the library of the Sultân Fâtih mosque in Constantinople. The other work is the *Kitâb as-Saidana* which has been discovered by the efforts of Prof. Ritter in an obscure library in Brûsa, the ancient capital of the Turkish Empire. Unfortunately this copy is damaged by water. We possess, however, two manuscripts of the Persian translation, one in the British Museum, containing a fuller text, and the other in the University Library at Aligarh containing apparently an abridged text. Both these latter copies are also considerably damaged by water or worms, but it is hoped that the defects of one of the three copies may be mended by the help of the other two.

A third work which I wish to mention shows us the indefatigable scientist in another field of research. I refer to his work on precious stones and metals which has the title *Kitâb al-Jumâhir fi Ma'rifat al-Jawâhir*. It was my friend, Prof. Dr. Hadi Hasan, who asked me to procure photographs of the manuscript preserved in the library of the Escorial in Spain which was considered at that time to be unique. At my request Padre Antonio Sanchez sent me the desired photographs to Aligarh and I made a complete copy of the work when confined to isolation at Mussoorie. The text of this manuscript is about as bad as any manuscript can be. The scribe, apparently an Indian, certainly knew not a word of what he was writing,

omitting not only lines but at times half a word. Here also we have the fortune of two further manuscripts being discovered in the rich libraries of Constantinople. Photographs of a second copy, older than the Spanish one, but not dated, were placed at my disposal by Prof. Ruska. This copy is in many respects better than the first; the scribe at least was an Arabic-speaking Egyptian and his copy was apparently made for some Mamlûk Amîr. Unfortunately he did not know anything of the subject and failed where the ignorance of the other scribe had caused him at least to trace the letters of proper names. Both copies together are not sufficient to produce a satisfactory text. It was therefore a matter of the greatest satisfaction when Ahmad Zeki Pasha pointed out to me that he knew of a third manuscript in the library of the Serai in Constantinople which not only is much older than the other two but much more correct. On these three copies I hope to publish the text and an English translation.

In the course of his various remarks in these three works Bêrûnî occasionally refers to events in his life and we also get an insight into his other accomplishments. In the first place he must have possessed a good knowledge of many languages, for in the books on stones and metals as well as in the book on drugs he generally tells us the names in various other languages such as Greek, Syrian, Persian, Turkish and Indian. At times he adds Zâbuli, Khwarazmî and other tongues. But we get more information in the preface to his book on drugs. He tells us that unfortunately his mother tongue was a language which had not been used for perpetuating any work of science and that both Arabic and Persian were foreign languages to him.* He adds: what a difference between the two languages! One needs only to look at a scientific

وان كانت كل امة تستحلي لغتها التي افتمها واعادتها واستعملتها في مآربها مع الانها واشكالها واقيس هذا بنفسى وهى مطبوعة على لغة لو خلد بها علم لا تستغرب استغراب البعير على الميزاب والزرافة في الكواب ثم منتقلة الى العربية والفارسية فاننا في كل واحدة د خيل ولها متكلف والهجو بالعربية احب الى من المدح بالفارسية ويستعرف مصداق قولى من تأمل كتاب علم نقل الى الفارسي كيف ذهبت رونقه وكسف باله واسود وجهه وزال الانتفاع به اذ لا تصلح هذه اللغة الا للاخبار الكسروية والا مسار الليلية الخ

book translated from Arabic into Persian to see how all the beauty and clearness is gone and he adds Persian is, as a language, only good for gossip at night or for fairy-tales about the Khosroes. I give the Arabic text in the foot-note for readers to convince themselves. He further tells us in the same introduction that in his young days there resided in Khwarazm a learned Greek to whom he used to go for instruction in that language and whom he used to ask for the Greek names of plants etc.* Those who are adverse to the new Turkish alphabet will here get another revelation. Bêrûnî complains of the difficulty of rendering correctly in Arabic script a transcription of the Greek names. He says the Arabic script, with all its beauty, has two serious defects. One is that so many letters have the same shape and can only be distinguished by diacritical marks which are often omitted by scribes and, in addition, for correct understanding, a vocalisation is necessary. He adds that even when these two principles are carried out it is always necessary that the written text be carefully collated as there is still the danger of errors slipping in. That this is only too true is fully borne out by the copy of the book on drugs made by Ghadanfar who has been very careless in following the principles which Bêrûnî has laid down and which he had copied only a few pages earlier. His copy leaves much to be desired.

The book on precious stones and the book on drugs do not figure in the list of the works of Bêrûnî which he had drawn up himself and both are works of his old age. While the book on precious stones is dedicated to the Amîr (he never uses the term Sultân) Maudûd, grandson

قد خطت في غريزي منذ حدثني بفرط الحرص على اقتناء المعارف بحسب السن والحال ويكنى شاهدا عليه ان روميا حل ارضا فكنت ابحى بالجوب والوزور والثار والنبات وغيرها واسأله عن اسمائها بلغته واحررها ولكن للكتابة العربية آفة عظيمة وهي تشابه صور الحروف المزوجة فيها واضطرابها في التمايز الى نقط العجم وعلا مات الاعراب التي اذا تريت استبهم المفهوم منها فاذا انضاف اليه اغفال المعارضة واهمال التصحيح بالمقابلة وذلك من الفعل عام قومنا يساوى به وجود الكتاب وعدمه بل علم ما فيه وجهه ولولا هذه الآفة لكفى نقل ما في كتاب ديسقوريدس المنقولة الى العربي من الاسامي اليونانية الا انا لاثق بها الخ

of Mahmûd, the book on drugs is most likely the last book he ever composed and it has no dedication. It has been argued that he did not know Greek. Now, in his droll way he says (*Tahdid* fol. 98) : Anything which ends with the letter S in the way of technical terms is considered (by the pious) as idolatry while this S in Greek is nothing else than the substitute for the, 'I`râb in Arabic. Some pages further on he mentions Thîba (Thebes) as the ancient capital of Egypt and adds that the poet Homeros mentions it in his poem. Now comes the question, did Bêrûnî read the Iliad in Greek or did an Arabic or Persian translation exist in his time ? I believe the former.

He tells us himself that he was nearly eighty years of age and that times were bad and it was very difficult to find any competent scholar as a collaborator. He calls himself fortunate that he had nevertheless found such a man in the Shaikh Ahmad an-Nahsha'i. This book was never issued for general circulation and probably Bêrûnî died before it had assumed its final shape. In this respect the note of Ghadanfar on the front page of the Brûsa manuscript is instructive and I translate it in full.*

كان على ظهر الورقة الاولى من النسخة التى نسخت عنها هذه النسخة بخط الشيخ الامام الفاضل ظهير الدين ابى المحامد محمد بن مسعود بن محمد بن الزاكي الغزنوى توارثه حفرته ما هذا صورته : النسخ الموجودة كلها منقولة من السواد وكان السواد بخطى الشيخين رحمهما الله وهما الشيخ احمد النهشى والاستاذ ابو الريحان البيرونى ومتن السواد بخط الشيخ احمد لذكرا دوية مشهورة موجودة فى الكتب كلها وحواشيه بخط الاستاذ مقرمطامشوشا على سطور مختلفة الاوضاع وحروف منقوصة لشرح تلك الادوية ولذكر ادوية غريبة وشرحها بالاسامى المختلفة والمعانى المتفاوتة فلذلك جاءت النسخ كلها مختلفة الكلمات بالزيادة والنقصان لتسحيف والتحريف والترتيب والتبويب الانسخة نقلتها وقابلت هذه النسخة بها بعون الله وتوفيقه ثم كتب هكذى تداولت الايام بالنوبة لمحمد بن مسعود بن محمد بن الزاكي فى سنة تسع واربعين وخمسائه تصفحه وكان كاتبه مصحفا فصيح بالمقابلة وكان بعض الكلمات فى السواد مقطوعة الذنا بى لتقويس الكتابة فلذلك لکن جاءت بثرائم كلام محمد الغزنوى فيما حكاه من حال هذا الكتاب وكانت الحواشى المكتوبة فى هذه النسخة كلها ايضا بخطه رضى الله عنه. كتبه ابراهيم بن محمد بن ابراهيم التبريزى المعروف بعصفري او اخر سنة ٦٧٨ هجرية على صاحبها افضل الصلوة .

“ On the back of the first leaf of the copy from which I copied this copy in the handwriting of the Shaikh the worthy Imâm Zahir ad-Dîn Abûl-Mahâmid Muhammad ibn Mas'ûd ibn Muhammad ibn az-Zakî al-Ghaznawî, may God illuminate his grave, was written as follows : All the existing copies are derived from the rough draft and the rough draft was in the handwriting of the two Shaikhs upon whom God have mercy. They are the Shaikh Ahmad an-Nahsha'i and the Ustadh Abû'r-Raihan al-Bêrûnî. The main portion of the text was in the handwriting of the Shaikh Ahmad, mentioning all the well-known drugs found in the books ; on the margins was scribbled badly legible in the hand of the Ustadh in lines placed variously and with letters of defective script elucidations of those drugs and the mention of strange drugs, also the commentation of the various names and the different meanings. For this reason all copies vary as regards the wording, some containing more, others less, also there are misspellings of words and letters and differences in arrangement of the contents, except the copy which I have made and which I compared carefully, with the help and grace of God. Then was written as follows : Then the times brought it into the possession of Muhammad ibn Mas'ûd ibn Muhammad ibn az-Zakî in the year 549 (A.H.) and he worked it through page for page as the scribe was one who committed errors and he corrected it by comparison with the original. Some words in the rough draft had the ends cut off on account of the writing being bowed and for this reason they are defective at the end. Here ends the statement of the Imâm Muhammad al-Ghaznawî concerning what he relates about the condition of this book. The marginal notes in this copy were also written all in his handwriting. Written by Ibrâhîm ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrâhîm at-Tibrizî, known as Ghadanfar, towards the end of the year 678 of the Hijrah, upon the author of which be the most ample blessing.”

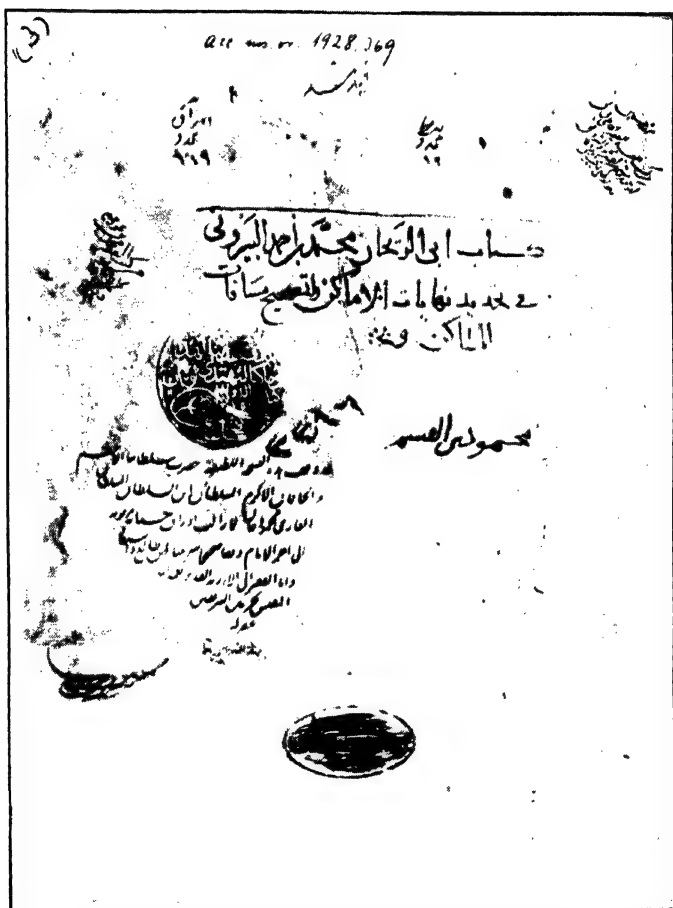
In spite of this long introductory note the manuscript, as it is, leaves us in doubt who really has written it. The marginal notes are certainly in a different hand from the main portion of the book and, as the ink of these marginal notes has run into the paper, it would seem that they were either written later when the copy had suffered from damp or with an ink which sank into the paper. Further it is certain that the writer of the notes added with the same ink points omitted by the original scribe ; sometimes a point which is *not* wanted. Unfortunately this

copy, not easy to read, is not complete, as many leaves have been lost which are found in the Persian translation. I should have liked to have given as a specimen Bêrûnî's account of tea (Jai) which is found in the Persian text, but this part has been lost in the Arabic manuscript. He tells us that this beverage was imported from China to Tibet as an antidote against drunkenness and that it was sold at a very high price ; the price being as a rule its equivalent in musk.

As regards the events of his life to which he refers I wish only to draw attention to some of them. He tells us, when speaking of rain-attracting stones and criticising the folly of the belief in them, that he had crossed the mountain-passes bounding Jurjan many times when accompanying large armies. He mentions that he offended Mahmûd, when he took him to Ghazna, by some remarks. It is Mas'ûd whom he always remembers as the martyred Amîr from whom he had received many a kindness. He mentions that he was shown the large jewel brought from the temple at Nahora which was reputed to be a ruby of great size. He weighed it in his hand and had his doubts and thought it was only an inferior stone. When his doubts were noticed he had the stone taken from him and was not allowed to see it again. Though his book on stones is dedicated to Maudûd there is no reference whatever to that monarch, which can give us an indication as to the terms on which he stood with him. Perhaps the old man quietly worked upon it in retirement.

My aim in this article is to draw attention to the work which is still to be done. In a future article I hope to give some extracts which will interest the general reader *in sha Allah*.

F. KRENKOW.



Photograph of the actual handwriting of AL-BIRUNI.

الوقت المذكور من رضاه وبعد من خطباته بنحوه في هذا اليوم

تم كتابته به طائفة الخطب
لتمتع من انظارها

وخرجت منه فخره ليعرف من حجب
بسته تحت عشر ايام

يوم الخميس ٢٢٩ وصدى الى ايقاعه فحدث
وجه على تلك ما طلت من راجعه اخر يوم من اخر سنة الت
وسبع طلبة واقتبس من عشر لخصر بغيره بعد دفعه من ايامه
الخصر التاسع والعشرون من اخر سنة ٢٢٩
رصد الى الزمان الجرحه سابه

٢٣٠ وحدثه على سبع ما طلت من راجعه لخصر من اخر سنة
شهرها الذي بسته التوسيع ليدور مع سابه لخصر من اخر سنة
بعد صدق طاروري لا تفرج عنه ٢٣٠

رصد الى الزمان نقصه

٢٣١ وحدثه بغيره بعد نقص طاروري لخصر لآخر من راجعه التوسيع
وسبع ايام وسبع وسبع لخصر من اخر سنة ٢٣١ وراى الطائفة في وقت
الازمان ٢٣١ وحدثه على سابه من اخر سنة من التوسيع الملك الساب
بما تراه الرصاد فها لم يحجب في جنبه وثابه المهرج شرب طابه الهط

THE MUGHAL-MARATHA CONTEST FOR MALWA, 1728-1741

THE Maratha penetration of the province of Malwa supplied the most convenient starting-point for raids into Rajputana. Indeed, the Rajput States, though under Hindu rulers, could not remain outside the sphere of Maratha aggression as, apart from their untapped wealth, their two greatest princes, Abhay Singh of Marwar and Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur, were appointed by the Emperor governors of Gujrat and Malwa respectively and were bound in duty to oppose Maratha encroachments upon their charges.

Girdhar Bahadur, who was *subahdar* of Malwa from September 1722 to November 1728 (except for the two years, 1723-1725, when he had to make room for the Nizam's nominee), was defeated and killed by Chimnaji, the younger brother of the Peshwa Baji Rao, near the fort of Mandu on 26th November 1728. His cousin Daya Bahadur, who then took up the command of his forces, met with the same fate at the hands of the same general, close to the same place (Amjhara) about the 25th December following.* Girdhar Bahadur's son Bhavani-ram was next appointed by the Emperor as acting *subahdar* of Malwa, and for two years (1729-30) battled manfully against increasing difficulties to hold his own. In January 1731, Muhammad Khan Bangash reached Ujjain as the new viceroy, but he could effect nothing with his own resources which the Emperor did not supplement.

* When I edited William Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I could give only my conjectures for the dates of the death of Girdhar Bahadur and Daya Bahadur and the governorship of Bhavani-ram (ii. 243-249,) because the Persian authorities were silent on the point and I had before me only a rough translation of the Persian correspondence of Girdhar Bahadur's sons, the *Ajaib-ul-afaq*, no MS. of which is available in India, so that I could not utilise the dates (if any) given in the original. The Marathi letters printed by Parasnis contained gross errors of date. But the chronology and main features of the history of this period have been correctly established by the recent publication of the State-papers of the Peshwas. *S. P. D.* Part XIII.

His stay in his new charge was short and he failed here in his struggle with the Marathas as completely as he had failed in Bundelkhand in 1729. Next year he was replaced as governor by Sawai Jai Singh,* who started from his capital on 20th October 1732 and reached Ujjain in December.

But the Emperor's Malwa viceroys, old and new, were equally unsuccessful against the Marathas. Jai Singh received large sums (20 lakhs of rupees) from his impoverished master on condition of raising an army and driving the Marathas out of the province. But he only made a show of fighting and preferred the policy of buying them off for the time with a part of the money given him, pocketing the balance, and thereafter passing his days in his own kingdom regardless of the fate of the province entrusted to his care. (*Warid*, 115-116 of my MS.)

At the beginning of 1733, Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Sindhia, after finishing their work in Gujrat by taking Champanir and provisioning Pavagarh, came on raid to Malwa. Jai Singh was then at Mandesar. The Maratha generals, leaving their camp behind, advanced with a light force, hemmed the Rajah round and put his troops to great distress by cutting off their grain and water supply. Krishnaji Pawar and Udaji Pawar, out of jealousy for the Peshwa, had been tempted to join their forces with Jai Singh. But Holkar plundered a part of Udaji's baggage, and mutual friends intervened, severely rebuked the Pawars for their alliance with their nation's enemy, and induced them to withdraw from the Mughal side. Jai Singh had to sue for peace, offering six lakhs of rupees to the Marathas, but Holkar held out for more. While these negotiations were going on, the Rajput captains, emboldened by a rumour that the Emperor in person was marching from Delhi to Agra to support them, came forth to battle. The commander of Jai Singh's rear-guard was

* *Vamsha Bhaskar*, p. 3133, states that Jai Singh, being ordered by the Emperor to go to Malwa, started from Jaipur on 23rd October 1729. But he was sent there this time not to act as governor but to drive the Marathas out with his own forces. The date of his march as *subahdar* three years later is given in this work, p. 3212. Jai Singh's more engrossing cares were the decoration of his new capital and the construction of four astronomical observatories. For the latter purpose he summoned the Jesuit Father Boudier from Bengal in 1783 and Fathers Antoine Gabelspurger and Andre Strobl from Germany in 1786 to Jaipur, paying their expenses. (Tieffenthaler, tr. by Bernoulli, i. 307).

slain. On Holkar's side a hundred or two hundred horses and some fifteen high officers were killed, and he fell back about 20 miles, while Jai Singh advanced 16 miles. Then Holkar rapidly doubled back to Jai Singh's position. The Rajput had no more stomach for fighting left; he made peace by promising to pay six lakhs in cash and to cede 28 parganahs in lieu of *chauth*. This happened at the end of February. (*S.P.D.*, xiv. 2, xv. 6.)

From April to December 1733, Baji Rao was engaged in the war with the Siddis of Janjira and the main Maratha forces were concentrated there. Pilaji Jadav planned to march into Hindustan at the end of this year, and skirting Narwar on his right, enter Kota and Bundi territory and levy contribution there for a month or so, finally returning by way of Orchha and Datia, where the Marathas had already established their hold. But the plan was modified; he was at Nimar at the end of December and then went to Bundelkhand where Holkar and Sindhia too were assembled. He next marched from Datia to Gwalior, but finding the whole country desolate and thankful to get only Rs. 50 from a village where he could, he fell back on Narwar, where we find him on 8th April 1734. Finally Pilaji returned to the Deccan, marching with Chanderi on his left hand. The Bundi expedition was undertaken by Holkar and Sindhia. (*S.P.D.* xiv. 10, 11, 13.)

Gujrat and Malwa were practically lost to the Empire, but hitherto no Maratha had entered Rajputana. Now, however, the eternal domestic feuds of that unhappy land brought the Deccanis in, first as hired allies and finally as masters levying tribute and ravaging the country year after year. We shall here trace the steps that led up to this.

Sawai Jai Singh, finding that his position and influence at the imperial Court was unrivalled by any other Hindu feudatory and daily witnessing the increasing weakness and incapacity of his suzerain, embarked on "a deeply cherished scheme" for imposing his supremacy over the minor Rajahs. He determined to seize upon all the districts on his frontiers within his grasp. (Tod, i. i *Haravati*, ch. 3). He occupied the fort of Bundi with his own troops during its ruler Budh Singh's absence and secured from the Emperor an edict transferring the State to Dalil Singh (the second son of Salim Singh Hada of Karwar), on condition of his acknowledging the house of

Jaipur as his overlord, (c. Spet. 1729). Budh Singh survived his fall for ten years (dying on 26 April 1739), and though his excessive consumption of wine and opium, joined to the disappointments and hardships of his lot, soon deranged his never-very sane mind, he for the rest of his life and his exceptionally gallant and able son Ummed Singh after him gave the usurper no rest, till at last Ummed Singh entered the capital of his ancestors and was crowned king of Bundi (23 October, 1748);* but his heritage continued even thereafter to be disturbed by Dalil Singh and fleeced by the Marathas.

Jai Singh, the sole prop of the usurper of Bundi, having left his home for Malwa at the end of 1729, Budh Singh advanced to recover his lost city. But Jaipur troops quickly arrived to the aid of Salim Singh, who was holding Bundi for his young son Dalil. This huge host scared away most of the supporters of Budh Singh, so that he counselled his followers not to fight. But some of his devoted tenants would not listen to him, they attacked the Jaipur force and were defeated, at Kusalath, 6th April 1730. (*Vamsha Bh.*, p. 3147.) Dalil Singh, thus freed from rivalry, was crowned on 19th May and married to a daughter of Jai Singh.

The defeated Budh Singh took refuge in Udaipur and then at Begham, and sank deeper and deeper into wine and opium, finally turning mad. But he found an unexpected ally. Pratap Singh Hada, the eldest son of Salim Singh, on seeing his younger brother Dalil raised to the throne of Bundi, came over to Budh Singh's side out of wounded pride and fought against his own father and brother. He was now sent to the Deccan by Budh Singh's queen with her money for hiring Maratha aid against Dalil Singh. The price was settled at six *lakhs* of rupees. On 22nd April 1734, the day of a solar eclipse, Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Sindhia, guided by Pratap Singh, appeared before Bundi, which was being held by Ummed Singh Sisodia of Shahpur (an agent of Jai Singh) and Salim Singh the regent. Pratap Singh visited Ummed and the Jaipur minister (Bhandari) in the city, but a peaceful surrender being refused, he returned to the Maratha camp. Next day the invaders occupied the city, which had been totally deserted by its inhabitants. Then the fort was besieged. The garrison made sorties with some casualties on both sides. The Marathas at first captured

* *Vamsha Bhaskar*, p. 8542.

the defence trenches facing their front lines, but the Hadas bombarded them from the fort walls and stormed them, slaughtering the Marathas in occupation. Each side then kept to its original lines. Finally Bundi was captured and Salim Singh was carried away as prisoner by the Marathas. The queen of Budh Singh tied the *Rakhi* thread round the wrist of Malhar, publicly declaring the goat-herd's son the brother of a princess of the Solar line descended from Ram. But as soon as Malhar had left, a Jaipur force, 20,000 strong, came and restored Dalil Singh at Bundi. [*S.P.D.* xiv. 14 calls the place Merta (? a misprint); *Vamsha Bh.* p. 3216-3220.]

This first Maratha penetration into Rajputana had opened the eyes of the more thoughtful among the princes to their perilous condition. The terror of it continued to be remembered long afterwards.* In the second half of October 1734, Jai Singh called a conference of all the Rajahs of Rajasthan at Hurda near Agaunch (a village in Mewar) to concert measures for keeping the Deccani spoliators out of their fatherland. That end could be reached only by a close co-operation with the imperial troops sent against the same enemies. But nothing came of the meeting. Indeed, the moral decay of the Mughal nobility made a vigorous and united policy of defence against the Marathas impossible. (*Vamsha Bh.*, 3227.)

In October 1734, the imperial Court planned a grand campaign under their two highest officers, the *wazir* Qamruddin and the *bakhshi* Khan-i-Dauran, to expel the Marathas from Malwa and Rajputana. Next month the *wazir* started from Delhi, at the head of 25,000 men, *via* Agra for Bundelkhand where Pilaji Jadav was roving. Two or three light engagements took place between them in February 1735, as the result of which Pilaji retreated to Sipri and Kularas, while the *wazir* stayed at Narwar, 24 miles north of the enemy's position. After a few more skirmishes, Pilaji withdrew his baggage from Bundelkhand and set out for the Deccan by the Chanda and Deogarh route (April). The *wazir* returned to Delhi, arriving there on 9th May, 1735.

The campaign in the western theatre had been entrusted to Khan-i-Dauran. He set out from Delhi at the same time as the *wazir* and on the way to Ajmir was joined by Jai Singh of Jaipur, Abhay Singh of Jodhpur, and Rao

* Tod. i. Mewar Ch. 15.

Durjan Sal of Kota with their contingents. In this way his force became a vast host (whose number was swelled by rumour to two hundred thousand men) with artillery and munition carts "beyond count." Crossing the Mukundara pass, the imperial army reached Rampura territory, where Holkar and Sindhia were sighted (early in February). Its unwieldy size, composite character and slack organisation foredoomed it to failure against the Maratha light horse led by born cavalry generals like Malhar and Ranoji. For eight days the Marathas circled round Khan-i-Dauran, absolutely immobilising his army, cutting off its provisions and fodder, and capturing horses and camels from it. Then the Marathas made a lightning raid. Leaving the *bakhshi* and his allies there, they crossed the Mukundara pass, went to Bundi-Kota and thence into the now defenceless Jaipur and Jodhpur territories, the imperialists painfully toiling up far behind them. Finding the field clear, Malhar raided many places in this region. The loot of the rich city of Sambhar, then under the Emperor's direct administration, on 28th February, yielded him a rich harvest. The *faujdar* Fakhru was robbed of everything he possessed (valued at three lakhs of rupees besides 3 or 4 elephants) and let off with only the clothes he stood in. The *qazi* of the city, after slaying his women in the Hindu manner of *jauhar*, fought the invaders with frenzy, and fell down wounded. Early in March, the position of the two sides was this: Khan-i-Dauran had taken post at Kota. Jai Singh near his capital, and Malhar and Ranoji some 20 miles from the latter. (*Siyar*, ii. 83, *S.P.D.* xiv. 23, 21, Rustam Ali in Elliot, viii. 51).

Thus, in both the theatres of war, the armies of the empire failed to achieve any decisive result and were indeed, hard put to it to defend and feed their unwieldy numbers. The smaller Maratha forces had completely rendered them immobile and powerless. At last, the *wazir* offered a bribe of five lakhs to Pilaji for vacating Malwa. In Rajputana, Khan-i-Dauran, after wasting many weeks at Bundi in utter inaction, listened to Jai Singh's advice and induced the Marathas to retire beyond the Narmada by promising them on behalf of the Emperor 22 lakhs as the *chauth* of Malwa. This understanding was effected at a meeting between Khan-i-Dauran and the two Maratha generals through the mediation of Jai Singh (on 22nd March).—the camps of Khan-i-Dauran and Jai Singh being then at Kota and that of the Marathas at

Bundi.* (*S.P.D.*, xiv. 27, xxii. 284). From this inglorious campaign the two heads of the Mughal army returned to Delhi at the end of April, 1735. The Maratha generals retired, Ranoji to Ujjain, Malhar to Kalabagh, and Pilaji to Sironj (June). (*S.P.D.* xiv. 29, 30).

In the meantime, this armed clash with the empire had come at an inopportune moment for the Peshwa. He had arranged for a complete North Indian pilgrimage for his mother Radha Bai. She crossed the Tapti at Burhanpur on 9th March 1735, in charge of the astrologer, Babuji Nayak Joshi, who had lived long in Benares and was familiar with North Indian shrines. Everywhere she was supplied with escort by the officers of the imperial Government and the local chiefs, while the Rajput Rajahs whose capitals she visited treated her with the high respect due to a noble Brahman widow and the mother of an all-conquering son. They personally welcomed her, introduced her to their queens, and gave her rich presents. Travelling in this way, Radha Bai visited Udaipur (6th May), Nathdwara, Jaipur (c. 16 July), Mathura, Kurukshetra, Allahabad, Benares and Gaya. (November), then back again to Benares, whence she turned to Bundelkhand in January 1736, and finally reached Puna on 2 May. (*S.P.D.* ix, 12, 13, 14, xiv. 21, 31, 39, 51, xxii. 330; *Vamsha Bh.* p. 3223.)

When the vast armament and heavy expenditure of the imperial campaign in the first quarter of 1735 not only failed to crush the Marathas but ended only with the promise to pay a huge contribution of 22 *lakhs*, the Emperor was naturally angry at this disgraceful result. His Court threw the blame for it on Jai Singh as the officer most directly concerned from his office of *subahdar* of Agra and Malwa, and on Khan-i-Dauran, his ally and constant supporter at Court. Sadat Khan, the governor of Oudh, told the Emperor, "Jai Singh has ruined the entire empire by his secret support of the Marathas. Give me only the governorship of Agra and Malwa, I do not ask for any money aid. Jai Singh has asked for a *kror* of rupees to equip his army for this war, but I have

* The later negotiations on this point will be described afterwards. In April 1735 Holkar and Sindhia invaded Marwar, under orders of Baji Rao, in order to punish Abhay Singh for his recent hostile action. Their orders were to spare the territories of Jaipur and Mewar with scrupulous care. Indeed, the ravaging of Abhay Singh's kingdom would only please Jai Singh, as Baji Rao wrote to his master. (*S.P.D.* xiii. 49).

enough treasure of my own. The Nizam is my friend; he will hinder the Marathas from crossing the Narmada." Sarbuland Khan equally denounced Jai Singh.

The Emperor censured Jai Singh and Khan-i-Dauran for having bought the Marathas off. The Khan pleaded, "I only promised the Maratha generals who had entered Malwa that they would be given as *jagir* those *pargana*hs of the province which were in the hands of the refractory Ruhelas and other brigands, but they should never trouble any district under the Emperor's (rule). Baji Rao is obedient to your Majesty in every way. See how he has brought his family to Northern India on the plea of bathing in the Ganges. His mother also has come here on pilgrimage.... The Marathas cannot be effectually subdued by fighting. But by friendly negotiations I shall induce Baji Rao, or at least his brother Chimnaji, to come and meet the Emperor. If his desires are granted, the imperial dominions will be freed from disturbance in future. If, on the other hand, Sadat Khan and the Nizam unite, they will set up another Emperor." (*S.P.D.*, xiv 47, 39, 31).

This talk of removing him from his two vicerealties reached Jai Singh's ears and positively antagonised him towards the Emperor. A selfish opportunist, he never had much loyalty to the throne. Calling the Maratha agent at his Court to a secret council, he told him, "I have hitherto guarded the prestige and interests of Baji Rao because I cannot trust the Turks (*i.e.*, the Mughal royal house). If the latter triumph over the Deccani forces, they will disregard us. Therefore, in every matter I shall follow the Peshwa's behest." He then (August 1735) sent a proposal to Baji Rao to come to him at the head of 5,000 horse, taking care not to plunder any place on the way. Jai Singh would pay the daily expenses of this force (Rs. 5,000) in addition to the *chauth* of Malwa and the rent of Pilaji Jadav's *jagir*.—a total of 20 *lakhs* in cash. After the Peshwa's arrival in Jaipur, Jai Singh would take counsel with him on the situation, secure assurances and oaths of safe conduct from the Emperor through Khan-i-Dauran, and then take the Peshwa to interview the Emperor. Otherwise the Peshwa would return home from Jai Singh's country. (*S.P.D.* xiv. 47.)

On the other side, at the end of September the Emperor formed his plan of operations against the Marathas during

the coming winter. He first reconciled Abhay Singh to the *wazir*. Agra, Malwa, and even Gujrat were proposed to be put in charge of the *wazir*, with orders not to molest Jai Singh's territory if he loyally joined the Emperor's cause with his own contingent; otherwise he was to be chastised as he deserved. It was decided that as soon as the river levels would fall sufficiently low in autumn the Emperor himself would march out of Delhi, while Jai Singh and Khan-i-Dauran would proceed to the Deccan *via* Jaipur, and the *wazir* with Abhay Singh and Sadat Khan would take the route *via* Gwalior. (*S.P.D.*, xiv. 39.)

The agreement of 22nd March 1735 not having been ratified by the Emperor, Baji Rao planned a grand campaign in the north under his own command in the coming winter. He started from Puna on 9th October. The light forayers of Holkar in 1734 and 1735 had created terror throughout Rajputana and given the people a close acquaintance with Maratha rapacity at their very doors. The failure of the entire force of the empire, led by the two highest officers of the State, in the first quarter of 1735 had taught the Indian world to believe that the Marathas were invincible and that no protection was to be looked for either from Delhi or from their own chiefs. The news of the coming of the dread master of the Maratha generals threw all Rajputana into alarm and despair.* But Baji Rao's object was to visit the Rajput Courts personally and impose *chauth* by peaceful persuasion if possible.

After subduing Kulasi, the Peshwa advanced north through Dongarpur and Loniwada, arriving at the southern frontier of Mewar (c. 15th January, 1736). The Maharana made every arrangement for giving him a worthy reception. The ceremonial of the meeting was thus settled; the Maharana was to make a bow (*pranam*) to the Peshwa as a Brahman, the holiest of all Hindu castes, while the latter as a priest was to bless the temporal ruler. Arrived near Udaipur, Baji Rao was lodged in the Champa-bagh garden in the village of Ahar, and received a purse of Rs. 5,000, robes, horses and an elephant as welcome-gift to a guest. Next day a grand *darbar* was held by the Maharana, to which the Peshwa was called. Two cushions had been laid down side by side; the Maharana advanced to the door of the hall, welcomed the Peshwa, and led him to the cushion meant for him; but Baji Rao respectfully sat down below it on the floor, on a lower level than the

Tod. i. Mewar Ch. 15. Maharana's letter to Biharidas.

Maharana. He waved the *chamar* (fly whisker) over the Rajput's head, who protested saying, "You should be adored by us, being a Brahman"; but Baji Rao diplomatically replied, "I count you alone as king, for you have sixteen chiefs (*umara*) under you."¹

Then he proceeded to business. After long higgling, the Maharana had to sign a treaty promising to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 1,60,000, to cover which the Banhada *pargana* was ceded to the Marathas. This amount was divided into three equal shares, assigned to Holkar, Sindhia and Pawar. The management was at first entrusted to Holkar, but subsequently Sindhia acted as the receiver-general. This treaty remained in force for ten years, after which it became a nullity. (Tod. i, Mewar, Ch. 15.)

There was a breach while these negotiations were pending. The Maharana invited Baji Rao to visit his Jagmandir palace in the midst of the Pichola lake. Baji Rao took this to be a trap for murdering him and flew into a rage, which could be pacified only by the Mewar ministers agreeing to pay a fine of seven lakhs! Three lakhs out of this sum was paid in cash to Baji Rao, under the name of "gift of gold to a Brahman at a funeral," out of the property of the Maharana's grandmother, who had recently died.

Matters having been thus settled in Mewar, Baji Rao advanced north towards Jaipur, making a pilgrimage to Nathwara (25 miles north of Udaipur) on the way. Thence he marched to Jahajpur (25 miles north-west of Bundi). Jai Singh had hastened southwards with all his forces to meet him on the way. Their interview took place at the village of Bhambholao² near Kishangarh. Jai Singh had asked from the Peshwa equality of honour with the Maharana, but Baji Rao told him that the lord of Udaipur was equal in status with his own king Shahu as he had never owned the Muslim Padishah as master, while Jai Singh was a mere imperial mansabdar. A

(1) A friend advised Baji Rao not to be too grasping in his dealings with the Maharana, adding, "You need not go to an extreme in your demands on the Ranaji. Act so as to keep him satisfied. You cannot grasp the whole world in one day." (S.P.D. xiv. 54.) *Vamsha Bh.* 8236-8 gives these details, as well as those in the next two paragraphs. The Sanskrit word *Chakravati* or Sovereign means a king who has twelve sub-kings under him.

(2) The only name approaching this that I can find in the map near Kishangarh is *Bonabhao*, 7 m. due east of Pushkar and 13 m. s. w. of Kishangarh (*Ind. Atlas*, 83 S. E.).

pavilion was pitched in the middle for the meeting, while the two armies stood fully armed on the two sides. (c. 15th February.) The two chiefs descended from their elephants, embraced, and sat down on the same cushion, the Peshwa on the right and Jai Singh on the left. Baji Rao, in spite of his being a priest by caste and the prime minister of the greatest Hindu Rajah in India, had the manners of a moss-trooper, which had been anything but improved by his infatuation for Mastani, a Muslim girl with the morals of a *vivandiere*. He smoked his pipe, blowing the smoke into the face of Jai Singh. Now, the Jaipur Rajah, though a Rajput, was a man of refined tastes, and had consorted with scholarly Europeans. He did not enjoy this rough horseplay of the Deccani, but was powerless to check it. The Maratha captains were presented to Jai Singh one by one; only Malhar Holkar sulked in his tent, as Baji Rao did not now ask Jai Singh to restore Bundi to Budh Singh, although they had promised to Rajah Shahu to do so when Pratap Singh Hada was at Satara begging Maratha aid for him.

Then Jai Singh went back to his capital, telling Baji Rao that it was better for him to return to the Deccan as the time was not favourable for his intended attack on Delhi; he might come next year with better preparations. In the meantime, Jai Singh promised to use his influence at the imperial Court to secure for Rajah Shahu the grant of *chauth* and the cession of Malwa from the Emperor. From this point, Baji Rao retraced his steps for the Deccan, halting on the way at Begham (25 miles N. E. of Chitor), where he paid a visit to the dispossessed Budh Singh, in the company of Malhar and Pratap Hada, and spoke a few kind words to soothe his feelings. (*Vamsha Bh.* 3238-3240.)

In the meantime, while Baji Rao was still in Mewar (January), his agent Mahadev Bhat Hingane went to Jaipur and was introduced by the minister Rajamal (Aya Mal) to Jai Singh, who agreed to present the Peshwa with five lakhs,—two lakhs in cash and the balance in costly robes, jewellery, five horses and one elephant. The Rajah sent a message to Baji Rao inviting him to his dominions and promising to introduce him to the Emperor and arrange a lasting peace between the Mughal Government and the Maratha, by securing for the latter the grant of 20 lakhs in cash and a *jagir* worth 40 lakhs a year in Malwa, the subsidy being assigned on Dost Muhammad Khan of Bhopal. With this offer, Aya Mal went to Baji Rao's

camp. Another Maratha wakil, Dadaji Pant, attended the camp of Khan-i-Dauran, negotiating through the medium of Ranoji Sindhia and Ramchandra Baba Shenvi. The Bakhshi sent Nejabat Ali Khan from his side, with money, to Baji Rao. (*S.P.D.* xiv. 50, 51.)

In short, as Baji Rao wrote to his mother, the Emperor and his councillors were eager to make friends with him. He himself had no armed conflict anywhere. A state of war had existed between his generals and the imperial officers (especially Muhammad Khan Bangash) in the country south of Dholpur. But as soon as peace overtures were received from Delhi through Jai Singh, Baji Rao sent out orders (7th Feb.) to his officers to suspend hostilities. The Maratha detachment in Jodhpur territory was recalled. Khan-i-Dauran at first proposed to come from Delhi and meet the Peshwa, but evidently he did not, and the negotiations were opened on behalf of the Emperor by Yadgar Kashmiri, Kripa Ram and Nejabat Ali Khan, who left Delhi on 8th March. Baji Rao next went into Ahirwadi (north-east of Sironj), sending his agent Babu Rao to Delhi, on whose return with a reply from the imperial Court the Peshwa set out for the Deccan (end of April. 1736). (*S.P.D.* xiv. 51, 56, 58, 52; *Siyar*, ii. 84; *Later Mughals*, ii. 284.)

We shall here briefly survey the campaigns in the three theatres, Malwa, Bundelkhand and Eastern Rajputana, which were ended early by these peace talks. Towards the close of 1735, the Peshwa's brother Chimnaji advanced with a large army towards Gwalior by way of Sironj and Bundelkhand. Pilaji Jadav came from the south to support him and was left in charge of the operations. Muhammad Khan Bangash, the *subahdar* of Allahabad, was ordered to proceed to the defence of Malwa. The fort of Gwalior successfully held out under a contingent of Pathans sent by him. Leaving that fort untaken, a Maratha division under Baji Bhimrao proceeded to Nurabad, 15 miles north of it, and made it their base for some weeks, and advancing still further reached Sylia, 7 miles N.W. of Nurabad and only four or five miles from the Chambal river.

In the meantime, Muhammad Khan Bangash had reached Dholpur on 14th January 1736 and taken post in the ravines of the Chambal, guarding every ford against the invaders. The Maratha leaders halted at Sylia for about ten days, daily sending out cavalry patrols

to the river to watch for Muhammad Khan. But in fear of the Marathas, "he would not once come out of his hole in the sands of the river," and there could be no fight with him. Baji Bhimrao then surprised and sacked the village of Bagohini (11 miles west of Sylia), the stronghold of a robber chieftain named Sikarbar. When this division fell back towards Gwalior, Muhammad Khan ventured out of the bed of the Chambal and entrenched in the ravines that intersect the narrow fork between that river and the Koari (immediately south of the Chambal), throwing up mud walls and mounting guns. Behind these he sheltered himself, refusing to accept the challenge to sally forth and fight the Marathas when they reappeared before him. Thus the whole month of January and the earlier part of February were passed in inaction on the Mughal side, after which envoys came from the Bangash for terms, and finally hostilities were suspended by order of the Peshwa (received by Bhimrao on 1st March) as the Delhi Court had inclined towards peace. Then the invaders withdrew from Malwa (March 1736.) Before this a small Maratha force had crossed the Jamuna and made a dash into the Gangetic *doab*, raiding some places in the Etawa and Cawnpur districts, but it retired shortly afterwards; Baji Rao also wrote (end of February) forbidding these provocations. (*S.P.D.*, xiv. 55, 56; xiii 48; *Later Mughals* ii. 281-282.)

In Bundelkhand, the *wazir's* division advanced by way of Narwar to the Arjal lake, 12 miles east of Orchha, where he entrenched and faced Pilaji Jadav during the month of fasting (January). There were frequent skirmishes between the patrols. At last on 3rd February, Pilaji delivered an attack, but after an all-day battle he fell back at night and made a rapid retreat to the Deccan, the Mughals following in search of him, but at a great distance behind, up to Ujjain. (*Lat. Mug.* ii. 282-283.)

In the western theatre, Khan-i-Dauran was sent to expel the Marathas from Rajputana. Joined by Jai Singh, he prepared a strongly entrenched position at Toda Tank, facing Malhar and his ally Pratap Hada. The imperialists were here immobilised for many weeks, and one day a foraging party from their camp, 1,500 strong, was almost totally cut off. Then in February the peace

negotiations put an end to the operations,* the Marathas went away and the two Mughal generals were liberated. (*Later Mughals*, ii. 283-284.)

Throughout the year 1736-7 a severe famine due to failure of rain and the exhaustion of last year's harvest, raged in Bundelkhand and the north-eastern parts of Malwa, up to the Jamuna river. The water-sources on the way dried up and no food for man or horse could be had anywhere before the new crop ripened. (*S.P.D.*, xiv. 52, xv, 8). Next year 1737-8 the famine desolated the Aurangabad and Ahmadnagar region in the Deccan (XV. 63). No real settlement could be effected by the peace-negotiations conducted by Jai Singh as mediator. He induced the Emperor to appoint Baji Rao as deputy governor of Malwa, with Jai Singh himself as the nominal *subahdar*. "This was, in effect, though not in form, a cession of the province. As to the other concessions the only one agreed to was the hereditary appointment (of Rajah Shahu) as *sardesh-pandya* in the six provinces of Mughal Deccan; the rate of payment was five per cent. of the revenue." (*Lat. Mugh.* 11- 284-285). This did not satisfy the Marathas, and responding to Jai Singh's secret invitation, Baji Rao issued from Puna on 12th November 1736, to carry the war to the gates of Delhi. (*Vam. Bh.* 3240; *S.P.D.* xxii. 341).

The campaign in Bhadaur, the ravage of the Gangetic Doab in March 1737, Sadat Khan's defeat of Malhar and Satvaji Jadav at Jalesar on 13th March—which according to the Maratha despatches was greatly exaggerated by the imperialists—Baji Rao's cavalry dash upon the environs of Delhi and sack of Kalka-devi (30th March), the terror of the capital and Court, the rout of the imperialists at Tal Katora, the *wazir's* victory at Badshahpur (31st March), the sudden retreat of Baji Rao to Rajputana, the coming of the Nizam to the Emperor's aid (2nd July), his fight with Baji Rao near Bhopal (December) and the humiliating treaty made by him with the Marathas at

* Irvine's statement (ii. 284) that Jai Singh and Baji Rao met at Dholpur on 8th Rabi I, 1149 (6th July 1736, O. S.) is impossible, as we know from the Peshwa's records (*S. P. D.* xxii. 333) that he re-entered Puna on 24th June 1736. Here Irvine's Persian authorities have made a confusion of years. A Peshwa did meet Jai Singh on 8th Rabi I, but it was in the year 1154 (13th May 1741) and the Peshwa was Balaji Rao. (*S. P. D.*, xxi. 2.)

Doraha,¹ have been described in detail in Irvine's *Later Mughals*, ii. 286-306, on the basis of the Persian sources, with information from the Marathi records then available added in my notes to that work.²

This expedition did not affect Rajputana except that while Baji Rao was investing the Nizam at Bhopal in December 1737, Safdar Jang and Maharao Durjan Sal Hada of Kota, marching to the relief of the Nizam, were intercepted and defeated by Malhar Holkar and Jaswant Pawar. For his unfriendly act the Maharao now felt the heavy hand of the Marathas. After the Nizam had made terms and retreated to Delhi, Baji Rao with Malhar Holkar and Jaswant Pawar marched from Bhopal to Kota, laid siege to the fort, and "utterly devastated the district by plunder," (January 1738). Durjan Sal fled to fort Gangroni and made peace by promising to pay a fine of ten lakhs. Eight lakhs were paid down (by 10th Feb.) and a bond was signed for the remaining two lakhs.³

Towards the close of this year, 1738, the Indian sky began to be overcast by the shadow of Nadir Shah's invasion, and there were no organised raids of the Marathas into Malwa and Rajputana in the winter of 1738-39. Nadir's invasion shook the Delhi empire to its foundations, and after his return there was no more attempt to restore imperial authority in Malwa. Mohammad Shah by a *farman* (1741) officially appointed the new Peshwa Balaji Rao deputy governor of Malwa. This was, in effect, the final loss of that province to the empire.

When the imperial officers made overtures for peace during the campaign of 1735, Baji Rao wrote to the Emperor making the following demands :

(1) The grant of the Subadari of Malwa and its entire territory excluding its forts held directly for the Emperor, and the lands of jagirdars, old feudatories, and grantees of rent-free lands and daily allowances.

(1) 6th January 1738, promising to grant to Baji Rao (1) the whole of Malwa, (2) the complete sovereignty of the territory between the Narbada and the Chambal, (3) to obtain confirmation thereof from the Emperor, and (4) to use his best endeavours to obtain 50 lakhs of rupees to pay Baji Rao expenses.

(2) Since then fuller details from the Marathi side have been found in *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, XV. (1981).

(3) *Later Mughals*, ii. 304 *S. P. D.*, XV. 68, xxii. 129. For more than a year afterwards this balance remained unpaid. *Vam. Bh.*, 3249, says that Kota was bombarded for 40 days, at the end of which this contribution was promised.

(2) A cash contribution of 13 lakhs of rupees to the Peshwa for his war expenses of the first year, to be paid in three instalments, namely 4 lakhs when Pilaji Jadav comes to the imperial Court and settles the treaty, 5 lakhs at the autumn harvest, and 4 lakhs at the spring harvest.

(3) The Nazar of 6 lakhs of rupees which King Shahu had agreed to pay to the Emperor in return for the grant of the *Sar-desh-pandya* rights of the six imperial provinces in the Deccan, was to be paid one-fourth down, and the remaining three-quarters by instalments after Shahu had actually brought the country under his control.

In addition, Babu Rao, the special Maratha envoy sent to Delhi, asked for a grant of 2 lakhs of rupees as reward to Chimnaji (the Peshwa's brother) for having been "a devoted servant of this Government and persuaded Baji Rao in many ways to accept the policy of furthering the Emperor's interests." This amount was to be paid, one half on Pilaji's arrival at Delhi and the other half at the spring harvest after the agreement had been concluded. Against each of the above demands the Emperor wrote "Granted" (*manzur*).

But every such concession was taken by Baji Rao as a sign of weakness. At the increasing evidence of the helplessness of the Delhi Government in each successive season, Baji Rao rose in his demands, till at last he claimed :

(1) The expulsion of Yar Muhammad Khan from Bhopal with the aid of the Imperial forces and the bestowal of his estate on Baji Rao.

(2) A jagir of 50 lakhs a year in the 6 Deccan *subahs* to the Peshwa, (the Emperor's son being appointed the absentee subahdar of that country) in addition, Baji Rao was to get half the revenue that might be collected for the Emperor through his exertions in the Deccan.

(3) The entire Tanjore Kingdom to Rajah Shahu.

(4) Forts Mandu, Dhar and Raisin in Malwa to the Peshwa for keeping his family in.

(5) The entire country northwards up to the Chambal river to be granted in jagir to the Peshwa, he promising not to molest the lands of the Rajahs of this region if they submitted and paid their tributes.

(6) The imperial feudatories in Malwa and Bundelkhand were to pay Baji Rao contributions totalling 10 lakhs and 4 thousand rupees.

(7) All arrangements in the Deccan must be made only through the medium of the Peshwa.

(8) A prompt order on the Bengal *Subahdar* to pay 50 lakhs to Baji Rao, who was very much involved in debt.

(9) The granting of jagirs to the Peshwa at Allahabad, Benares, Gaya, and Mathura, (so that he might hold the greatest pilgrim centres of the Hindus).

(10) For his personal visit to the Emperor, Baji Rao would first go to Agra, whence he would be conducted by Amir Khan and Jai Singh to Delhi and presented to the Emperor during a ride (and not at a darbar), and soon afterwards given leave to return home.

(11) Fifteen lakhs of rupees to be paid to Baji Rao thus : five lakhs when he would reach Malwa, five when he visited the Emperor, and five at the end of the year.

On 29th September 1736, Muhammad Shah issued an imperial *firman* bestowing on Baji Rao some *jagirs*, a *mansab* (seven-hazari personal rank), the mahals of his *watan* (home estate) and right to perquisites, as well as a robe of honour made up of seven pieces, an aigrette (*jigha*) for the turban, an ornament (*sarpech*) to be tied round the head,—bidding him serve the empire as a loyal officer. He was also invited to visit the Emperor in person like other imperial vassals and servants.

But Baji Rao's insatiable ambition made the conclusion of peace impossible. The Emperor naturally refused to grant his exorbitant new demands. Thus the dispute with the Delhi Government remained unsettled during the rest of Baji Rao's life. On his death (28th April 1740), his eldest son Balaji Rao succeeded as Peshwa, after defeating the intrigues of Raghuji Bhonsle to keep him out of that office. The new Peshwa's diplomacy and tact (seconded, it must be confessed, by the utter disintegration of the imperial Government through Nadir's invasion) succeeded where the blustering tactics of his father had failed. Balaji set out for the north in March 1741 and reached Gwalior. Jai Singh, the *Subahdar* of Agra, reported to the Emperor that the captains under him were quite inexperienced in Deccani warfare and therefore force would fail. He then sent envoys to open peace negotiations with Balaji Rao, telling him to remain contented with the subahs of Gujrat and Malwa and not to disturb any other province. The Peshwa replied that though the *chauth* of the whole of Hindustan was his due, he would be satisfied with the above two subahs, provided that an imperial rescript was issued legally conferring them on him. At the same time, to save the Emperor's

face, a petition was submitted by Balaji, professing his loyalty to the throne and declaring himself a devoted servant of the Emperor. Following Jai Singh's advice Muhammad Shah in reply issued a *farman*, dated 4th July 1741, bestowing the deputy-governorship (*naib. subahdari*) of Malwa on the Peshwa. This was another device for disguising the fulness of the imperial surrender and saving the Emperor's face. (*Chahar Gulzar -i-Shujai* 376a-377a ; *S.P.D.* XV. 86).*

Balaji Rao visited Jai Singh near Dholpur on 12th May, the latter returned the visit on the 15th, and the Peshwa started on his return home on the 20th. Early in July the arrival of the above *farman* confirmed the peace.* (*S.P.D.*, XXI. 2.)

Malwa thus ceased to be a part of the empire of Delhi

* Balaji Rao on his part gave the following written undertaking (1) To visit the Emperor, (2) No Maratha was to cross the Narmada ; if any one did it, the Peshwa held himself responsible for his acts, (3) Not to disturb any province except Malwa, (4) Not to ask ever in future for any money above what was granted already, (5) One Maratha general at the head of 500 horse was to serve constantly in the Emperor's army, (6) When the imperialists issued on any campaign, the Peshwa would join them with 4,000 men. If the Emperor asked for the aid of more men, these additional troops were to be paid their subsistence by the Delhi Government. (*S. P. D.*, XV. page 97).

JADUNATH SARKAR.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN RELIGION

FOR many centuries the pyramids of ancient Egypt, its temples and tombs, captured the imagination of the western civilized world, pointing to a kingly status of unbelievable power and wealth, while the mysterious hieroglyphs inscribed on them inspired a deeper wonder, holding, as it was often conjectured, the key to the secret principles of a true and universal religion : even to-day zealots may be found to maintain that the Great Pyramid holds hidden in its frame marvellous clues, geometrical, astrological or what not, to the order of all great events, past and future alike..... The hieroglyphs have been deciphered ; they have revealed no profundities of wisdom but the workings of a social organization based on an amazing conception of royal power—the king a mighty god—and on a religious system, built round him, of unparalleled weight and tenacity.

The first impression derived from the monuments is that of a great cult of the Sun (Rè), (or rather of Ammon, the local god of the royal capital, Thebes, identified with the Sun as Amûn-rè), of Osiris, Lord of the Dead, with his family circle, Isis, Horus and Nephthys, and of a national company of gods, many of whom were local patron-gods of cities, such as Ptah of Memphis and Tum (or Atum) of Heliopolis (the biblical On), and a considerable number had animal shapes. The king figures everywhere as a devotee of all the gods, their High Priest and servant, their beloved whom they protect, but for his subjects he was much more than that, a divine being who had the title, when alive, of ‘ the good god ’ and when dead, ‘ the great god ’ (the title also of Osiris) ; these epithets were not the mere flummery of courtly adulation, like the “ Roi Soleil ” of Louis XIV of France, but precise definitions of his status as understood by those who thus described him.

Deep indeed is the gulf between this notion of the divine nature and the modern one which conceives of it as

omnipotent, omnipresent, immeasurable and infinitely remote from the possibility of all such mortal contacts. Egyptian ideas could not rise thus high and to understand them we must cast our thoughts back into the mental world of the child, with its regions of vague shadows, explained best, perhaps, by such examples as the two following, both taken from actual life.

A child of eight, playing with a grown-up friend, said "Let's play at bears; you be a bear—but," in half fright, "you won't *really* be a bear, will you?" Another, of the same age, used to see a man reciting verses on the promenade of a popular sea-side town and, asking about him, was told that he was 'Shakespeare,' that being his nickname; the child wondered greatly for, having learnt something about the poet, he believed him to have lived some three hundred years earlier, yet to his vague, unformed thought it did not seem a total impossibility that the reciter, who dressed loosely and groomed himself to look like Shakespeare, might indeed be he. So was it with the ancient Egyptian, with his thought uncontrolled by the strict sense of causality that was to be, much later, the gift of the Greeks to humanity; for him the word *neter*, which we translate as 'god,' had much of human in it; the limits between human and divine were shifting and undefined, as they were between life on earth and in the after-world or between man and his spirit, as we shall see later.

This vagueness about the divine is a common feature of the primitive mind; examples might be multiplied, but it will suffice to mention two, both well known: the Hawaiians made a god of Captain Cook, though they afterwards killed and cut him up, distributing his remains to various districts, apparently, like those of Osiris in Egypt or the relics of Christian saints in Europe, for their greater prosperity: again, in Central America Cortès' horse was treated as a god by the natives in whose charge he, being wounded, was left; he too was unlucky, for he died from their natural ignorance of his needs, but they erected a stone image of him in an island and gave it a special share of their veneration. We may still find godships in modern Asia; deification has not ceased there and the number of 'living gods' and 'Buddhas' is considerable: even Islam, in India, has suffered a derogation from its stern monotheism, for there semi-divine honours may be paid to a Shiah chief by his followers who believe him to have inherited by birth a special quality bordering on the divine;

in this belief can be discerned a survival of older Hindu beliefs, modified, into the later adopted religion ; in fact—strange paradox—he is largely supported by the offerings of a certain class of traders among the Hindus. Hinduism, ever fruitful of deities, still carries the creation of them very far, for the peasant will set up his plough for veneration at the proper season, the writer his inkpot and the craftsman his tools ; in Bishop Whithead's illuminating book on the Village gods of Southern India (2nd ed.) is the photograph of a motor-cycle honoured in this way. Even in the Homeric writings the ancient Greek gods, Olympians though they be, engage in duels with men, using human weapons ; they bellow horribly when hurt and their behaviour generally is remarkable for its human weaknesses. The same remark might be made about the nocturnal duel between the Hebrew Jahveh, in his strictly tribal stage, and the Philistine fish-god Dagon, as recorded, with its homely details, in Samuel, I, ch. v., verses 3-4.

It is clear, then, that the mental attitude of the ancient Egyptian in religious matters is that of most of mankind in a certain stage of their development ; it was probably inherited, untold ages ago, from a common ancestry and is akin, as we have seen, to that of the child.

The kind of thought resulting from this attitude was necessarily vague and unsure, productive of confusion in theories and practice alike.

It was in this stage that the early ideas of godship arose, born of the wondering awe with which the simple mind received new, strange things that moved and acted in ways outside its experience ; in these it imagined extraordinary virtues beyond the purely human, thus creating ' gods ' who might well be human beings but were endowed with ultra-human qualities. It was easy, then, for the Hawaiians to make a god of Captain Cook, the strange white man appearing over the seas from some mysterious quarter, with his marvellous strong ships and firearms, and resembling in some way the mighty old chief of their tradition who had disappeared generations before, across the sea ; thus, too, even the Hindu's treatment of the motor bicycle becomes explicable as the extreme manifestation of a child-like state of mind firm-rooted in long inheritance. Nor will it be surprising that the quality of godship should be attached to men of outstanding powers who had brought great benefits or deliverance to the groups in which they

lived, nor that, when dead, they should become tribal or national gods. It may be that we have here the origin of the Egyptian hieroglyph for 'god,' '*neter*,' which consists, according to the most authorized interpretation, of a bone wrapped round with a piece of cloth with its ends loose; the bone might well be a fetish, from the body of a revered ancestral chief, for such relics are still highly prized in many parts of Africa and other regions too, and carefully preserved as an essential part of a religious system.

By this imagining of godship the early mind solved, at least for a time, some of the problems that had begun insistently to press on it, an episode of human history well summed up in the sculptured "*Penseur*" of Rodin, gnarled with perplexity in his strivings for light on the hidden causes of things. The mind was a busy one like that of children, and of great capacity, for we learn from expert craniologists that the brains of early Palæolithic man in that respect were equal to those of his modern representatives. This wonderful brain was evolved in man's struggles to gain his commanding position in the world of animals, but, in achieving this, he became very much its creature and, untrammelled as yet by the severer teachings of experience, it led him to many imaginings that to our later wisdom seem strange indeed; the mind, full of activity but with little to exercise it on now that its primary object was reached, developed a strong faculty of imagination and a great susceptibility to the marvellous; and thus, when fresh concepts presented themselves, to give further solutions to human problems, it seized on them with avidity, the keener that those problems were largely of its own making. So deep, indeed, were the impressions then made on the human mind that they are not effaced even now but inform much that is practised in existing religions, as we shall have occasion hereafter to note.

Among the concepts in which early man found his intellectual deliverance are the ideas on which are built the principles of magic: they presided over the first religious ceremonies as yet known to us, the ordered burials of the Old Stone Age, and they are found to-day in every known region of the world, similar in principle and in application: it is therefore clear that they are of most ancient standing, deep-rooted from of old in the human mind. That mind distinguished in the workings of nature certain similarities and parallelisms which it set up as explanations of phenomena that it had found till then inexplicable, and built on them a vast mass of magical practices. Thus,

to take examples from modern times, an expectant mother will drink pomegranate juice to make rich the blood of the coming child and wear a white bead or pebble to ensure a good flow of her milk ; throwing water in the air will bring down rain when it is wanted and the high jumps of peasants dancing at the festival of sowing will cause the corn to grow high and bring a good harvest : the first example, relating to qualities, may be classified in the ' Magic of Similars ' and the other two, relating to action, as instances of ' Sympathetic Magic. ' Belonging, again, to magic are the widespread beliefs, of which ancient Egypt affords many examples, concerning the names of living creatures and even of things ; names are supposed to have a mystic relation with the very being of their owners, so that when one has mastered a name he has gained some kind of power over its bearer, a belief reflected, probably, in the Bible story of Adam naming the animals, for thus he would gain a mastery over them. Another instance is to be seen among the peoples of Arabic speech who believe in jinns ; jinns may have the names of animals and so, in calling an animal, one must be careful to point at it lest a jinn should suddenly appear.

Belief in the power of names is but a section of the wider belief in the power of words. These were considered as real projections of the speaker's self, charged with actual power and able to effect actual results ; hence the binding force of oaths and curses ; they were referred, it is true, to spiritual powers, god or devil, but it is the words that effect the binding. The strict preservation of the wording of magic spells, in all countries, of the ancient world and the modern alike, is of essential necessity for the efficacy of the spell ; the words are often quite meaningless—degradations perhaps from an older tongue or some foreign one—and their very incomprehensibility impresses the crowd, as any cheap-jack at a fair can vouch. The excessive respect for words is universal in children, who in this matter, as in many others, are the recapitulators of man's history, for they much resent the omission or change of words in any story well known to them ; among adults this respect is not always confined to magic spells but often extends to religious liturgies. To honour words is natural, for they are of the very essence of the human, the children and at the same time the fosterers of man's brain, its necessary instrument without which he would not be man. The old Greeks had much sense of the true standing of words in this respect, as is evident from the wide connotations of their name for ' the word, '

logos, but for the ancient Egyptians, from the earliest times, the power of words was wholly of a magical nature ; the earliest examples known to us of consecutive literature, dating about 2500 B.C., afford a striking instance of the magical use of words ; these are the "Pyramid Texts" which were inscribed on the walls of the royal tombs embedded in the pyramids ; they consist of a series of incantations designed to make safe the kings' journey to the royal Paradise that awaited them after death, and their sojourn in that happy place. Much has been done and is still being done by scholars to make clear their true sense but they are extremely difficult and even if the meaning of many more words were made sure, some of the results would still remain nonsensical, for the makers of these spells were slaves to a degraded sense of the power of words and the texts are full of incredible puns, often skilful but to our notions very childish. They contain also much of the gibberish of magicians familiar in such words as *hocus-pocus* or *abracadabra*, a notable feature also in the late Greek and Demotic texts and, in fact, the whole world over, derived, doubtless, from the remotest human ancestry.

The mental attitude of early man survives in many lands, including modern Egypt, in spite of Islam, which however has naturally modified it much ; it is clearly shown in a book recently published by the well known Dr. Taha Hussein, "An Egyptian Childhood," which presents a remarkably limpid and moving account of childhood in the provinces and the mental atmosphere of the surroundings.

This brief review of primitive mentality and the conditions that produced it will serve perhaps to make intelligible the bases of the various elements composing the ancient Egyptian religion. These elements are numerous but may be gathered under four heads, each of different nature, appearing in the country at different periods and having different shares in the building up of its national religion which is consequently much stratified and full of incongruities and mutual contradictions, as we shall see.

The root-elements may be tabulated as follows :—

I. The cult of the dead, with the narrower and more intimate form into which it developed, ancestor-cult.

Arising from the latter are

(a) local gods and the beginnings of Totemism, which we may term protototemism.

(b) the cult of Osiris, interwoven with that of the dead king.

II. The cult of the Mother-goddess, which merged in prehistoric times into that of the principal goddesses known to history.

III. The cult of the living king.

IV. Sun-worship and the cosmic cult of which it was the centre. The order given above is that in which the elements appear to have arisen chronologically ; the reasons for this arrangement will be set forth in the treatment of each element. Through them all the principles of magic will be found working actively.

It is clear from this enumeration that the early Egyptians, in the matter of religion, differed nothing from other races, for all these elements are found functioning in wide regions of the world, even to our own time. The worship of Osiris and the particular form which it imparted to the cult of the king were peculiar to Egypt, but they were simply developments from the primary ancestor-cult which at all times has provided for the socio-religious needs of a large proportion of mankind. Of thorough-going Totemism, as existing in modern races such as American Indians or Australians, no traces have been discovered in ancient Egypt, but its rudiments are there, in the worship of animal gods, and they retained full force till the latest times, greatly astonishing the Greeks and Romans : in the days of Ptolemy the Fluteplayer, as Diodorus reports, a Roman was killed by the mob for killing a sacred cat, though involuntarily, and could not be saved even by the intervention of the king, anxious as he was to be on good terms with Rome.

Another point to bear in mind is that these manifestations of religion are the first that we know of in the history of man, beginning in the Old Stone Age ; they have developed variously among different peoples, sometimes to great extent ; in Egypt they grew with its growing civilization and it is because we can follow their course there from early times and in much detail that the study of Egyptian religion is of very real importance for the history of the human mind : it would be well indeed if it could find a regular place in our educational courses, that we might achieve comprehension of the long travelling of human intelligence that preceded the present phase of rationality, derived from the Greeks, which we value so highly that our usual education neglects what does not fall within it. The modern mind, with its later enlightenments, may class

these old beliefs as ignorant superstitions, and so they would be if held to-day, but we should remember that before the coming of our present enlightenments they were believed to provide actual solutions of many problems of life and were thus a real comfort to the believers and a stay on their path : they deserve therefore our true sympathy—man, in the adult stage of his thought, may well extend to its infancy the warm and smiling respect that it is his nature to give to the nurslings of his kind.

Since the treatment of our subject is to be historical, it will be well to give a skeleton scheme of periods and their dates, premising that on the latter authorities do not all agree. The greater number of Egyptologists now accept what is called the Short Chronology, following closely Edward Meyer; but the veteran Sir Flinders Petrie and his followers prefer a scheme throwing back the early periods to a greatly remoter date : the short chronology is adopted here. The importance of dating in the prehistoric times lies not so much in the actual number of years or even centuries occupied by the various stages as in the comparative dating with other countries such as Mesopotamia, Elam, Crete, or pre-Aryan India, with its ancient cities recently unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, for some degree of sureness on this point is necessary for the comparative study of their civilizations and their mutual influences.

In the earliest pre-historic times we know nothing certain of the constitution of Egypt, but can infer from scattered data that it consisted of a number of districts, perhaps at first independent but eventually federating till, in the latter part of the period, the country was divided into two districts only, Upper Egypt and the Delta, under kings distinguished by their sacred crowns, white in Upper Egypt and red in the Delta. But there are also traces of the existence, at one time, of a kingdom of Middle Egypt. The truly momentous point in Egyptian history is the unification of the country under one king, which took place, by conquest confirmed by marriage, at about 3400 to 3300 B.C. ; the first written records that have survived begin at this juncture so that all the ages preceding come under the title of prehistoric or, to adopt the usual Egyptological term, predynastic. This term is used in reference to the dynasties of historical times which are divisions first known from the Greek writings of an Egyptian, Manetho, who lived round 300 B.C. ; the dynastic periods were fixed by the length of time in which the rule was held by various families called by him Dynasties.

When the predynastic age was first discovered it was thought to consist of three portions, then defined as the Early, Middle and Late ; more recent researches have shown that there is no real division between the cultures of the Middle and Late periods, the latter being a natural development of the former, with the addition of some influences from abroad. Quite recently, still earlier stages have been brought to light, designated from the places where they were found, *Tasian*, the earlier, and *Badarian*, and lastly, in an outlying province, the Fayoum, traces of a culture which appears somewhat to precede the *Tasian*. The story does not end there and expeditions are now on foot for discovering possible earlier remains. It is of course impossible to fix dates for these remote stages of history, but if we hazard an approximate dating we might propose the limit of 5000 B.C. as not clashing with any facts now known.

All these early remains belong to people who practised agriculture and lived in villages, but they cannot have been far separated in time from the nomadic hunting stage of which memories are common in the rude art of predynastic times and of which very early traces have been left throughout North Africa, as we shall see later.

Turning to the historical period, we find it classified by modern historians as follows :—

I. The Old Kingdom, dynasties I to VI, a period of excessive autocracy, about 3340 to 2450 B.C. In the First dynasty hieroglyphic writing is first found. The first two dynasties had their capital near Abydos in Upper Egypt and are termed the Protodynastic, the dynastic civilization being in its early infancy. The succeeding dynasties had their capital at Memphis, just above the apex of the Delta where control could be most easily maintained over the two divisions of the kingdom.

This was the age of pyramid building, the greatest of them, that of Cheops at Gizeh, of the Fourth dynasty, dating about 2800 B.C.

II. The First Intermediate Period, dynasties VII to X ; about 2450 to 2160 B.C., an obscure age of social and political disturbance.

III. The Middle Kingdom, dynasties XI and XII ; 2160 to 1785 B.C. Central authority was restored but limited by the local powers of feudal nobles. The capital has now been moved South, to Thebes.

IV. The Second Intermediate Period, dynasties, XIII to XVI ; 1785 to 1580 B.C., marked by weakness

and foreign invasion ending in the occupation of the country by the Hyksôs, or so-called "Shepherd Kings."

V. The New Empire, dynasties XVII to XX; 1580 to 1100 B.C.; capital at Thebes. The Hyksôs usurpers were driven out and the Egyptians, when consolidated, invaded the parts of Asia whence they had come and conquered large territories there, retaining some of them, with varying fortunes, till they were lost by the weakness of later kings, especially those of the XXth dynasty.

VI. The Late Period, dynasties XXI to XXXI; 1100 to 332 B.C., comprising usurpation by the High Priests (dynasty XXI) and conquests by Ethiopians, Libyans, Assyrians and Persians, and ending in the Ptolemaic period, after the conquest of Alexander.

The dating from 1580 B.C. and onwards is fixed with much certainty and receives general acceptance.

Preliminary considerations being now dealt with, we may turn to the discussion of the elements as enumerated above.

1. *Cult of the dead and particularly of ancestors.*

Starting from the rude hunting age, innocent of metal-working, of farming and the domestication of animals, we find man's religious practices first appearing in the Mousterian period of the Old Stone Age, when archæological remains yield certain evidence of a cult of the dead. This cult, in the form of ancestor-worship into which it developed, is still paramount in vast tracts of the world, civilized, as in China or Japan, or backward, as among the aborigines of Africa or America, a fact the more remarkable in that Mousterian man was of a different species from his modern successor, *homo sapiens*; the cult, to have survived thus vigorously through the unnumbered thousands of years that have passed since it first emerged, and to have been embraced by beings of a different species, must have had its roots deep indeed in human nature, whether *neandertalensis* (as the Mousterian is termed) or *sapiens*. In the developed form of ancestor-worship, it is not immediately discernible in Egypt where literary traces of it are few and rather veiled, but it is in fact the foundation of the principal funerary practices and on it, as we shall presently see, was built the cult of Osiris and of kings.

The first evidence of this cult so far known consists of the remains of a man at La Chapelle aux Saints, in the Department of the Corrèze, France buried in a grave with implements of flint which fix its age as Mousterian. The

implements were those of a hunter and were buried with him in such a way as to show intention and care on the part of survivors. Still more significant, bones were also deposited some burnt and others bearing indications that they had been buried while still clothed with their flesh ; other similar burials have been found of the same period and we can hardly doubt that we have in them evidence that man held, even so long ago, a religious belief, the hunter's implements and provision of meat being buried with him for his use in the after-world. As regards the fact of burial, men had doubtless, long before this, adopted some method of disposing of their dead to prevent their becoming a nuisance, whether by exposing them to beasts or birds of prey—probably the usual methods, which survive even now in some regions—or by casting them into water or burying them ; the last method would be natural in the Mousterian age when for the first time, as far as present evidence shows, men lived in caves and not in the open as their predecessors had done and as some modern races, such as the Australians, still do.

Burial, then, was of material utility but not so the ceremonial usages accompanying it, the reasons for which must be sought for in the workings of the primitive mind. When man had become aware of spirit-beings he could only envisage them in terms of the living and not as the starkly spiritual entities of a later phase of thought ; he accordingly attributed to them the needs and affections of the living—hunger, thirst and so on—and found it perfectly reasonable to supply them with food. This manner of regarding the dead is particularly noticeable among the ancient Egyptians who in their writings treat them as if they were still, in some sort, bodily alive, distinguishing them, however, by the ritual epithet “ the justified ” which signified that they had passed the judgment of Osiris and the assessor-gods in the after-world and thus established their title to a happy after-life.

The first incentive for this treatment of the dead was probably fear, the terror of the ghost (or, as the French so fitly call it, the ‘ returning one ’), which still reigns everywhere to-day, being found even among the most materially-minded societies. Dreams and the visions of trances have for the primitive man all the vividness of actual realities and when they brought before him the image of the dead, the thing was to him alive and full of mystery and fear, often of terrible aspect and always beyond his control ; he therefore was careful to appease the departed

with offerings in the grave, which he conceived of as their domicile.* Prehistoric man, in his fear, often trussed up his dead, using physical means to prevent their return and thus affording another example of the confusion between body and spirit that we have noticed above. In ancient Egypt the fear of ghosts is voiced in the *Pyramid Texts*: one passage (*Utterance*, 571) is intended to assure the king against death from various sources, among which is included the act of "any dead man"; such a danger seems strange indeed, imagined as threatening the dead, but this spell, like many others in these *Texts*, was originally unvented for the protection of the living and has been indiscriminately transferred to the use of the dead—a process visible all through the *Texts* and especially in the long series of incantations which they contain against snakes. The same fear is expressed in other magic texts, notably the "Spells for Mother and Child," dating about the middle of the fifteenth century B.C., which includes a charm to prevent "a dead man or woman" from snatching a child from its mother. The texts of ancient Babylonia are full of such spells, they were greatly valued and the master of them held high rank in the priesthood. Sickness was attributed, as in most primitive societies, to the work of magic and specially to evil spirits; the Babylonian priest, uncertain of what demon he had to deal with, included in his incantations long lists of all of them, lest the culpable one should be passed over, and in these lists we often find "a dead man or woman." In modern Egypt a sheep is sacrificed the third day after a burial with the object, as explained to the writer by the headman of a large village in Upper Egypt, of preventing the ghost from returning to haunt the village. In India many of the lower tribes engage in similar practices with the same object, a typical case being that of the Doms of the United Provinces who sacrifice a hog after a funeral; in this case there seems to be a double purpose, connected with two ideas, the first of fear as explained above, and the second of affection, to give the dead man comfort in the after-world. The modern Egyptian sacrifice is avowedly for the first purpose but was originally, in all probability, a relic of the funerary feast commonly pictured in tombs of the New Empire and later. This feast was the last meal shared

* The modern psycho-analyst, or at least the orthodox Freudian, will give a much more definite cause for the universal fear of the returning ghost, founding it on the complex of hostility to the old heads of family groups tyrannizing over the younger members.

by the dead man, apparently at the grave-side, with the survivors of the family, a kind of sacred communion in which his ancestors also took part, as we may see in tomb scenes, such as those of Paheri where the ancestors are actually depicted at the banquet ; it was the duty of the dead man's sons, particularly the eldest, to provide for the feast.

In poorer burials another method of comforting the dead and keeping him at the grave was adopted in the Middle Kingdom. Clay models of houses were set up above the grave, with models of offering-trays and food ; this practice is particularly interesting for it seems never to have completely died out. Petrie has found similar clay houses put on graves by the women in remote villages of Upper Egypt, quite recently, to prevent the return of the ghost. He has applied to all the convenient name of soul-houses.

We now come to another sentiment towards the dead which is much more familiar to this age : fear was probably the first, but at some time the feeling must have arisen that the affections borne by the dead when alive would continue to influence them in the grave ; the head of the family group, too, would still have power to guide and assist the little party which he controlled in his life-time : thus funerary offerings gained a three-fold virtue, as tokens of affection, as a means of placation and as a method of obtaining practical aid for the living from the dead.

The human feeling towards the dead members of the family group, especially its head, the *paterfamilias*, must have soon given rise to the worship of ancestors, thrusting into the background the more general cult of the dead, affection prevailing largely over fear ; it is in the later form that we find the cult in the historical periods of ancient Egypt and Babylonia—not to mention China—and in that form it still prevails strongly in many parts of the world, yet the earlier form is perhaps discernible in communal terms used of the dead as a body, such as the Latin *Di Manes* or the Hindu *Pitri*, the equivalent of the Greek *Theoi Patrooi*, and in the annual festivals of general commemoration such as the European "All Souls' Day," with its visits to the cemeteries, the Hindu *Kanagat*, the annual ghost ceremonies of the Nagas of Assam and the various yearly celebrations of Polynesians and other backward races. The modern European practice is of course animated by pious affections, as is the custom in Muslim

countries of visiting family tombs at Bairam—a custom, as educated Muslims know, surviving from the Age of Ignorance and contrary to the stricter teachings of Islam. Affection has replaced the ancient pagan motive of placation, but the latter was the original cause and there is little doubt that the food now distributed by Muslims to the poor who flock to the cemeteries at Bairam has taken the place of that which the pagans used to bring for the dead themselves—a practice comparable to that of the Hindus who make vicarious offerings to the dead by feeding Brahmins, of whom a whole class depends entirely on this practice for their living. Traces of the older idea can still be seen in some places in Upper Egypt where a small hole is made in the grave, from the top, through which water can be poured down to the occupants, and in others niches and shelves are arranged on which food and drink can be set. Among the Druses of the Lebanon niches in the tombs were actually provided with little saucers of food and with matches to give the occupants light when they wanted it; by-farers short of matches used to search the niches for them, as I have been told by a most trustworthy wanderer in those parts twenty-five years ago.

Among ancestor-worshippers there is a strong obligation on sons to provide for the needs of their fathers after death, such needs consisting primarily of food and drink, to which clothing was added as civilization advanced: these were the supplies required in ancient Babylonia, Egypt and Persia, while in Egypt incense was added as having some magical power of 'giving life,' and several kinds of oil for purification, while the drink was specified as beer, the favourite beverage of the country. In Babylonia, as in modern China and India, men put up earnest prayers for the birth of sons to carry out the rites of their fathers when dead, so that their spirits might live on, content. In India, while lower castes provide food at the funerary rites explicitly for the dead themselves, the orthodox Hindu rites for the dead fathers (*pitri*), the *sraddha*, are explained by Brahmin exegesis as providing an 'intermediate body' for the soul, but that is an after-development of theory—a pious rationalization—for the rite is in origin and essence the same as that of the lower castes.

The after-world of the Egyptians, like that of the Babylonians (called *Aralu*), was a dark and gloomy void, resembling the Hebrew *Sheol* or the Homeric *Hades*;

there the uncared for spirits, like the Indian *preta*, would lead a hungry and miserable life, wandering forth at night to pick up what they could to eat and drink, even the most abhorrent filth, a fate deeply feared in both countries and often referred to in their writings: they would become fearsome things, full of malice and ready to visit their sufferings on any who should have the ill luck to meet them on their night-wanderings—even to-day the night-ghost is the object of general terror, among the advanced as well as the backward peoples. It was to keep the dead content that Palæolithic graves were furnished with food and the hunting implements by which the occupants could procure it; the custom passed down the ages to Egypt where it is evident in the earliest known graves, the recently discovered 'Tasian,' dated from at least 5000 B.C. The 'Tasian' was buried not only with jars for his food but also with his amulets, for protection in the after-world as in life, and with his shells, which he doubtless wore as much for amuletic purposes as for adornment, in this, too, following his palæolithic predecessors. In the next age, the 'Badarian,' the same customs continue, a little more developed, but with the culture following it, the Early Predynastic or 'Amratian,' we find a new feature in the delineation on the buried pots, in white paint, of animals of the chase, hippopotamus, wild ox or antelope, and also fish; the people, though now their main support was agriculture, were descended from hunting forebears and being, like all races, very conservative in funerary matters, still figured themselves on the pots as hunters. These primitive paintings, rough and simple, are yet the ancestors, in a direct line, of the scenes painted and carved on the walls of those later graves which by their immense extent and elaboration have evoked the wonder of all beholders; both series, apparently so different, have the same object, not mere adornment but the provision of food for the dead and his happiness in the after-life.

G. D. HORNBLOWER.

(*To be continued.*)

You will have happiness from the region of light *i.e.* from heaven.

Dreams dreamt on the nights of the 23rd and 24th are to be interpreted contrary to the vision seen, O friend !

Dreams dreamt on the nights of the 25th and 26th will be void of all good or evil, of all auspiciousness or misfortune.

If you have a dream on the night of the 27th or 28th

Then it will prove true and auspicious.

A dream dreamt on the night of the 29th will be unproductive of any good or evil.

But it will nevertheless cause anxiety.

(1) *On seeing the Prophet.*

If any one sees the Prophet in a dream ;

Then good, indeed, will be its effect, because of the truth* of the vision.

And verily will one enter Paradise, who so sees the Prophet in a dream.

And great will be the honour that he will receive very soon.

Long and happy will be his life ;

And blessed will he be both in this world and in the next.

(2) *On seeing the Sun, the Moon, the Stars and the Sky.*

If you see the Sun and the Moon in a dream

Good fortune will become your friend and wealth will follow.

Many blessings will come from God.

Moreover a fortunate son will be born in the family.

In the same way is a dream to be interpreted in respect of the Sky,

And the same rule is to be applied in respect of the Stars also.

(3) *On seeing the Sacred House of God i.e. the Ka'ba.*

If any one sees in dream that he is performing a pilgrimage,

He is expected to get justice and favour from the king.

And if in dream he visits the Ka'ba

He is freed from anger, hardship and sorrow.

(4) *On seeing oneself reading or writing*

If you are reading or reciting in dream

Know that you will be virtuous and wealthy.

If you dream this, no matter what the time is,

* There is absolute certainty about the "Truth" of this dream. Satan cannot take the form of the Prophet and appear in a dream. If the person sees the Prophet in a dream, he really sees the Prophet himself and no other person.

You will get eminence, rank and wealth.
 If you see in dream that you are writing
 Know that sorrow will ensue, and (therefore) you ought to
 distribute alms.

(5) *On seeing oneself weeping.*

If any one weeps in dream
 He will be blessed with goodness, and also steadfastness.
 (He) will become super-excellent, strong, (and) maintain
 his honour.
 And in the end it will be given to his lot to perform the
 pilgrimage.

(6) *On seeing oneself praying.*

If any one offers prayers in a dream
 God will save him from all sorrows.
 Among men he will become the leader.
 (And) prosperity and wealth will become his companions.
 This excellent dream may be interpreted in two ways,
 And from it originates good name :
 One (is that) he becomes free from all sins
 (And) becomes the companion of wealth and prosperity.
 Another (is that) he will go on a journey
 And return to his home safe.

(7) *On seeing the king.*

If you see the king in a dream
 It will bring you joy and happiness.
 If you see the king smiling
 You will get great honour and bounty.
 If you see him frowning,
 You will be deprived of his benevolence and you should
 give alms.

(8) *On seeing devotees and learned men.*

If you have seen devotees and learned men in dream,
 Or if you have seen any of the pious and the good,
 You will very soon perform such a deed
 As will increase your good name.

(9) *On seeing the dead in the shape of the living.*

If any one sees the dead in the shape of the living
 He will be safe from sorrow and grief.

If the dead gives you anything in dream
The desire of your heart will be fulfilled by a friend
without your knowledge and expectation.
If you have lost anything you will get it back.
I have opened to you the hidden mystery.

(10) *On seeing the dead asking for anything.*

If the dead asks for anything from a man
He should give alms so that he may not suffer any loss.

(11) *On seeing the living in the shape of the dead.*

If any one sees the living in the shape of the dead
He will lead a peaceful life and be without grief.
If any one sees the living being buried in the grave
He will fall into calamity, hardship and misfortune.

(12) *On seeing a ferocious elephant.*

If you see a ferocious elephant in dream
And if you see it running swiftly towards you
An excellent son will be born to you, and you will receive
lawful gifts as present.

(13) *On seeing a white elephant.*

If you see a white elephant in dream
You ought to entertain hopes from this dream.
From the kings and the great people
You will get abundant wealth that will enrich you.

(14) *On seeing oneself crying.*

If you see yourself crying in dream
You will become happy when you awake.

(15) *On seeing the dead crying.*

If you see a dead man crying in dream
Give alms, otherwise you will come to grief.

(16) *On seeing gold.*

If you see gold approaching towards you
Your object will be fulfilled and you will get wealth.
If you see the gold going towards another person
Give alms, otherwise you will lose greatly.

(17) *On seeing gold and silver rings.*

If you dream that you have received a gold or a silver ring,
You will prosper in your endeavours.
You will get wealth and become an administrator ;
Your object will be fulfilled and you will become rich.

(18) *On seeing lead, iron, copper or brass.*

If any one sees lead, iron, brass or copper or anything
which comes out of the mine
His condition will be bettered in ease and comfort.
From the kings, sovereigns and great men
He will get power, and his happiness will increase.
This is the interpretation of this dream.

(19) *On seeing oneself flying in the air.*

If you see yourself flying in the air
Know that you will become free from sins,
Moreover you will perform a journey,
And you will return to your home again.

(20) *On seeing oneself or any one else having the hair cut.*

If you dream that you are having your hair cut or see any
one doing the same,
You will be separated from your family.

(21) *On seeing the bridge connecting hell with heaven.**

If you see the bridge (connecting hell with heaven) on the
day of resurrection
You will be in danger of being oppressed by a tyrant.

(22) *On seeing armours.*

If one sees in dream a naked sword,
Or a bow and arrow or a short spear,
Or a mace or a hero in armour
He will be successful in his enterprises if he tries for them.
He will be made happy by the king and his grandees,
And he will secure strength and become prosperous.

* The bridge over hell across which the Musalmans believe they shall pass into paradise.

(23) *On seeing claims and litigation.*

If you see claims and litigations
 Be cautious, otherwise you will come to grief.
 You must guard your tongue from backbiting
 Otherwise by this act you may fall into misfortune.

(24) *On seeing oneself on a mountain or falling from it.*

If, in dream, you see yourself on the top of a mountain
 Your work will be prosperous and you will be free from
 grief,
 You will be able to realise your object.
 And much wealth will also come to you.
 If you see that you have fallen from a mountain
 You will be unsuccessful in your work and put to shame.

(25) *On seeing oneself in a fort.*

If any one sees himself in a fort in dream
 He will be free from grief and sorrow.

(26) *On seeing wheat and corn.*

If you see wheat and corn it is certain
 That a child will be born to you, and this is the interpreta-
 tion of this dream.
 In this dream there is the decisive order
 That you will be supplied with livelihood and bounty from
 God.

(27) *On seeing cotton, rope and carbasus.*

If any one sees cotton or rope or carbasus or anything of
 this kind
 His relatives and kinsmen will come from a distance
 And will reach their destination in safety and prosperity

(28) *On seeing oil.*

If you see oil of sesame in dream
 You will get sustenance, if you have suffered for it.
 If you see *ghee* in dream
 Give alms, otherwise trouble will come to you.

(29) *On seeing nut and almond.*

If you see nut and almond in dream
 You will surely have to feel the consequence of the inter-
 pretation thereof.
 Enmity will follow, but it will come to an end.

(30) *On seeing raisins and dried grapes.*

If you see raisins and dried grapes in dream
Or fruits of a similar kind
Your friend will hold you in great affection
And will treat you with joy and honour.

(31) *On seeing the breaking of nut and almond.*

If you see that you are breaking a nut and an almond in
dream
You will sit in the good company of friends ;
From them you will derive benefit and prosperity.
Such is the interpretation of this dream.

(32) *On seeing grapes.*

If you see white grapes in dream
Be hopeful of comfort.
If you see black grapes in dream
There will be a theft (in your house) on which grief and
ruin will follow.

(33) *On seeing an apple.*

If you see a sweet apple in dream
You will get fortune, and there is great hope of its fulfil-
ment.

(34) *On seeing a pomegranate.*

If you see a pomegranate in dream,
Listen, it is a good omen.
If it is sweet you will get lawful money.
You will be benefited by the king with great wealth.

(35) *On seeing curds, cheese and milk.*

If you see curds or cheese,
Or if any one sees milk in a dream
Very soon he will be exalted to a high rank,
His dignity and position will increase within the night.

(36) *On seeing vegetables and other acid substances.*

If you see vegetables and acid substances,
Know this is an absolute order ;
You will always be free from grief and shortcomings ;
Wealth and prosperity will remain perpetually.

(37) *On seeing wine.*

If you see that you are in a palace and have dreamt wine,
 You will get peace and comfort in life.
 The dream will make your body free from all illness ;
 You will get peace of mind and bounty.

(38) *On seeing fine sugar, sugar and similar things.*

If you see fine sugar in dream,
 Or a sugar-bag,
 If you see a great quantity of sugar or honey,
 The interpretation of these sweet things is as follows :—
 You will be free from all illness,
 Also, your enemies will be humiliated through fear of you.

(39) *On seeing " Halva " (sweet-cake) or sugar-candy.*

If you see sweet-cake and sugar-candy in dream
 Or hard sweet almond paste (lawzina) coming from any
 place as a present,
 Happiness and safety will come to you,
 Grief will disappear and joy will increase.

(40) *On seeing oneself taking medicine.*

If any one sees in dream that he is taking medicine
 There will be trouble for him in the end.

(41) *On seeing oneself cleaning his body.*

If any one sees in a dream that he is cleaning his body
 He will become free from all troubles ; this is the interpretation of this dream.

(42) *On seeing separation of the limbs.*

If any one sees, in dream, that his body has become separated from his joints,
 All his relatives and kinsmen will die.

(43) *On seeing bathing in a bath-room.*

If you see in a dream that you are washing any part of
 your body in a bath-room
 You will not get any trouble from your friends.
 If the water is cool, the dream is beneficial
 And, if it is hot, there is distress and calamity.

(44) *On seeing women naked and their treachery.*

If any one sees, in dream, a woman naked for want of dress
 He will be free from the burden of obligation from men.
 If you see the treachery of women in dream
 You will pass your life in happiness and enjoyment ;
 You will not get any disease and grief,
 You will gain your object and you will get wealth.

(45) *On seeing dresses of various colours.*

If you see in dream that you are wearing a white dress
 Your honour will increase, and you will enjoy wealth.
 If you are wearing a yellow dress,
 You will suffer from illness, pain and various calamities.
 Alms ought to be given in the name of God
 So that the door of comfort may be open to you.
 If you see a dress like the colour of the sky (*i.e.*, blue)
 Your fate will be strengthened and your fortune will be
 auspicious.
 May not black dress be seen in dream,
 As hardship, danger and trouble will result therefrom.
 If you see such a dream give alms as charity,
 Bestow clothes and bread upon poor men.
 If you see a red dress in dream
 Be careful of receiving reprimand and chastisement from
 the king.
 If you see a green dress on your body in dream
 Your wealth and influence will increase with much pomp.

(46) *On seeing oneself wearing a new dress.*

If you see yourself wearing a new dress in dream,
 Listen, you will get wealth and dignity.

(47) *On seeing oneself wearing a gown (Qaba).*

If you see yourself wearing a gown by your own hand,
 You will get a worthy wife.

(48) *On seeing oneself washing clothes.*

If you see yourself, in dream, washing clothes,
 You will be free from all griefs.

(49) *On seeing oneself putting on shoes or slippers.*

O fortunate one ! if you see that you are putting on slippers
 You will fall madly in love with a slave-girl.

If you see that you are putting off slippers from your feet
 The divorce of your wife will certainly result therefrom.
 Such is also the interpretation for shoes and stockings.
 Its remembrance will keep your memory calm.
 If the slippers or shoes or stockings
 Fall off from your feet on the way suddenly
 You will be separated from the companionship of your
 relatives
 And find satisfaction in the company of strangers.

(50) *On seeing a horse.*

If any one sees a horse in dream,
 Either sitting on its back or preparing to mount it,
 No evil will befall him
 And he will get good fortune and wealth.

(51) *On seeing a camel.*

If any one sees a camel in dream, submissive to him,
 He will get benevolence and kindness from the king.
 He will have to go on a journey later on ;
 He will return home with wealth and prosperity.
 If the camel stands silently
 An angel will visit his house ;
 In this, too, happiness will ensue,
 And he will pass his life in pleasure and prosperity.
 If the camel is attacking him
 There is danger of his life from the Angel of Death.

(52) *On seeing an ass.*

If an ass appears before you in dream
 You will lead a happy and joyful life in the world.

(53) *On seeing a cow.*

If you see a fat cow in dream
 You will get ample fortune and decent livelihood.
 If you see a lean and ugly cow
 There will be the fear of loss in cultivation and crops.

(54) *On seeing a goat.*

If you see a goat in dream
 Let me tell you, there are a few interpretations of it.
 Firstly, your livelihood and comfort will increase,

Secondly, fortune and wealth will appear.
 Moreover, grandeur will increase in your home, and
 You will be absolutely blessed.

(55) *On seeing a deer.*

If any one sees a deer in dream
 A daughter will be born to him and it is a good and auspicious dream.

(56) *On seeing a hare.*

O wise one ! if you see a hare in dream
 You will get household furniture, and a fortunate son.

(57) *On seeing a mountain-goat or doe.*

If you see a mountain-goat or a doe (in dream)
 Or if any wild ass appears before you (in dream)
 Good and lawful articles will come to you.
 You will be in comfort by your own good luck.

(58) *On seeing dancing and music.*

If you see (in dream) dancing and music and hear singing
 You will be happy, and comfort will be your companion.
 The interpretation of dancing is inauspicious according to some.
 Such is the interpretation, the rest is divine destiny.

(59) *On seeing building and cultivation.*

If any one sees a building or cultivation in dream
 There will be tranquillity and grandeur in his works.

(60) *On seeing a lion.*

If you see, in dream, a lion,
 You will get honour and much wealth.
 You will be engaged in your duty and
 You will get much benefit and profit.

(61) *On seeing a leopard.*

If you see a leopard used by kings for hunting
 Whether it is a big one or a small one, both are auspicious :
 You will get benefit and good immediately,
 You will acquire lawful wealth by this dream.

(62) *On seeing a hyena.*

If you see in dream a hyena
You ought to know that there is a person who has become
envious of you.

(63) *On seeing a pig.*

If you see a pig in dream
Your work will be ruined by a cruel person.
If you see that the pig is very weak
Virtue will be your companion and victory will be your
friend.

(64) *On seeing a bear.*

The interpretation of seeing a bear in dream is
That an oppressor is after your wealth.
You will have to suffer trouble on account of possessing
wealth.
It is certain that this dream will be a source of suffering to
you.

(65) *On seeing a wolf.*

If you see a wolf (you must think that) you have got an
enemy.
This has a wonderful interpretation which I shall explain
to you ;
Someone will pose as your friend
But in fact he is a bitter enemy of yours.

(66) *On seeing a fox.*

If you see a fox in dream
An enemy will suddenly attack you.

(67) *On seeing a cat.*

If you see a cat in dream
You will become avaricious

(68) *On seeing a mouse.*

If you see a mouse in dream
Don't drive away the interpretation of this dream from
your mind.
A woman will seek you
And time will bless you with a happy life.

(69) *On seeing a scorpion.*

If you see a scorpion you will have an enemy.
 But I tell you plainly
 You should give alms having regard to this dream
 So that you may pass your life in comfort.

(70) *On seeing a dog.*

If you see a dog in dream, O friend !
 Many interpretations have been given to this dream.
 If you see that it is a hunting dog
 You will get the companionship of your relatives and your friends.
 If you see that it is attacking you
 You will have to fight with a group of enemies.
 If the dog is feeding on flesh, skin or bone,
 A very good result will follow therefrom ;
 You will be victorious and get wealth from the enemies,
 Your intentions will be fulfilled and your luck will be auspicious.

(71) *On seeing a snake.*

If you see a small snake in dream
 Know that you will be in the midst of treasure ;
 And if you see a big snake,
 You will be at war with your enemies.

(72) *On seeing a phoenix.*

If you see a phoenix on your head
 You will get virtue and wealth.

(73) *On seeing a hud-hud (Hoopoe).*

The same is the interpretation as has been given to the phoenix ;
 Such a good dream emanates from the blessings of God.

(74) *On seeing a royal white falcon or a hawk or a buzzard.*

If you see a royal white falcon or a hawk or a buzzard
 Or any other bird of the same kind
 You will get reward from the kings and sovereigns,
 Virtue will ensue and your objects will be fulfilled.

(75) *On seeing a vulture.*

If any one sees a vulture in dream
He will be a harmless sort of person.

(76) *On seeing a crow or a raven.*

If a crow or raven appears before you in dream
The envious will be backbiting against you
and you must beware of them.

(77) *On seeing pigeons or parrots.*

If you see a pigeon in dream
Or a sweet-tongued parrot—(and)
If the parrot cries "Tu Tu" and the pigeon "Hu Hu"
You will get a good wife.

(78) *On seeing a crane.*

If you see a crane of beautiful colour
You will never be a prey to sorrow,
You will be free from all griefs and your objects will be
fulfilled ;
And you will not suffer from any disease.

(79) *On seeing a nightingale or a hen-sparrow.*

If you see a hen-sparrow or a nightingale in dream
And if they are pouring forth their songs,
And if you see a sparrow or any other bird of the same
species,
They are the proofs of virtue and comfort of life.

(80) *On seeing a cock-sparrow.*

If you see a cock-sparrow in dream
You will become the leader of men,
You will earn your livelihood and become a chief,
You will be a hundred times better off than your kinsmen
and relatives.

(81) *On seeing a simurgh.**

If a simurgh appears in your dream
You will be greatly happy and on account of this dream

* A fabulous bird mentioned in eastern romance.

You will be made great within a short time
And all your works will turn out to be good.

(82) *On seeing a cock or a hen.*

If you see a cock or a hen in dream,
Let me interpret that there is comfort in store for you.
Your wealth and riches will increase, (and)
Your happiness will augment at every moment.

(83) *On seeing water.*

If you see pure water in dream
Certainly your work will advance.
If you see that you are quenching your thirst from it fully
You will have to undertake a journey resulting in gain and
profit.
If you see it flowing like water in a sea
There is an enemy against you, and you will be in danger
of injury to your life.
You should give alms in the name of God
So that you may get rid of your hardship and misfortune.
If you see yourself standing in the water,
The same interpretation holds good and you should do
good to others.

(84) *On seeing a boat.*

If you see a boat, in dream, moving,
You will be free from grief and be in comfort.
If the boat be drowned in the water suddenly,
You should be afraid and expect reprimand from the king.
If you wish to have comfort you should give alms
So that the misfortune may disappear and you may be
free from suffering.

(85) *On seeing a fish.*

If you see a fish in dream
You will receive legitimate subsistence and any other thing
that you may wish to have.

(86) *On seeing meat.*

If you see raw meat in dream
You will amass much wealth within a short time.
If you see cooked meat (in dream)

Fortune and happiness will be your companion and
No trouble will approach you, and
In all circumstances you will be happy.

(87) *On seeing lightning, wind and rain.*

If you see lightning, wind and rain
You will be the commander of the army, O learned one !
If you see that you are standing in their midst (lightning,
wind and rain),
They will be a source of anxiety, and you should give alms.

(88) *On seeing a mirror.*

If any one sees a mirrôr in dream
He will be out of grief and sit happily.
He will get relief from every sort of trouble and anxieties.
His desires of this world as well as those of the next will
be realised.
All his works will, at last, be performed duly ;
And he will shake off the dust of anxieties from his shirt.

(89) *On seeing fire.*

If any one sees fire in dream,
Various results may ensue therefrom.
If he sees fire without smoke
His grief will be off and he will receive favours from the
king.
If he sees the fire without flame
The result will be somewhat different,
His business will certainly prosper (and)
He will get relief from every anxiety.
If he sees the fire attacking him
He will receive bad tidings and troubles will ensue.
If he sees that he has fallen in the fire
He should be cautious, for misfortunes will come in
suddenly.

(90) *On seeing a lamp.*

If any one sees a lamp, in dream.
Or a light in his house or garden
He should wish for a wife, if he has none.
If he has one, he will have a good son.
If he is destitute he will become rich
And surpass his kinsmen,

(91) *On seeing a candle.*

If any one lights the candle, (in dream), know
That he will become just and be made a judge by the king.

(92) *On seeing betel-leaf.*

If any one sees, in dream, a betel-leaf
A lovely daughter will be born to him.

(93) *On seeing a drum.*

If any one sees a drum in dream
He will be honoured and respected by the king.

M. HIDAYET HOSAIN.

THE AUTHOR OF THE OLDEST BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF 'UMAR KHAYYAM & THE NOTICE IN QUESTION

It was at one time supposed¹ that the oldest biographical notice of Khayyâm is contained in the *Nuzhat al-Arwah* by Muhammad al-Shahrazûrî, (end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century A.H.)—if we leave out of account the *Chahar Maqala*, which incidentally gives only two or three anecdotes about the poet and not a regular notice of him. The oldest² biography of the poet yet known is however to be found, in a work of Zahîr al-Dîn Abu'l-Hasan b. Abî'l-Qâsim al-Baihaqî, of which the title is *Tatimmatu Siwan il-Hikmah*. As both the author and his work are little known, especially in this country, I propose to give first an account of the life of Al-Baihaqî, then an account of the *Tatimmah* and finally the text and the translation of the article in the *Tatimmah* on Khayyâm and of other passages in the same work referring to him.

(1) See Zhukovski's famous article on 'Umar Khayyâm and the "Wandering Quatrains," which appeared in *Al Muzaffariya*, and its English translation in J. R. A. S. for 1898 (Volume XXX pp. 349-366).

(2) Next in order, after the article in the *Tatimmah*, comes the very brief article in the *Kharidutu'l-Qasr* of 'Imâdu'l-Dîn al-Isfahânî (d. 597 H). The work was composed in 572 A.H.=1176-77 A.C. The text of this article is reproduced here from a Leyden MS. of the *Kharidah*, numbered Or. 848 Warn, p. 185 :

عمر الخيام ليس يوجد مثله في زمانه وكان عديم القرنين في علم النجوم والحكمة
وبه يضرب المثل ، أشدت من شعره باصفهان

إذا رضيت نفسي بميسور بلغة يحصلها بالكد كفى وساعدي
أمنت تصاريف الحوادث كلها فكن يا زمانى موعدي أو مواعدي
أليس قضى الأفلاك في دورها بأن تعيد إلى نحس جميع المساعدي
فيا نفس صنوا (صبرا) في مقيلك ريثما تحذر ذراه بانتقاض القواعد

(See Ibn ul Qiftî's article on Khayyâm for these and other verses of this poem).

I.

Zahir al-Din Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Abi'l-Qasim Zaid al Baihaqi, the Author of the Tatimmatu Siwan il Hikmah.

Though his works have been quoted or referred to among others, by Ibn Abi Usaiba ('Uyun I, 73), Ibn Khallikân (*Wafayat* I, 360, 466) Hamadullah Mustawfi (*Guzida*, p. 8), and Al-Subkî (*Tabaqat* IV, 197), yet an article on our author has been given only by Yâqût¹ in his *Mu'jam al-Udaba*² (V, 260). This article has preserved for us a valuable autobiography of the author which he inserted in his *Masharib al-ajurib*, a historical work, no copy of which has yet been found. This account can be supplemented from another of his historical works, viz., *Tarikh-i-Baihaq*, wherein he tells us a fair amount about his ancestors and relations. What follows is mainly derived from these two sources.

Al-Baihaqi was descended from an ancient family of Qâdis,³ who traced their descent from Khuzaima b. Thâbit, *Dhu'l-Shahadatain*,⁴ a Companion of the Prophet. The family originally belonged to Siwâr in Wâlishtân,⁵ which was the name given by the Arab Geographers to the district round Sibi, now in British Balûchistân, but formerly included in Sijistân. Baihaqi's great-great-grandfather Al-Hâkim al-Imâm Abû Sulaimân Funduq (d. Friday the 9th Shawwâl 419 A.H. = 23rd October 1028 A.C.) left his native land and settled in Naysâbûr, of which city he had been appointed *Qadi* and *Mufti* under a *firman* of Sultân Mahmûd, issued at the suggestion of the Sultân's Vizier Ahmad b. Al-Hasan al-Maimandi. Later he resigned his post and settled in the district of Baihaq, where he acquired some estates, and of which district he was made the *Qadi*.

(1) Yâqût has nine references to Baihaqi in his *Mu'jam al-Buldan* (see by index) all relating to places in the district of Naysâbûr, and at least two (besides the article on him) in the *Mu'jam al-Udaba*—viz., on II, 814, and V. 124 (where he quotes his *Masharib al-Tajarib*.)

(2) Barthold has an article on Baihaqi in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* (s. v. Al-Baihaqi) but he did not use Yâqût. Later he discovered Yâqût's article and has referred to it in a note in his *Turkistan* p. 82. See also Brockelmann I, 324.

(3) See *Tarikh Baihaq* (British Museum MS.) ff. 57 b. sqq.

(4) Yâqût (as well as Baihaqi's *Jawami'*) has Khuz. b. Thâbit b. Dhu'l-Shahadatain. *Tarikh-i-Baihaq* more correctly omits 'bin' after Thâbit. It is Khuzaima who is called *Dhu'l-Shahadatain*. See Tabari, by index and Nawawi's *Tahdhib al Asma*, (Cairo Edn., I, 175). Instead of Khuzaima b. 'Amr in Yaqut, the *Tarikh* has Khuzaima b. Muhammad. b 'Umar, cf. Wust. Tab. 14.84

(5) See *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* p. 347.

His son Abû 'Alî al-Husain (b. 27th Shawwâ' 399/24th June 1009, d. 480/1087-88) was the *Na'ib Qadi* of Naysâbûr and his grandson Sheikh al-Islâm Amîrak Abû Sulaimân Muhammad (b. 420/1029 d. 501/1107-1108) was *Khatib* of the same city where he held the privilege of preaching in the Old Friday Mosque on Fridays. This privilege, which he held under the orders of the Caliph Qadir Billâh, in course of time descended to our author 'Alî al-Baihaqî, as we shall presently see.

Our author's father Shams al-Islâm Abû'l-Qâsim Zaid (b. 1st Shawwâl 447/24th December 1055 d. Thursday, the 27th¹ Jumâda II, 517/22nd August 1123) was a son of the last mentioned Imâm Amîrak. Abû'l-Qâsim lived in Bukhârâ for over twenty years and studied² there under some of the greatest scholars of his day, and distinguished himself in various sciences.³ In his old age he became weak-sighted on account of the excessive strain his studies put on his eyes, and ultimately he became totally blind in 503 A.H. Of his visit to 'Umar Khayyâm in 507 A.H., when Baihaqî was also present, we shall hear later.

Abû'l-Hasan⁴ 'Alî son of Abû'l-Qâsim Zaid was born on the 27th Sha'bân, 499/4th May, 1106 in Sabzavar⁵ in the district of Baihaq. According to Yâqût (also Hâjî Khalîfa

(1) *Udaba* (IV. 208 sqq) has *Salkh Jumada II* instead of *the 27th*, which is given in the *Tarikh*.

(2) The founder of the "house of Burhan" viz., Burhan al-Dîn 'Abdu'l-'Aziz b. 'Umar b. 'Abdu'l-'Aziz al-Mâza, who later rose to be the head of the learned in Bukhârâ (See *Turkistan* p. 326; *Revised translation of the Chahar Maqala* p. 110) was a class-fellow of Zaid (*Tarikh Baihaq* f. 61a.).

(3) Baihaqî quotes (*Tarikh* f. 54b.) the following verses of Fakhr al-'Ulamâ Abû 'Abdillâh Muhammad b. al Muzaffar in praise of his father:—

ورث الامام (الامامة. lis.) زيد بن محمد عن جده وأبيه بالاسناد
أضحى كشل أبيه واحد عصره وبجده فردا من الأفراد

The first couplet has obviously been suggested by the verses of al-Rustimi in praise of Ibn 'Abbâd (See *Udaba* II, 214).

(4) This account is based mainly on the article on him, in the *Udaba*.

(5) He calls it al-Sâbzâvar, which is said to be more correct. This town was known in the middle ages as Baihaq. See *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* p. 391. The author makes a statement in his *Tarikh* (f. 43b) which conflicts with the date of birth given above. In referring to the murder of Fakhr al-Mulk b. Nizâm al-Mulk in Muharram of the year 500, he says he was a schoolboy at the time and still remembers the incident. If the above date of birth is correct he was only about 4 months old at the time.

III, 325 under ذ خ أ الحكة he died in 565¹/1169-70.

Baihaqî has offered us a full glance at his education in his autobiography and, with the instincts of a true historian, has enriched his account with dates. The document is extremely interesting as indicating the system of education prevalent, and the course of study followed, in Khurâsân in the early sixth century and I may be excused for summarizing it below.

Baihaqî's career as a student lasted for nearly thirty years. He was early put to school at Baihaq but when the family moved to Shashtamadh, a village in the Baihaq district, where his father possessed some estates, he also had to go there, and presumably it was there that he was educated till the age of about fourteen.

As a boy he learnt by heart Al-Maidânî's *Al-Hadi² li'l-Shadi* (a treatise on Arabic Grammar) and *Al-Sami³ fi'l-Asami* (an Arabic-Persian Vocabulary). He similarly learnt Al-Zozanî's *Kitab al-Masadir*,⁴ Al-'Uzairî's⁵ *Gharib al-Qur'an* and Ibn al-Sikkî's *Islah al-Mantiq*.⁶ Beside these he committed to memory several collections of Arabic Poetry viz., Al-Mikali's *Kitab al-Muntakhal*,⁷ the *Diwan* of al-Mutanabbî the *Hamasa* and *al-Sab'iyyat*.⁸ He also learnt the *Kitab al-Talkhis*,⁹ a work on Arabic Grammar, and later committed to memory the *Kitab al-Mujmal*,¹⁰ the well-known Arabic Dictionary of Ibn Fâris.

(1) Most of his life was thus passed under Sinjar (r. 511—552), who is frequently mentioned in the *Tatimmat* as السلطان الأعظم

(2) Brockelmann I. 289 No. 10 (3). The explanations are given in it in Persian. Hâjî Khalîfa (VI. 469) calls it *Hadi al-Shadi*. It is noteworthy that no instruction in the mother-tongue is mentioned at any stage.

(3) Compiled by Al-Maidânî in Ramadân 497, June 1104 (two years before Baihaqî's birth) See Brockelmann I. 289 No. 10 (2), Ibn Khallikan (Cairo, 1810) I. 46.

(4) See Hâjî Khalîfa V, 574, Zaidân III, 44. There is a copy of this work in the Bankîpûr Library. See Catalogue Vol. IX, page 37.

(5) i.e., Muhammad b. 'Uzairî al-Sijistânî. See Sam'ânî f. 389 b. s. v. *al-'Uzairî*; also al-Dhahabî's *al-Mushtabih* p. 361. The text has *al-'Azizî*, like Hâjî Khalîfa, III. 381. For his *Gharib al-Qur'an* see Brockelmann I, 117, No. 7 (1).

(6) See Hâjî Khalîfa, I, 328.

(7) Not *al-Muntahal* as in *Udaba* (IV, 208, 209). For a description of this work see Browne's *Handlist of Muhammadan MSS.* p. 221.

(8) i.e., *Al-Sab'ata'l-Mullaquh*.

(9) I do not know this book. It is perhaps the one referred to in the *Khizanat al-Adab* I, 232.

(10) See Brockelmann I, 130.

The course of study followed by him consisted up to A.H. 514, as we have seen, of Arabic Grammar, philology, and literature, but elsewhere¹ he has told us that in 507—he was only eight years old then—, when Khayyâm examined him, he was able to answer a question on elementary geometry as well as explain a difficult verse of the *Hamasa*.

In 514/1120-21 Baihaqî went to Naysâbûr for further study. He joined the School maintained by Al-Maidânî's pupil, the famous philologist Abû Ja'far—also called Bû Ja'farak (d. 544/1150, see the *Encyclopædia of Islam* I, 591, s. v. al-Baihaqî). He studied with this master for a little less than two years. During this period he committed to memory his teacher's *Tajwîd-Masadir* and read with him Ibn Fudâl's² *Nahw*, a portion of the *Kitab al-Muqtasid*,³ and two books of Proverbs,⁴ one by Abû 'Ubaid and the other by Abû'l-Fadl al-Mikâlî.

In Muharram 516/March-April 1122, he left the school of Abû Ja'far and began to attend the lectures of Al-Maidânî, under whom he studied for two years. With him he revised and corrected his own copies of most of the works he had studied before coming to Naysâbûr, as also the *Majma' al-Amthal*⁵ of his teacher, the *Gharibu'l-Hadith*⁶ of Abû 'Obaid, and the *Sahahu'l-Lugha* of Al-Jawharî.

While attending the lectures of Al-Maidânî he also studied Dogmatic Theology (*Al-Kalam*) with Imâm Ibrâhîm al-Harrâz (?) and heard from Imâm Muhammad al-Fazârî⁷ (al-Farâwî ?) the *Gharibu'l-Hadith* of Abû

(1) See p. 706 in Section III of this article.

(2) He is probably 'Alî b. Fudâl al-Farazdaqî (d. 479). See Al-Suyûtî's *Bughya* p. 345 and his *Tabaqat al-Mufasssirîn* (Leyden, 889) p. 24.

(3) This is an abridgement of his own work *Al-Mughni*, by 'Abd al-Qâhir b. 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Jurjânî (d. 471). *Al-Mughni* was a commentary in thirty volumes, on Abû 'Alî Hasan b. Ahmad al-Fârîsî's *Idah fî'l-Nahw*. See Hâjî Khalîfa Volume I, 511 seq.

(4) See Brockelmann I, 107 (2) and 286. Al-Mikâlî is 'Ubaidallâh b. Ahmad b. 'Alî al-Mikâlî (d. 486). See Sam'ânî f. 548b.

(5) This proves that Hâjî Khalîfa commits a blunder in stating (on IV, 818) that Baihaqî's *Ghurur al-Amthal* was a source-book for Al-Maidânî's *Majma'u'l-Amthal*.

(6) For this and the following work see Brockelmann I, 107 (5) and 128 No. 8 (1).

(7) He is apparently Muhammad b. al-Fadl al-Farâwî. See Subki IV, 92 seq. Khattâbî's *Gharib* was one of the books which he used to hand down, *ibid.* p. 98. l. 19.

Sulaimân Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Khattâbî¹ (d. 388).

Baihaqî's father died in A.H. 517/A.C. 1123 and his teacher Al-Maidânî in the following year (the 25th Rama-dân 518/Nov. 5, 1124). He had, therefore, to leave Naysâbûr, where he had already spent nearly four years in studying Philology and something of Theology. Towards the end of 518 Baihaqî went to Merv to study more of Theology and Dialectics under Tâju'l-Qudât Abû Sa'd Yahyâ² b. 'Abdi'l-Malik. He took down at his dictation the *Kitabu'l-Zakat* (?), also his notes on controversial points of doctrine (*Al-Masa'il al-Khilafiyah*³), then on other points taken at random. He next devoted a whole year to the study of Dialectics (المنظرة والمجادلة), and made satisfactory progress in the subject.

He also began to practise preaching and for that purpose used to hold assemblies in his college and in the Friday Mosque of the city.

His career as a student in Merv was interrupted by a matrimonial alliance which he made there and he returned to Naysâbûr in Rabî' I 521/March-April 1127. He was now about twenty-one. On his return he married again—this time in the family of Shihâb al-Dîn Muhammad⁴ b. Mas'ûd, the Governor of Al-Ray and Dihistân⁴ and later *Mushrif al-Mamlakah*.

In Jumâdâ I 526/March-April, 1132, at the age of twenty-six, Baihaqî was appointed Qâdî of Baihaq, but he had no liking for his work and, giving it up after about four months, he went back to Ray. Here he resumed his studies, devoting nearly six years to the study of Mathematical and Philosophical subjects. For some nine⁵ months he studied Mathematics and Judicial Astrology (*al-ahkam*),

(1) For him see the *Yatimatu'l-Dahr* IV, 231, Sam'anî f. 202b Ibn Khallikân I, 166. For the book see also Hâjî Khalîfah IV, 326.

(2) I have not been able to trace him. Ibn Khallikân (De Slane's translation II, 629) has quoted Baihaqî's elegy on Abû Sa'd Muhammad b. Yahyâ, the author of *Al-Intisaf fi Masail al-Khilaf*, but as I do not know the full genealogy of that Shafi'ite doctor I cannot say if he was connected with the Tâju'l-Qudât of Merv.

(3) For *Al-Khilaf*, *al-Nazar*, *al-Jadal* see the *Miftahu'l-Sa'adah* (Haidarabad) I, 250 seq. In the *Aqrab al-Mawarid* I, 295, المسائل الخلافية is explained as: خلاف المتفق عليها. Al-Ghazâlî (d. 505) also excelled in

these branches of knowledge in his student days. Subkî IV, 103 l. 15.

(4) See *Tarikh Baihaq* f. 155 b. Muhammad also came from the district of Baihaq.

(5) Instead of 567 in *Yaqut* read 527.

then he perfected himself in the last subject, on his return to Khurâsân, under the direction of 'Uthmân b. Jâdhûkâr, whom he calls "the master of Khurâsân." He also made his own collection of books on the subject. In 530/1136 he went to Sarakhs for more advanced study of philosophical and exact sciences (*Ilm al-Hikmah*), under Qutbu'l-Dîn¹ Muhammad al-Marvazî, commonly known as "Al-Tabasî, al-Nasîrî." While at Sarakhs he spent all the money he had. Qutbu'l-Dîn appears to have shifted to Naysâbûr later, for our author tells us that he returned to that city on the 27th Shawwâl 532/8th July 1138 and continued his studies with Qutbu'l-Dîn, in Naysâbûr, till Rajab 536/February 1142, when that savant was struck with paralysis. 'Alî had now reached the age of thirty-six and we have heard the last of his regular studies. He returned to Baihaq where his mother was still living.

Unfortunately for him, the end of his student career synchronized with a weakening of the Seljûq power in Khurâsân. In May of the same year (1142 A.C.) Atsîz took Naysâbûr and the *Khutbah* was read in his name. In Baihaq itself Bûrî Bars came to govern the place for Atsîz. But this state of affairs did not last long, as in the summer of 1142 Sinjar's rule was re-established in Khurâsân.³ Baihaqî, however, does not tell us if these disturbances affected him in any particular way. What he does tell us is that he went back to Naysâbûr (in Ramadân 537/ March-April 1143), driven by the envy of his relatives.

He now settled down in Naysâbûr and stayed there for over eleven years (up to Rajab 1, 549/Sept. 11, 1154). He used to preach on Fridays in the chief Mosque⁴ of the city—the right to do so he had inherited from his grandfather, as we have already said—and on Mondays and Wednesdays in two other mosques of the city.

(1) The author has an article on him in the *Tatimmah*, where he is called Al-Failsûf Qutbu'l-Zamân Muhammad b. Abî Tâhir, al-Tabasî (sic leg.) al-Marvazî. He was a pupil of Abû'l-'Abbâs al-Lûkarî, who was a pupil of Bahmanyâr, who was a pupil of Abû 'Alî b. Sinâ. He is called Al-Nasîrî, apparently after his patron the Seljûqid Vizier Nasîru'l-Dîn Mahmûd b. al-Muzaffar. (See 'Imâd Isfahânî's *Zubdah* p. 267, Al-Râvandî p. 167). The philosopher died in Sarakhs, in 539, of paralysis.

(2) The period up to 536/1142 can be described as his student career only in a sense, for he must have started the composing and compiling of his many works at a much earlier date. We know definitely that he was engaged on his *Wishah al-Dumyah*, a continuation of Bakharzî's *Dumyat al-Qasr*, from 528 to 535. (See *Udaba* V, 213).

(3) *Turkistan* p. 327, *Tarikh Baihaq* f. 159a. In Baihaq the new *Khutbah* was read from Friday the 28th May to 17th July, 1142.

(4) See *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* p. 383.

It is surprising to know that he left Naysâbûr in 549 and not in 548 the year in which the Ghuzz invaded Khurâsân. As is well known they destroyed the army of Sinjar at the beginning of 548 (end of March 1153), took him prisoner in the summer of the same year (about August)¹ and subjected most of Khurâsân to their rule. In Naysâbûr itself they are said to have massacred all important citizens, looted their property and then set fire to the city.² How he could manage, under these circumstances, to stick to Naysâbûr he does not say. But the fact of his being in Naysâbûr at the time is confirmed by another statement of his which he has made in the *Tarikh Baihaq*.³

To this autobiography,⁴ Baihaqî has appended a list of seventy-three works which he had written up to the date of the composition of the *Masharibu'l-Tajarib*. This date cannot be earlier than 553, the last date mentioned in the *Tatimmah*, one of the works included in the list.⁵ To

(1) *Turkistan* p. 329.

(2) Cf. *Yaq. Buldan* IV, 858 :

قدموا نيسابورو نقلوا كل من وجدوا واستصفوا أموالهم حتى لم يبق فيها
من يعرف وخربوها واحرقوها

See also Ibn Khallikân I, 217, 466. On the other hand the district of Baihaq was devastated by the Khwârizmshâh Niyâltakîn b. Muhammad from 1st Shawwâl 548/December 20, 1153 to the middle of 549/September 1154, when fighting was continuous. This devastation was followed in 549 and 550 by famine and plague, when the daily death-rate (in the town of Baihaq apparently) reached fifty. The town and the district had not recovered from the effects of these calamities even at the time when Baihaqî was writing the *Tarikh* (finished on Shawwâl 4th, 563/July 12, 1168, in Shashtamadh). See *Tarikh Baihaq* f. 158b. seq.

(3) His words are :—

چنین حکایت کردند و من غایب بودم ، درین مدت بنیسابور متوطن
می بودم

(4) In the *Tatimmah* Baihaqî gives the following dates of events connected with his own life : He was in Khurâsân in 516 (f. 65a), in Merv in 519 (f. 90a), and in Sarakhs in 531 (f. 96b.). All these dates agree with the statements contained in the passage quoted by Yâqût from the *Masharib*.

(5) Either the list or the *Tatimmah*, seems to have been revised later, for the list refers to the “*Masharibu'l-Tajarib* (in four volumes)” and the *Tatimmah* (f. 94b) also has a reference to the fourth volume of this very work. The inclusion of the *Tatimmah* in the list would imply that the *Masharib* was written later, but as the *Masharib* is referred to in it, one can only suppose that this reference was added by the author in a later revision.

these Yâqût has added two more, and Baihaqî himself one,¹ in another work of his, viz. the *Jawami' al-Ahkam*, thus raising the list to seventy-five. Out of these only eleven were known to Hâjî Khalifah.² A perusal of this list convinces one of Baihaqî's vast learning and intellectual versatility. His works deal not only with the various branches of religious learning, but with history, biography, *Adab* (including genealogies, epistolary art, rhetoric, proverbs, and prosody), and the sciences, such as medicine, philosophy, astrology and astrological instruments. He had written commentaries on several *Adab* books such as the *Hamasa*, the *Diwans* of Buhturi and Abu Tammâm, the *Maqamat* of Al-Harîrî (only difficult passages dealt with), the *Nahju'l-Balaghah*, the *Shihabu'l-Akhbar*³ as also on the *Isharat* and the *Najat* of Avicenna. He also prepared three anthologies of Arabic poetry and left a *Diwan*.

Of Baihaqî's works Brockelmann has been able to trace only two, viz.

(1) The *Tarikh Hukama al-Islam* (properly *Tatimmah Siwan al-Hikmah*) in Arabic.

(2) The *Tarikh-i-Baihaq* in Persian, for a detailed account of which see Barthold's article in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* (s. v. Baihaqî).

To these may be added :

(3) The *Jawami'u'l-Ahkam*,⁴ of which there is a copy in the Cambridge University Library (See Browne's *Handlist of Muhammadan Manuscripts* p. 255). It is not stated there whether the MS. is in Arabic or Persian but the Kapurthala State Library possesses a defective copy of it with the same beginning as the Cambridge copy.

(1) Viz., *Qiwamu'Ulum al-Tibb*. This is mentioned by Hâjî Khalifah See No. 9628.

(2) See *Kashfu'l-Zunun* Nos. 2186, 4244, 4435, 4996, 5769, 8585 10805, 10894, 12043 and 14242 (=5136, 14452). Baihaqî mentions the following in the *Tatimmah* : *Wishah Dumyat al-Qasr* (ff. 71a, 89a), *Durratu'l-Wishah* (f. 95b), *'Ara'isu'l-Nafa'is* (ff. 67a, 72b, 88a, 96b), *Masharibu'l-Tajarib* (f. 94b) and *Kitab (Sharh) al Najat* (f. 90a). In his *Jawami'* he repeats twenty-three titles and adds the *Qiwamu'l-Tibb*, mentioned above. Out of these seventy-three works five were in Persian, as he tells us, but the *Jawami'* (or at least one version of it) was also in Persian, and this would raise the number of his Persian works to six.

(3) For this work see Hâjî Khalifah IV, 483 (No. 7691). Its author was Al-Qâdî Abû 'Abdillâh Muhammad b. Salâmah al-Qudâ'i al-Shâfi' (d. 454). See Ibn. Khallikân I. 462.

(4) As it is called in the *Udaba*, or the *Jawami'u'l-Ahkam fi'l-Nujum* which is the name given to it in the Kapurthala copy.

This is in Persian,¹ and Hâjî Khalîfah (No. 4244) clearly tells us that the work is in Persian, though from Baihaqî's omission to state this fact in the list quoted by Yâqût one would infer that it was in Arabic.

We have noticed above that the autobiography of the author is brought up to 549 A.H., also that in the list of his works appended to it there is a work in which 553 A.H. is referred to. Between this date and his death in 565 the author is not known to have produced much, though his *Tarikh-i-Baihaq* belongs to this period. The comparative barrenness of this period, if it be a fact, may be due, among other reasons, to the political disturbances of Khurâsân in these years.

I must point out here that Al-'Imâd al-Isfahânî (d. 597) has an article on Sharfu'l-Dîn Abu'l-Hasan 'Alî b. al-Hasan al-Baihaqî,² whom he has confounded with our author, as he has ascribed his *Wishah al-Dumyah*, a continuation of the *Dumyat al-Qasr* of al-Bâkharzî, to Sharfu'l-Dîn. This is somewhat surprising from a younger contemporary of our author, but may be explained as possibly due to the fact that Al-'Imâd, apparently, never visited Khurâsân and most of his life was spent in distant 'Irâq and Syria.³ But whatever the cause, his error misled into doubt and confusion two great authors, viz. Ibn Khallikân (d. 681) and Yâqût (d. 698). The former says, in his article on Abû'l-Hasan 'Alî b. al-Hasan al-Bâkharzî :

وقد وضع على هذا الكتاب (يعنى دمية القصر) ابو الحسن على بن زيد
البهقي كتابا سماه وشاح الدمية وهو كالذيل له هكذا سماه السمعاني في الذيل
وقال العماد في الحريدة هو شرف الدين ابو الحسن على بن الحسن البهقي

(*Wafaya* I. 360, e, Slane's Translation II, 323).

The relevant passage of *Al-Kharidah* has been quoted in full by Yâqût (V, 214). After praising him for his high position and ability, Al-'Imâd states that Sharfu'l-Dîn when Governor of Ray, showed much kindness to his ('Imâd's) father, who was then in distress; that Sharfu'l-Dîn in those days was being trained for the office of the Vizier

(1) The Kapurthala copy has two introductions. Apparently the Cambridge Persian MS. described on p. 254 of the *Handbook* and entitled *Jami' Baihaqi fi Ahkam al-Nujum* is not very different from the other book as its opening words are found in the Kapurthala MS. Possibly there is an Arabic and a Persian version. The *Handbook* refers also to an abridgement of this work; *ibid.*

(2) Leyden Catalogue II, 1, p. 218 bottom.

(8) See his life in *Udaba* VII, 81ff.

of the Sultân ; that he stayed in Ray till 533 ; and that he thought Sharfu'l-Dîn lost his life in the battle fought between Sinjar and the Kâfirs of Cathay (*al-Kuffar al-Khata'iya*)¹. To these statements are appended some verses taken from the *Wishah* which he ascribes to Sharfu'l-Dîn. Among these verses are the following :—

ترا جعت الا مور على قفاها كما تراجع البغل الرموح²
وتستيق الحوادث مقدمات كما يتقدم الكبش النطوح

After quoting this passage Yâqût observes that the date given by Bâkharzî and certain other particulars in his statement do not agree with Baihaqî's autobiography as already quoted by him from an autograph copy,—والله أعلم.

Luckily we possess in the *Tarikh-i-Baihaq* (f. 13 b seq.) a biographical notice³ of this very " Sharfu'l-Dîn Zahîru'l-Mulk Abû'l-Hasan 'Alî b. al-Hasan al-Baihaqî ", as also several references to him in the *Tarikh* (e.g., on ff. 57b, 154a) and one in the *Tatimmah* (f. 58a). This notice proves the identity of this Sharfu'l-Dîn with the one noticed by Bâkharzî. The genealogy of the two is identical. The same verses are ascribed to him by both writers. Both agree in the statement about his death. And, though Bâkharzî makes Sharfu'l-Dîn Governor of Ray in

(1) Not الحظائية as in Yâqut.

(2) *Tarikh Baihaq*: الجموح

(3) In this notice occurs the following passage :—

اول عمل او که خطیر بود در عهد سلطان سنجر . . . عمل هرات بود . و از
انجا بوزارت امیر اسفہ سالار عز الدین طغرلک اثر ترقی یافت و از انجا باستیفاء
مملکت رسید و مردی جواد و بذول بود و روزگار داد او نداد و او گوید در
شکوی الزمان : ترا جعت الامور على قفاها الخ [as quoted above]
آخر اعمال وی سفر عراق بود که اعمال عراق و بغداد بوی تفویض کردند
و بغداد رفت و از شهر سنه سبع عشرة و خمسمائة در عراق متصرف بود و پسرش
محر (محیر ؟) الدین محمد در اعمال ری متصرف بود و از انجا انتقال کردند تا سنه
ثلاث و ثلثین و خمسمائة نگاه بدر و پسر محضرة آمدند و هر دو در مضاف الخان
صی (صینی) که با سلطان سنجر . . . بود شهادت یافتند در صفر سنه ست و ثلثین
و خمسمائة

حضرة is probably *Merv*, the Seljuqid Capital.

and before 533, when our author speaks of his son as holding that post, both agree that in 533 he went elsewhere.

It is thus clear that our author is an entirely different person from Sharfu'l-Dîn al-Baihaqî, with whom he has been confounded by Bâkharzî and by those who have followed him. In fact the *Laqab* of our author is not *Sharfu'l-Dîn* but *Zahîru'l-Dîn*, as he is frequently called in the *Tatimmat*,¹ which we are now going to consider.

II.

Tatimmatu Siwan al-Hikmah.

We have seen above that Brockelmann calls one of the works of our author : *Tarikhu Hukama'i'l-Islam*. This is the title given to it in a later hand on the title page of the only complete MS. of this work known to us,² which exists in the Royal Library at Berlin.³ Sachau called it more correctly *Kitabu Tatimmatu Siwan al-Hikmah* [*Chronologie* p. L. note(2)] which title the author himself gives to the book in the list of his works.⁴

(1) In the introduction of the *Tatimmat* he is called :

الشيخ الامام طهير الدين ابو الحسن بن الامام ابى القاسم البيهقى

With this compare the following from the *Jawami'* :—

الامام العالم ابو الحسن يعرف بالامام ابو (كذا) الحسن بن ابو
(كذا) القاسم البيهقى

(2) But see p. 720.

(3) Berlin Cat. (Arabic) IX 457p. The MS. is undated but Ahlwardt assigns it to c. 1150=1737. Since the above was written I have discovered that there are two copies of the work in Constantinople.

Some extracts from the *Tatimmat* occur in an abridged form on the margins of a sixth century MS. of the *Kitabu'l-Milal* of Al-Shahrastani in the Punjab University Library. These extracts are apparently in the hand of Muhammad b. Mahmud al-'Alavi al-Wafâ'i (d. 950), who has signed his name in certain places in the MS.

(4) *Udaba* V, p. 212. 19. Sachau got the correct title from the Leyden copy which occurs in it in several places (see Leyden Cat. II. 1, 132 seq; also *Chronologie* p. XXXVII. i.) It may be noted here that the name *Tarikh Hukama'i'l-Islam* is obviously taken from the author's introduction wherein he says :—

وها انا ذا ناسخ (ناسخ read) على منوال مصنف كتاب صوان الحكمة
وذا كرم من تواريخ الحكماء وفوائدهم

Similarly in the *Durratu'l-Akhhbar* occurs the following :

وترجمه تاريخ حكما را كه ساخته و پرداخته امام محقق طهير الدين بيهقى
ست متشهر شد

The *Tatimmah* consists of one hundred and eleven biographical notices of philosophers, physicians, astronomers and mathematicians, who flourished in Islamic times, beginning with Hunain b. Ishâq (d. 260 or 264) and ending with Zeinu'l-Dîn al-Jurjânî (d. 530), the author of the *Dhakhira-i-Khwarizmshahi*. Most of the persons noticed were our author's contemporaries or had died in the fourth or the fifth century of the Hijrah era. The last date mentioned is 553 A. H. As its name implies, the treatise was intended to supplement the *Siwan al-Hikmah*,¹ a work by Abû Sulaimân Muhammad b. Tâhir b. Behrâm al-Sijzî, of which no complete copy seems to be traceable now,² Though Tâshkuprîzâdeh (d. 962 A.H.) tells us that he had seen a copp in his youth (*Miftah al-Sa'adah* I. 235 l. 2). The Leyden MS. 133 (4) Gol. gives some excerpts from the *Muntakhab Siwan al-Hikmah*, the *Tatimmah* and a treatise which it calls الرسالة الملحق بكتاب تنمة صوان الحكمة.³ These excerpts were made probably in the seventh century by Fakhru'l-Dîn Abû Ishâq Ibrâhîm b. Muhammad al-Tibrîzî,

(1) *صوان الحكمة* is said originally to have been the name of a library of the Sâmânids in Ispahan. See Hâjî Khalifah III 99. It may, however, be added here that this statement is made by an author, quoted by the Hâjî, along with several other statements which relate to the life of Avicenna. The latter are of doubtful authenticity as they clash with the statement of Avicenna himself (as quoted by Baihaqî in the *Tatimmah*).

The author who first gave the title *صوان الحكمة* to his book on طبقات الحكمة appears to be Ibn Sá'id al-Andalusî (d. 462 A.H.,) See Hâjî Khalifah II. 81. The Hâjî (l.c) also ascribes the authorship of *صوان الحكماء* to Abû Jâ'fir b. Buyah (sic.) on the authority of al-Shahrazûrî. This, however, seems to be due to a misreading of a passage in the *Nuzhah* occurring on f. 181b in the British Museum Copy as would be evident from a comparison of this passage with others occurring on ff. 190a and 188b of the same copy.

(2) But see p. 720.

(3) see p. 720. The author of this treatise appears to have flourished in the second half of the 6th century, أبو صلت أمية المصري who died in 529 ('*Uyun al-Anba* II, 54) is stated in the *Risalah* (p. 78 of the Leyden MS. Or 133 (4) Gol.) to be a contemporary of Al-Khayyâm and the author of الملحق بتنمة الصوان, apparently incorrectly. One of the two Constantinople MSS. of it was transcribed in 689 A. H.

commonly known as al-Ghadanfar, who also added to them some notes of his own.

The notices in the *Tatimmah* are as a rule very brief, and in most cases some remarkable sayings of the persons noticed are given, to which considerable space is devoted.¹

The *Tatimmah* was translated into Persian and the translation dedicated to the vizier Ghiyâthu'l-Dîn Muhammad son of Rashîdu'l-Dîn Fadlallâh, under the title *درة الاخبار ولعة الأنوار*.

The translator who does not name himself was the son of a certain *منجب (منتجب؟ منتخب؟) الدين عمدة الملك* who had

been in the service of Rashîdu'l-Dîn. The date of translation is not given by the translator but from an incidental remark made at the end of the book² we learn that Ghiyâthu'l-Dîn had held the office of vizier for two or three years, when the work was presented to him. This means that the year was about 730.³ The *Durrah* omits four⁴ notices of the original and has in general a tendency towards abridgement especially in regard to the sayings.

On the other hand, the work is made up-to-date by the addition of four brief notices on Shihâbu'l-Dîn al-Suhra-vardî al-Maqtûl, Fakhru'l-Dîn al-Râzî, Nasîru'l-Dîn al-Tûsî, and Rashîdu'l-Dîn Fadl-allâh. Thus the total number of articles in the *Durrah* remains the same as in the *Tatimmah*. viz; III. I have not seen any reference to the *Durrah* anywhere,⁵ but it has certainly been used by Maulânâ Abarqûhî, the author of the *Firdaus al-Tawarikh* (compiled in 808 A.H.), who has given a fairly long extract from it (see the *Chahar Maqala* pp. 217-218, where it is quoted from Zhukovski's article in *Al-Muzaffariya* referred to above). The only copy of the *Durrah* known to me is in the Panjab University Library. The copy is undated but is an old one, written in Ta'liq.⁶

(1) A few notices give nothing but these sayings.

(2) see p. 183 of the printed edition.

(3) See *Guzida* p. 610, and *Habib al-Siyar* III. 1, 122, l. 1. Ghiyâthu'l-Dîn was made vizier jointly with 'Ala'l-Dîn Muhammad towards the end of 727, and independently in 728. He was slain on the 21st Ramadan 786 (*Habib al-Siyar* II, 1, 127).

(4) Viz., those of Ishâq b. Quraish, Ahmad b. Ishâq al-Jarmaqî, Abdallâh, Urmavî, and 'Abdu'l-Jalîl b. 'Abd al-Jabbâr (or Nos. 9, 26, 75, 88 and 108 of my edition of the *Tatimmah*, which is in the Press).

(5) A story relating to Avicenna (see *Tatimmah* f. 86 b seq.) occurs in the *Nigaristan* of Ghaffârî (Bombay edition p. 7.) which is not found in the *Durrah*.

(6) I published the text of the *Durrah* in the *Oriental College Magazine*. (Feb.-Nov. 1929). A second edition is about to be published along with the *Tatimmah*. The order of the articles, as compared with the *Tatimmah*, is in places somewhat different.

I now turn to the important question of the relation of Shamsu'l-Dîn Muhammad b. Mahmûd al-Shahrazûrî's *Nuzhat al-Arwah* with the *Tatimmah*. The *Nuzhah* deals with the same subject. According to Hâjî Khalifah (VI, 321) it contains 111 notices of "ancient and modern learned men of Greece & Egypt."¹ Ahlwardt counted 119 articles in the Berlin copy, which I have called N (Berlin Catalogue No. 10055) though some of them give only the names and say little else about the persons noticed.²

The exact date of the compilation of this work is not known but Sachau (*Chronologie* p. LI) places it between 586 (the last date mentioned in the book) and 611, the date which the Leyden MS. of the work bears.

I have carefully compared the *Tatimmah* with the portion in the *Nuzhah* dealing with the learned men of Islamic times (حکماء الإسلام) and find that this portion of the *Nuzhah* is essentially based on the *Tatimmah*. Shahrazûrî has added a few articles, and omitted a few, but in most cases he has simply copied the work of his predecessor with slight verbal changes. Here and there he has omitted certain passages, especially the sayings of the philosophers, and added³ a few remarks particularly at the beginning or at the end of Baihaqî's articles; but, generally

(1) المصيرين But the Constantinople edition of the *Kashf al-Zunun*

has : البصريين

(2) The portion dealing with the philosophers of Islamic times contains about 90 articles (including such as give merely the names). N is slightly defective at the end but the missing folios contain no additional article.

(3) Some of his sources for the additional matter are: Ibn Sâ'id (in the article on Muhammad b. Zakariya'l-Râzî), Abû Sulaimân al-Sijzî, the author of the *Siwan al-Hikmah* (particularly in the articles on Thâbit b. Qurra and Abû Ja'far b. Babûya) and Abû Sulaimân's pupil Abû Hayyân (in the articles on Abû Ja'far b. Babûya, Ghulâm Zuhâl and Abû Ishâq al-Sâbi). Baihaqî made a point of avoiding what had already been given in the *Siwan al-Hikmah*; see the preface to the *Tatimmah*, p. 2. Shahrazûrî appears also to have made use of some work of Muhammad b. Mahmûd al-Naysâbûrî in his article on Al-Bîrûnî. Shahrazûrî does not name him but Yâqût (*Udaba* VI, 308), does. The quotation in Shahrazûrî is a short one, but Yâqût has about two pages and a half of additional matter. This Muhammad b. Mahmûd al-Naysâbûrî is probably no other, as my friend Dr. Nizâm-ud-Dîn of Hyderabad suggests, than the famous son of the Bayânu'l-Haq Mahmûd b. Abil'-Hasan. For whom see 'Auff's *Lubâb al-Albab* I, 281. [A Considerable portion of the additional matter comes through the *Itmam*.]

speaking, the articles remain essentially the same as Baihaqî's.

In spite of all this it is only in five cases that Shahrazûrî has expressly referred to Baihaqî (as Al-Zahîru'l-Baihaqî, or Al-Zahîr), thrice in his article on Shahrastânî once under Muhammad al-Hârithî al-Sarakhsî, and once under Omar b. Sahlân. His usual method is to omit or suitably alter all¹ personal references with which Baihaqî has interspersed his work. Here are a few examples of alteration :—

<i>Baihaqî.</i>	<i>Shahrazurî.</i>
(١) ورأيت في كتاب أخلاق الحكماء (ابونصر الفارابي. sub.) f. 10b.	(١) وفي كتاب أخلاق الحكماء [f. 7a.] ²
(٢) وقد سمعت أستاذي رحمه الله أن أبا نصر كان يرتحل الخ إلى عسقلان (أيضا) f. 12a	(٢) وقيل إن أبا نصر كان يرتحل الخ [f. 7b]
(٣) وقد رايت للناتلي رسالة لطيفة الخ (ابو عبد الله الناتلي. sub.) f. 14a	(٣) وماه [له read] رسالة لطيفة [f. 9a]
(٤) وأنا ما حصلت علم المناظرة.... إلا من تصنيفه (يعقوب. sub.) f. 16 a	(٤) وكتابه في المناظر (المناظرة. lis.) في غاية الحسن [f. 9 b]
(٥) وحكي لي من رآه أنه انتقل في آخر عمره إلى بعض متزهات نيسابور (أبو القاسم عبد. sub.) الرحمن بن علي بن أبي صادق f. 63 a	(٥) وقيل (انتقل. lis.) في آخر عمره إلى بعض متزهات نيسابور [f. 16 b]

(1) The only exception to this which I have noticed occurs in his article on Abû'l-Khair al-Hasan b. Bâbâ b. Suwâr b. Bihnam, where he has repeated the following remark of Baihaqî as if it was his own :—

ورأيت له (رسالة) إلى الوزير الأمين أبي سعد فيها كلمات نافعة شافية

The only word which Shahrazurî has omitted is نافعة

(2) The folios have been renumbered by me, starting with the first page dealing with الحكماء المتأخرين من المسلمين which I have numbered as 1a.

*Baihaqi**Shahrazuri*

- (٦) ومن كلامه بالهمة العلية الصادقة (٦) وحكى لى واحد من تلامذته
 الخ [f. 18° a]
 العلية الصادقة الخ (ابو sub.
 الحسن على النسوى f. 64 b
 (٧) وحكى أنه كان يتخلل [f. 19 b] (٧) وحكى لى ختنه الامام محمد
 البغدادى أنه كان يتخلل
 (عمر بن ابراهيم الخيام sub.
 f. 68 b)

Several other examples of this could be given.

III.

The Article in the TATIMMAH on Khayyam.

As I said in the beginning, the *Tatimmah* has an article which is headed thus :—

الدستور الفيلسوف حجة الحق عمر بن ابراهيم الخيام

A considerable portion of this article we are already familiar with. This is the portion which Shahrazûrî included in the *Nuzhah** and which Zhukovski published in 1897. Below I give an English translation of the article in the *Tatimmah*, then a translation of other passages of the same book relating to Khayyâm. Appended to this is the Arabic text, with the Persian version placed in a parallel column. Variants have been added in the foot-notes from the *Nuzhah*. In the foot-notes I have indicated the alterations made by Shahrazûrî in the original text. A comparison of all these will show the methods followed

* A great deal of Shahrazûrî's article has been reproduced in the *Rawdat-ul-Jannat* of Al-Khwânsârî (Compiled in 1287 H.) Tehran 1806, pp. 500 seq. with the following addition (The verse quoted below is not given in Christensen's *Critical Studies in the Ruba'iyat of 'Umar-i-Khayyam*):—

قلت ومن المنسوب الى الخيام بالفارسية وهو صريح في الجبرية والاشعرية قوله
 مى خوردن من نزد خدا سهل بود گرمى نخورم علم خدا جهل بود
 قدرد عليه في ذلك مولانا الخواجه نصير الدين الطوسي بقوله
 علم ازلى علت عصيان كردن نزد عقل از غایت جهل بود
 و مرجع رده قدس سره إلى أن علم الله سبحانه وتعالى بالأشياء ومرايته
 لها إنما هو بحسب ما يتحقق وجودها في الخارج ورتبه متأخر عنها الا أنه بصير
 عليه لوجود ما لا ادعى لوجوده سواء فليأمل ولا تغفل

by Shahrazûrî and the Persian translator of the *Tatimmah* in dealing with their text.

"He was of Naysâbûr by birth, and his ancestors belonged to the same place. He was next to Abû 'Alî (Avicenna) in his mastery over the various branches¹ of *Al-Hikmah* (Philosophical and exact Sciences) but he was ill-tempered and peevish.

He studied a book in Isfahân seven times and learnt it by heart. On his return to Naysâbûr he dictated it from memory. This copy, when collated² with the original, was found not to differ much from it.

(Here follows Khayyâm's horoscope, which I am unable to render. The Persian version, after translating the passage, adds :—And for this reason he combined a powerful memory with quickness of intelligence).

He was niggardly of composing books and teaching. He (wrote) no books except (the following)³ :—

1. مختصر في الطبيعيات A manual of Natural Philosophy.
2. رسالة في الوجود A treatise on Existence.
3. رسالة في الكون والتكليف A treatise on Being⁴ and Impositions.

He had a scholarly knowledge of classical Arabic, *Fiqh* (Law) and History. It is said that once the *Imam* 'Omar visited the Vizier Shihâbu'l-Islâm⁵ 'Abdu'l-Razzâq, son

(1) أجزاء علوم الحكمة is a very common expression with the author of the *Tatimmah*.

(2) The Persian version has :—

وما ازان نسخه مقابله كرديم

(3) This is not quite correct. See for a list of Khayyâm's scientific works Browne's *Revised Translation of Chahar Maqala*, p. 188.

(4) This means apparently coming into existence by the order of God, and the becoming liable to the imposition of the Law.

(5) Bundârî (see *Tawarikh-i-Al-i-Saljuq*, Leyden, 1889 p. 267) calls

him ابن أنى نظام الملك وهو شهاب الاسلام عبد الدوام

but بن الفقيه عبدالله بن علي بن اسحق misreading or mistranscription of عبدالرزاق. In the *Rahat al-Sudur* p. 167 he is called الوزير شهاب الدين ابوالحسن بن الفقيه الأجل أنى نظام الملك

For his life see Al-Subkî's *Tabaqat* IV., 254, and Habîb al-Siyâr II, 4,100. See also the *Oriental College Magazine* (November 1928, p. 80, February 1929 p. 86) for a reference to him in Baihaqî's *Tarikh-i-Baihaq*. According to Al-Subkî, he was born in A. H. 459 and died on Thursday, the 19th Muharram, 515 H.

of the great *Faqih* Abû'l-Qâsim 'Abdullâh,¹ son of 'Alî, the nephew of the Nizâm-ul-Mulk. The *Imam ul-Qurra'* Abû'l-Hasan al-Ghazzâlî² was with him and they were discussing the different readings of a verse (of the Qur'ân).

The Shihâbu'l-Islâm said :—We have lighted on the possessor of knowledge.

Then he referred the question to 'Omar, who stated the various readings which the Qur'ân-readers had given and the reasons of each. He also stated the unauthentic readings (*Shavadhdh*³) and the reasons for the same. Finally he gave preference to one of these readings over the others.

(On hearing this) the *Imam ul-Qurra'* exclaimed :—May God multiply men like you among the '*Ulama*. Take me as kin to your people and be well pleased with me, for I did not think that any Qur'ân-reader in the world, not to speak of any philosopher, retained in his memory all that and knew it. Of the various branches of *Al-Hikmah*, such as Mathematics and the Sciences founded upon reason, he was a skilful discerner.

The Imâm, the Proof of Islâm, Muhammad al-Ghazâlî visited him one day and put him a question relating to (the Philosophers') fixing a particular point for polarity out of so many points of the celestial sphere, though the parts of the sphere are similar.⁴ I have referred to this problem in

(1) He died in Dhi-'l Hajjah, 499 A.H. (*Tarikh Baihaq*: see the *Oriental College Magazine* for February 1929 p. 96).

(2) He is apparently identical with 'Alî b. Ahmad b. Muhammad, noticed in the *Bughya al-Wu'at* p. 328.

(3) الشاذ is explained thus by Dhahabi (d. 748 H) :—

هو ما خالف رسم المصحف الامام

[quoted by Ibn al-Jazarî in *Al-Nashr fi'l-Qira'at al-'Ashr*, Damascus, 1845, I, 42] "*Al-Imam*" is the Caliph 'Othmân. Al.

Thânawî (*Kashshafu'l-Ishtilâh* s. v. الشاذ) says :—

في الاتقان الشاذ من القراءة ما لم يصح سنده كقراءة ملك يوم الدين بصيغة الماضي ونصب يوم واياك تعبد بصيغة المخاطب المحمول

For this passage from the *Itqan* see the Cairo Edition of the work (1818) Vol. I. p. 79.

(4) This is a well-known *irad* in the books of *Hikmah*: see for example *Maibudhi* (Cawnpore 1871) p. 69 :

أورد عليه أنه إذا تحرك البسيط على الاستدارة فلا بد هناك من قطبين معينين ساكنين. مع استواء جميع النقط المفروضة في ذلك البسيط وصلاحيتهما للقطبية الخ

my work '*Arai's al-Nafa'is*.¹ The Imâm (Khayyâm) made a lengthy speech, beginning with the statement that motion belonged to such and such a category.² He was all the time avoiding the real issue, as was usual with that worthy *Sheikh*, until the sun became high and the crier cried for the midday prayers, at which the Imâm Ghazâlî said :—" The Truth is come and what was false is come to naught. Verily what is false comes to naught."³

And he got up.

One day the Imâm 'Omar visited "the great Sultân" Sinjar,⁴ then a mere child. When he came out the Vizier Mujîrû'l-Daulah,⁵ asked him :—How do you find him and what have you prescribed for him ?

The Imâm replied : The child is in a critical condition.

A black eunuch⁶ understood the remark and reported it to the Sultân. When the Sultân recovered from his illness, he entertained feelings of hatred towards the Imâm 'Omar on that account, and had no liking for him.

The Sultân Malikshâh⁷ used to treat him as a boon companion and the Khâqân Shamsû'l-Mulûk⁸ of Bukhâra

(1) This book has been mentioned by Yâqût, see *Udaba* V. 212, l. 8.

(2) For a discussion on the subject see *Al-Shams al-Bazigha* (Mustafai Press, Dheli, 1288 H.) p. 68, l. 15.

(3) *Qur.* XVII. 83.

(4) r. 1117-1157 A.C.

(5) The text has incorrectly : *مخير الدولة*. For Mujîr al-Daulah see *Habib al-Siyar* IV, 2, 100 : Al-Bundârî p. 61, l. 17.

(6) For this meaning of *Al-Khadim* see *Samani* f. 14 a l. 2 :

اشتهره الخصيان الذين يكونون

في دور الملوك وعلى ابوابهم ويختصون بخدمة الدار ويقال لكل واحد منهم الخادم

(7) r. 1072-1092 A.C.,

(8) Abû'l-Hasan 'Ali al-Husaini calls him *شمس الملوك صاحب طمغاج* in the *Zubdatu'l-Tawarikh* (Brit. Mus. MS. No. 41322 (11), in describing the events of A.H. 465/A.C. 1072-3, which led to the death of Alp Arslan (Al-Bundârî p. 45 last line, calls him *شمس الملك تكين بن طمغاج* in the same connection) but elsewhere, when describing his war with Malikshâh he refers to him as *شمس الملك* or *الخاقان شمس الملك* eg., on ff. 36b. For an account of his reign (1068-1080) see Barthold's *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* p. 314-316. His name is given there as Shams al-Mulk Nasr (S. M. Nasr II, in *Muham. Dynasties*, p. 185). Both Lane Poole and Howorth (J. R. A. S. 1898, p. 488) place his death in A.H. 472/A.C. 1079-80.

showed him great respect and seated him with himself on the throne.

The Imâm 'Omar related one day to my father (the following anecdote). He said : I was present at the Court of Sultân Malikshâh when a child came in—he was the son of one of the Amîrs—and paid his homage in an approved manner, at which I was surprised, for he was so young. At this the Sultân said to me : This is no matter for surprise, for a chicken begins to pick up the grain from the ground instinctively, as soon as its egg-shell is cracked, yet it cannot find its way home. On the other hand, the young pigeon does not pick the grains until it is taught to do so, by being fed with the bill,¹ and yet becomes a courier-pigeon, capable of leading the way, and flies from Mecca to Baghdâd. I wondered at these remarks of the Sultân. Every great person is inspired !

I visited the Imâm, with my father² (may God have mercy on him !) in the year 507/1113-4. He asked me the meaning of the following verse of the *Hamasa* :—³

ولا يرعون اكناف الهويتا اذا حلوا ولاروض الهدون

[They do not feed their flocks, in the regions of Quiet. When they settle in a place, nor in the meadows of Peace.—i.e. They are full of mischief and have a passion for fighting]. I replied that الهويتا is [used only in] the diminutive and has no form to denote magnification. Other examples are الثريا and الحميا. The poet is referring to their might and power. His meaning is this :

When they settle in a place they do not pursue that which is mean and ignoble, but aim, among lofty things, at those which are difficult, then those which are still more so.

After this he (Khayyâm) asked me to state the different kinds of curved lines.

I replied : Curved lines are of four kinds. The circle, [the semi-circle, the arc smaller than a semi-circle], and the arc bigger than a semi-circle.

(1) See *Kitabu'l-Hayawan* (Cairo, 1906 III, 47 middle of the page).

(2) See p. 687 above. Baihaqi's father was a blind man at this time, as has already been pointed out there.

(3) *Kitabu Asha'r al-Hamasa* (Bonn, 1828) p. 15.

On hearing these replies he said to my father (quoting a proverb) :

“ A natural disposition, which I know, as inherited from Akhzam”¹ (*i.e.*, he is a chip of the old block).

His son-in-law² Imâm Muhammad al-Baghdâdî related to me thus :— He (Khayyâm) was picking his teeth with a tooth-pick of gold, and was studying the portion of (Avicenna's) *Al-Shifa* dealing with Metaphysics. When he reached the section dealing with *Al-Wahid wa 'l-Kathir*”³ [the One and the Many] he placed the tooth-pick between the two leaves and said to me :

Call in some pious persons⁴ so that I may make my last will. He did so, then he got up and said his prayers. He took neither food nor drink. After he had finished his last prayer at night he prostrated himself on the ground and said :

“ O Lord ! Thou knowest that I have known Thee to the utmost of my ability. Forgive me my sins then, for my knowledge of Thee is my recommendation to Thee.”

Having said this, he expired.

(1) So in Lane s. v. شنشة ; see also *Iqd* (Cairo, 1321) I. 157, l. 11

الشنشة الطيبة وأخزم خل معروف وهذا مثل للعرب

(2) cf. *Lisan* XVI. 294. (s. v. الحتن)

كل من كان من قبل المرأة مثل الاب والاخ . . . هكذا عنه العرب وأما عند العامة
لحن الرجل زوج ابنته

A more careful expression for the son-in-law seems to be ختن فلان على ابنته
cf. Subkî IV. 285, l. 9. For this Imâm see the *Rasa'il* of Watwât I. 67.

(8) See الفن الثالث من كتاب الشفاى الإلهيات (Daru'l Funun Press
1808) p. 429 : فصل فى تحقيق الوحدة والكثرة وإبانه الواحد والكثير

(4) زائد الخيرو والفضل (Aqrab al-Mawarid
III, 206). غلاما زكيا (Qur. XIX. 19) is explained by Baidâwî

as طاهرا من الذنوب ناميا على الخير (Aqrab al-Mawarid I. 469).

The word is being used in the text in a technical sense. See *Hidayah* (the 'Alavî edition) III 102. Baihaqî quotes a saying of 'Abdu'l-Raz-zâq al-Turki, in which occurs the following passage :

الامير ينصب الوالى والوالى ينصب القاضى والقاضى ينصب المولى والعدول

*Translation of other passages in the TATIMMAH
referring to KHAYYAM.*

Abu'l-Hasan al-Anbari al-Hakim.

He was a philosopher but he devoted himself particularly to the Science of Geometry (*‘Ilm al-Handasah*). ‘Omar al-Khayyâm, the Philosopher, used to study with him and he (Al-Anbârî) used to explain *Al-Mijisti*¹ to him. Once a *faqih* said to Al-Anbârî: “What are you teaching?” “I am expounding” he replied, “a verse of the Book of God, exalted be He.” On the *faqih*’s further enquiring as to the verse he was referring to, Al-Anbârî said: [It is] the saying of God, exalted be He: “Do not they behold the heaven above them, how we have built it!”² I am explaining how it was built
.....

The Learned and Just Prince ‘Adud al-Dunya wa’l-Din ‘Ala’ al-Daulah³ Faramarz b. ‘Ali b. Faramarz, King of Yezd.

He was a learned and just Prince. I saw him in Khurâsân in the year 516/1122-3, when he showed my father a work of his, which he had entitled the *Muhjat al-Tauhid*. He defended the views of Al-Hakim Abûl-Barakât b. Malkâ,⁴ the physician of Baghdâd.....

He said once to ‘Omar al-Khayyâm: What do you think of the objections of Al-Hakim Abûl-Barakât to the discourses (*Kalam*) of Abû ‘Alî [*i.e.*, Avicenna]?

The Imâm ‘Omar replied: Abûl-Barakât did not understand the discourses of Abû ‘Alî. He was not in a position to comprehend them. How could he, then, be in a position to raise objections against them and cast doubts (on their accuracy)?

(1) For a discussion of the origin of this title see Nallino’s *‘Ilm al-Falak* (Rome 1911) p. 222

(2) *Qur.* 50. 6. Flügel has a slightly different text. The translation is Palmer’s.

(3) Baihaqî mentions this Prince in his *Tarikh Baihaq* (f. 181a). He tells us that Khwaja Ahmad b. al-Husain al-Dârî entered his service and went with him to Balkh and died there in 516 H. For ‘Ala al-Daulah’s father ‘Ali b. Faramarz, see *Chahar Maqala* p. 169. Hâjî Khalifah has an article on the *Muhjatu’l-Tauhid* and describes its author as the King of Al-Ray and a contemporary of Al-Khayyâm. He has a second article on the same book under *Rahjatu ‘l-Tauhid*!

(4) *i.e.*, Awhad al-Zamân Abûl-Barakât Hibat allâh ‘Alî b. Malka al-Baladî. See for him the *‘Uyun al-Anba’* I, 278. Baihaqî also has a notice on him, in the *Tatimmat* (*viz.*, No. 93).

On this, the Prince 'Alâ' al-Daulah enquired from him thus : Is it impossible that there should exist an intelligence stronger than that of Abû 'Alî, or is it possible ?

The Imâm 'Omar replied that it was not impossible.

Then the Prince 'Alâ' al-Daulah said : The slave of another has become your equal ! you say he [Abu'l-Barakât] is not in a position to comprehend [Abû 'Alî's discourses] and to raise objections [against them], but my slave, who is my inkhorn-bearer (*dawati*) affirms the contrary, nay more. You should, therefore, make such observations as could have a claim to preference over those of a slave. You should not be inclined towards folly ; for my slave can easily outdo you in that."

The Imâm became perplexed (on hearing this).

"A Philosopher" continued the Prince 'Alâ' al-Daulah "attacks the discourse of another by argument, but a foolish polemic, by slander and calumny. Seek, therefore, the higher of the two positions and do not be contented with the viler of the two methods." At this, the Imâm 'Omar rose up bridled with silence.....

*Abu'l-Ma'ali 'Abdallah b. Muhammad of Mayanaaj.*¹

He was one of the pupils of the Imâm 'Omar al-Khayyâm and of the Imâm Ahmad al-Ghazzâlî.² He composed a work and entitled it the *Zubdatu'l-Haqaiq*.³ In it he has mixed up the sayings of the Sûfis with those of the Philosophers.....

*Abu Hatim al-Muzaffar al-Isfizari*⁴ the Philosopher.

He was a man of Science, who was contemporary with the Philosopher 'Omar al-Khayyâm. Between these two were held disputations but Al-Muzaffar lagged far behind his rival. Al-Muzaffar devoted himself particularly to the various branches of Astronomy and to Mechanics. He was kindly and compassionate towards his pupils and in this respect was just the opposite of Al-Khayyâmî.

(1) For his life see Al-Subki's *Tabaqat al-Shafi'iya al-Kubra* IV, 286, Brockelmann, I 891. He was crucified in Hamadhân in Jumâda II, 527=May, 1181.

(2) Brother of the Imâm Muhammad al-Ghazzâlî.

(3) For the work see Brockelmann I, 391. It exists in a Persian and in an Arabic version.

(4) For him see the *Revised Translation of the Chahar Maqala* p. 71 : see also the *Risala dar Ma'rifat-i-Anasir wa Ka'inat al-Jaww* (composed circa. 650 H.) in the *Oriental College Magazine* for May 1928, pp. 42 and 62.

The Sayyid, the Imam, the Philosopher Sharfu'l-Zaman Muhammad¹ of Al-Ilâq,

Sharfu'l-Zamân repaired frequently to the Imâm 'Omar al-Khayyâmî and to other (teachers).

The Philosopher, 'Ali b. Muhammad al-Hijazi al-Qa'ini²

He lived to the age of ninety and died in 546. He as a pupil of Al-Imâm 'Omar al-Khayyâm.

The Philosopher, Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Ma'muri al-Baihaqi.³

He comes next to the Banû Mûsa⁴ in Mathematics. He composed a book on the abstruse points of Conics, which had not been dealt with by any one before him. The Library of the Qutbu'l-Zamân⁵ possessed an original Manuscript of it; also the calculations relating to Arithmetic, Mechanics, etc., which helped him enormously (in his work). The Imâm 'Omar al-Khayyâmî acknowledged his eminence in those sciences, and the soundness of his knowledge of the same.

(1) For him see Brockelmann I, 485. In the '*Uyun al-Anba* II, 20 he is called Al-Sayyid Abû 'Abdallâh Muhammad b. Yûsuf Sharf-al-Dîn. Ilâq is the valley of the Angren river (*Turkestan* p. 514). also.

(2) Baihaqi has an article on him in the *Tarikh Baihaq* also.

(3) Baihaqi has noticed him in the *Tarikh-i-Baihaq* also. This Imâm Muhammad was accidentally killed in Isfahân in 485 H.

(4) For them see *Al-Fihrist* (Ibn Nadîm) I, 271.

(5) He was a teacher of Baihaqi (see *Udaba* V, 210), who devotes an article (No. 70) in the *Tatimmat* to him, of which the heading is :

الفيلسوف قطب الزمان محمد بن أبي طاهر الطيبي (الطبي) المروزي

He died in Sarakhs in 589 A.H.

*The Persian Version.**The Arabic Text.*

(f. 23 a) الفيلسوف حجة الحق
عمر بن ابراهيم الخيام

(۱) اصل و ميلاد او از نيشاپور
بوژه است در تعمق در اجراء (اجراء
lis.) علوم حقيقى و وسعت آن تلو
ابو على بوذليكن در خلق ضيقى داشتى (۳)
و در تعليم و تفهيم و تصنيف و آنچه
از ان ديگرى فائده يافتى ضيقى مى
کرد، (۲) طالعش جوزا بود و آفتاب
و عطارد بر درجه طالع مم در
الجوزا و مشتري از تثليث ناظرو
از اين جهت جامع بود بين قوت
حفظ و حدث ذكا، چنانكى مى
گويد كتابى بطول را هفت نوبت
تامل نمود در اصفهان چون

[f. 66 a] * الدستور الفيلسوف
حجة الخلق (الحق lis.) عمر بن
ابراهيم الخيام
(۱) كانت نيسابورى الميلاد
والآباء¹ والاجداد وكان تلوا بى
على فى اجراء² (اجراء lis.) علوم
الحكمة الا انه كان سيئ الخلق ضيق
العطن وقد تامل كتابا با صفهان
سبع مرات و حفظه³ الى عدوا
نيسابور* و املاه⁴ فقول بنسخته
الاصل فلم يوجد بينهما كثير
التفاوت* و طالع الجوزا (۲) و
الشمس و عطارد على درجة الطالع
فى ح من الجوزا (۲) و عطارد
[f. 66 b] صميمى و المشتري من
التثليث ناظر اليهما⁵ (۳) وله ضنة

(Persian) Abbreviations. *Firdaus* stands for the *Firdaus al-Tawarikh* which contains certain passages from this article. It was quoted by Zhukovski from a MS. and Mirza Muhammad has reproduced these passages in his notes on the *Chahar Maqala* p. 47) from Zhukovski's article. The arabic figures indicate the corresponding passages of the Arabic original.

(Arabic) Abbreviations. *N* is the Berlin MS. of the *Nuzhat al-Arwah* of which the number is MS. 217. (See Ahlwardt's Arabic Catalogue IX 459). *N2* is another MS. of the same work in the same Library and is numbered Ldbg 480. *G* is the Leyden MS. Or 138 (4) Gol.

Note. The original text of Baihaqi has very few vowel-marks and even the dots are omitted in many places.

(1) *N* عمر الخيامى النيسابورى لآباء والبلاد *G* (which

has this passage from the beginning to (التعليم) : as in the text but with

(2) as in الخيام instead of الخيامى النيسابورى and الخلق instead of الحق

N and *G* (8) So in *G* but *N* has حفظها (4) So in *G* but *N* has فاملاه

5) So in *G* ; *N*. omits.

بنشاپور عود کرد از طهر قلب
املا کرد چنانکه نسخه از املاء او
بنوشتند، و ما از آن نسخه مقابله کردیم
زیادت تفاوتی نداشت (ه) و بدین
استعداد بر جمیع علوم معقول و منقول
وقوف یافت، (۶) گفته اند که
روزی بحضرت شهاب الاسلام
الوزیر عبدالرزاق بن الفقیه
(الاجل) (f. 231) ابی القاسم
عبدالله بن علی درآمد و امام القرا
ابوالحسن الغزالی حاضر بود و در
اختلاف ائمه القرا در آیتی بحثی می
رفت چون امام حاضر شد شهاب
الاسلام گفت: علی الخیر سقطنا
پس وجهی مختار از وجوه مختلف فیها از
وی پرسیدند، از وجوه اختلاف قرا
بیان کرد، هر وجهی علت آن
بگفت، و ذکر آن سوار داد (شواذ
lis) علی کثرتا بکرد، و بعد از آن
اختیار وجهی نمود و بر صحت آن دلیل
گفت، پس امام ابوالفخرالحسین
گفت: کثر الله فی العلما (ه) مثلك،
حق تعالی جهان را از وجود مبارک
امام خالی مدار از چه گمان نداشتم کی
کسی از قرا در جهان این وجوه و
علل بر ذکر تو اند بود تا بحکیمی
فیلسوف چه رسد، (۱۲) الشیخ
الامام ظهیر الدین ابوالحسن ابن

بالتصنیف و التعلیم* (م) ولم
(یصنف) تصنیفاً الا مختصراً¹ فی
الطبیعیات و رسالة فی الوجود و
رسالة فی الکون و التکیف (ه) و
کان عالماً باللغة و الفقه و التواریخ (۶)
* و قیل دخل الامام عمر یوم علی
شهاب الاسلام الوزیر و هو عبدالرزاق
بن الفقیه الاجل ابی القاسم عبدالله
بن علی بن [ابن lis] أخ نظام² الملك
و کان عنده امام القرا (ه) ابوالحسن
الغزالی³ [الغزالی lis] (ه) و کانا
یتکلمان فی اختلاف القراء⁴ فی آیه
فقال شهاب الاسلام⁵ علی الخیر
(الخیر lis) سقطنا فسئل (۶)*
لامام عمر عن ذلك⁶ فذكر وجوه⁷
اختلاف القرا (ه) و علل کل
واحد⁸ و ذکر الشواذ و عللها
و فضل وجه واحد* علی سائر
الوجوه⁷ فقال امام القرا (ه)
ابوالحسن الغزالی⁹ (الغزالی lis)
کثر الله فی (f. 6. a) العلما (ه)
مثلك* اجعلنی من ائمة اهلک و ارض
غنی فانی⁸ ما ظننت ان* واحدا
من القرا (ه) فی الدنیا یحفظ ذلك و
یعرفه فضلاً عن واحد من المحکمات
(ه)، (ع) و اما ابراهیم¹¹ (اجراء lis)
الحکمة من الرياضیات و المعقولات
فکان ابن محمد بها (بجدهما lis)

(Persian)* Repeated twice in the original.

و دخل الخيام علی الوزیر عبدالرزاق (2) N وله مختصر (1) N (Arabic)

N (7) عنها الخيامی N (6) الوزیر N (5) القراء N (4) الغزالی N (8)
احدا یحفظ ذلك من N (10) الغزالی N (9) منها N adds (8) omits.
احدا N (11) القراء

الامام ابی القاسم البیهقی گوید در خدمت امام پذر م بجلست امام عمر در آمدم در سنه سبع¹ و خمسایه پس از من معنی بیقی از حماسه پرسید و آن اینست شعر

ولا یرعون اکناف الهوینا

اذا حلولا و لا روض الهدون

گفتم هوینا تصغیر یست کے اسم مکبر ندارد همچنانکی ثریا و حمیا و شاعر اشارت کرده (است بعز آن طائفه)² و منع طرفی کہ دارند یعنی در مکانی کے حلول نماید نا حور دش (باخوردش) بستایند و در (معالی ایشان تفصیر)² ی واقع نشود کے همت ایشان بسوی معالی امور باشد، بعد ازان از انواع خطوط (ط قوسیہ - ظ) پرسید گفتم انواع خطوط قوسیہ چهار است یک محیط دائره (و قوس خرد تر - ظ) از نصف دائره و قوس بزرگتر از نصف دائره، بعد ازان امام پذر م را گفت: شنشنة اعر فها من احرم (3) (او تا (با. lis) تو فر اقسام علوم در حکمت و ریاضیات و اقسام

(8) و دخل * علیه یوما الامام حجة الاسلام محمد الغزالی¹ و سألہ عن تعیین جزء من اجزاء الفلك القطبية (للقطبية² lis) دون غیرها مع * ان الفلك³ متشابه الاجزاء * و انا قد ذكرت ذلك في كتاب عرایس النفایس من تصنیفی * فاطال الامام عمر⁴ الکام وابتدأ من ان الحركة من مقولة كذا و ضن بالخوض في محل النزاع و كان من دأبة ذلك الشيخ المطاع حتى * قام قايم الظهيرة و اذن المودن⁶ فقال الامام⁵ الغزالی جاء الحق و زهق الباطل و قام و دخل * الامام عمر یوما⁵ (f. 67 b) علی السلطان الاعظم⁵ سنجر و هوصی و قد اصابه جدري⁷ * فخرج من عنده ، فقال له الوزير خیر بحیرا لدولة⁸ : کیف رأیتہ و بای شی عألجة ؟ فقال * له الامام⁹ عمر : الصبی مخوف * ففهم ذلك خادم حبشی و رفع¹⁰ ذلك الى السلطان فلما رآ السلطان * أضمر بسبب بعض (بسببه بغض. lis) الامام عمر¹¹ و کان لا یحبہ ،

Persian (1) Firdaus (2) From Firdaus. In the original these words have become illegible. Here and in what follows such passage have been put in brackets.

(8) Read. اخزم

Arabic (1) N حجة الاسلام الغزالی علیه یوما (2) So in N (8) N کونه (4) N جدري (7) N اذن الظهر (6) N omits. (5) فقال (فاطال ؟) الخيامی فریع خادم حبشی (10) N فقال عمر (9) N فلما خرج سألہ الوزير بعضه (ابغضه. lis) N (11)

آن در طب دستی عظیم داشتی
و این نجهده (بجده lis) آن بودی
و صرف عمر در مطالعه آن کردی
(۱۳) امام محمد بغدادی می گوید
مطالعه الهی از کتاب الشفا می کرد
چون بفصل واحد و کثیر رسید
چیزی^۱ در میان او راق موضع
مطالعه نهاد و گفت مرا کی جماعت
را بخوان تا وصیت کنم چون اصحاب
جمع شدند بشرائط* وصیت قیام
نمودند^۲ بنابر مشغول شد و از
غیر اعراض کرد تا نماز خفتن بگذارد
و روی بر خاک نهاد و گفت: اللهم
انی عرفتك علی مبلغ امکانی فاغفر
(لی فان معرقی)^۳ ایاک وسیلت
الیک و جان تسلیم کرد

(۱۰) و کان السلطان^۱ ملکشاہ
ینزلہ منزلة الندماء و الخاقان شمس
الملوک ببخاری یعظمه غاية التعظیم
و یجلس الامام عمر^۲ معه علی
سریره،

(۱۱) * و حکى الامام عمر یوما
لوالدی و قال انی کنت یوما بین یدی
السلطان ملکشاہ و دخل علیه صبی من
اولاد الامرا (ء) و أدى خدمة
مرضیة فتمجبت من حسن خدمته فی
صغر سنه فقال لی السلطان لا یتعجب
(تتعجب lis) فان فرخ (f 68 a)
الدجاجة اذا تقفات (تقفات lis)
ببسته یلتقط الحب بلا تعلیم و لكنه
لا یتدی الی بیتہ سیلا و فرخ الحمامة
لا یلتقط الحب لا بتعلیم الزق مع ذلك
یسیر حاما هادیا یطیر من مکة الی
بغداد فتمجبت من کلام السلطان
و قلب (قلت lis) کل کبیر ملهم،
(۱۲) و قد دخلت علی الامام فی
خدمة و الدی رحمه الله فی سنة سبع
و خمس مائة فسألنی عن بیت لی
(فی ؟) الحماسة وهو

ولا یرون اکناف الهوینا
اذا حلوا و لاروض الهدون
قلت: الهوینا تصغیر لا تکبیر له کاتریر

(Persian) (1) The original has وحیری

(2) Firdaus قیام نمود

(3) From Baihaqi

(Arabic) (1) N. omits (2) N. ومجلسه

والحميا والشاعر لشر (يشير) الى
 عز هو لاء ومنعهم (منعهم lis.)
 يعنى لا يسفون اذا حلوا مكانا الى
 التقصير ولا الى الامر الحقير بل
 يقصدون الأشد فالأشد عن معالى
 الامور، ثم سالتى عن انواع
 الخطوط القوسية فقالت: انواع
 الخطوط (f. 68 b) اربعة منها محيط
 دائرة ومنها قوس أعظم من نصف
 دائرة فقال لوالدى: شئنة أعر فيها
 من أحرم¹ (أخزم lis.)
 (١٣) وحكى * لى ختنه الامام محمد
 البغدادى انه كان يتخلل بخلال
 من ذهب وكان يتأمل الالهيات
 من الشفا (ء) فلما وصل
 الى فصل الواحد والكثير وضع
 الخلال بين الورقين (الورقتين)
 * فقال ادع الأذكيا (ء lis.)
 حتى أوصى فوصى فقام وصلى ٤ ولم
 يأكل ولم يشرب فلما صلى العشا (ء)
 الأخير ٥ سجد وكان يقول
 بسجوده: اللهم تعلم ٦ انى عرفتك على
 مبلغ امكاني فاغفر لى فان معرفتى

وحكى الامام (1) N omits both of the above passages. i.e., from

أحرم to عمر يوما (2) N omits. (3) So in N. (4) N
 الانرة (5) N وقام وصلى واوصى

اياك وسيلتي اليك ومات *

* Nadds : رحمه الله وله اشعار حسنه بالعربية والفارسية منها شعر

مدبر (يدير . lis) لى الدنيا بل السبعة العلى
بل الافق الا على اذا جاش خاطرى
اصوم عن الفحشاء جهرا وخفية
عفاا و افطارى بتقد يس فاطرى
وكم عصبه ضلت عن الحق فاهتدت
بطرق (بطرق) الهدى من فيضى المتقاطر
فان صراطى المستقيم بصائر
نصبن (نصبن . lis) على وادى العمى كالقنا (طر)
وقال

اذا قنعت نفسى بميسور بلغة
يحصلها بالكد كفى وساعدى
امنت تصاريف الحوادث كلها
فكن يازمانى موعدى او مساعدى
وي (هبنى . lis) اتخذت شعريين منازل
وفوق مناط الفرقدين مصاعدى
اليس قضى الرحمن فى حكمه بان
بعبد (تعبد . lis) الى محس (محس . lis) جميع (المساعد)
متى مادنت دنياك كانت مصيبة
فواعبجا من ذا القريب المناعدى (القريب المباعد . lis)
اذا كان محصول الحيو منية
فشتان حالا كل ساع وقاعدى (قاعد . lis)

(For variants see Ibn al-Qifti p. 244.)

وقال
زجيت دهر ا طويلا فى التماس اخ
يرعى ودادى اذا ما حله حانا (ذوخلة خانا . lis)
فكم الفت وكم آخيت غير اخ
وكم تبدلت (تبدلت . lis) بالاخوان اخوانا
وقلت للنفس لما عز مطلبها
بالله لا تالنى ماعشت انسانا

Variants from G (p. 78) verse 1: verse 3: بطرق; verse 6: verse 7: موعدى او موعدى; وهبنى; verses 8 and 9 omitted; verse 11: تبدلت and فاخيت; verse 12: فخله خانا

OTHER PASSAGES IN THE TATIMMAH REFERRING TO KHAYYAM.

The Persian Version.

ابوالحسن الانباری الحکیم
 با وجود تبجر در علوم حکمی هندسه
 بر وی غالب بود و حکیم فیلسوف
 عمر بن خیام از وی استفادت می
 کرد و مجسطی از وی فرا گرفت
 روزی یکی از فقها از انباری پرسید
 بچه درس می گوئی؟ گفت تفسیر آیتی
 از کتاب الهی، گفت کدام
 آیتست؟ گفت قول الله تعالی و
 تقدس اولم یروا الی السما (۱) فوهم
 کیف ساها (بنیناها) بیان می کنم
 کی کیفیت بنا (۲) این چون
 بوده است.....

(f. 22 b) الملك العالم العادل
 عضدالدینا والدين علا (۱) الدوله
 فرامرز^۱ علی بن فرامرز ملک یزد
 باذشاهی با دانش و دین پروری
 بود و داذ گستری کی بیراهین و
 سیوف قواطع طرفی طاهر.....^۲
 وجهانیان، و تحصیل بر
 حقائق یونانی بر و مقرر داشه بودند
 (f. 23 a) و اعتقادی تمام بشأن

The Arabic Text.

(f. 75 a) ابو الحسن^۱ الازبی^۲
 [الانباری. lis] الحکیم
 کلن حکیمان والغالب علیه علم الهندسة
 وکلن* الحکیم عمر الحیام^۳ یستفید
 منه وهو یقرر (یقرر) له المجسطی
 فقال بعض الفقهاء (۴) یوما للانباری^۴
 ما تدرس؟ فقال: أفسر آیه من
 کتاب الله تعالی، فقال الفقیه: وما
 تلك الآیه؟ فقال الازبی (الانباری
 lis): قول الله^۵ تعالی: أولم
 یروا الی السماء فوهم کیف بنیناها
 فانا أفسر کیفیه بنائها.....

[f. 65 a]* الملك العالم العادل عضدالدینا
 والدين علا الدولة فرامرز بن علی
 بن فرامرز ملک رد (یزد lis)^۶ کان
 ملکا عالما عادلا* رأیته بخراسان
 سنة ست عشرة وخمسمائة وکان
 عرض علی والدی تصنیفه الذی^۷ سماه
 مهجة التوحید وکان یذب^۸
 (یزد lis) عن رأی الحکیم^۹
 فی البرکات* بن ملک الطیب البغدادی^۹

فرامرز بن علی i.e., فرامرز علی (Persian, (1) Apparently we should read

(2) Some words are missing here.

(Arabic) (1) The folio containing this article is missing in N. I have, therefore, collated the above text with N2. (2) N2 الانباری G الازبی

N (6) الاتدری قوله N2 (5) للانباری N2 (4) عمر الحیامی N2 (8) N omits. (9) N (9) دذب N (8) وله کتاب N (7) عضد الدین

حکا داشتی مگر بطرف ابو البركات
بن ملکا الطیب بغدادی * کے
فسادی در اعتقادش بنسبت با او
بوذی ¹، روزی امام عمر خیام را
پرسید کہ می گوئی در اعتراضات
ابو البركات بر کلام شیخ ابو علی ؟
گفت : ابو البركات را مرتبه ادراك
سخنان شیخ نبوذ تا با اعتراض بر کلام
او چه رسد تا بر نتائج افکار او ایراد
شکوک تواند کرد ، بعد ازان علا (ه)
الدوله گفت : محالست کہ حدس قوی
تر از حدس (ابی علی) تواند بوذ ؟
امام عمر گفت : * ممکن است کہ در
احمال باشد علا (ه) الدوله گفت :
تو می گوئی ابو البركات را مرتبه در
یافتن سخنان ابو علی و اعتراضات بر
کلام او نیست و غلام دواتی من می
گوید او را رتبت اعتراض و زیادت
از ان هست و مرا برهانی بر صدق هیچ
يك از مدعی (مدعی) تو و غلام
حاصل نشد تا حکم حرم بر صدق
احدی کنم ، عمر ازین سخن بهر اسید
بعد ازان شهر یار دانش پڑ وہ
گفت : الحکیم بیهجن کلام غیره
بالبرهان والحدی (الحدی lis.)
السفیه بالوقیعة والبرهان (والبهتان

... قال یوما * للام عمر [f. 65 b]
الخيام ¹ ما تقول ² فی اعتراضات
الحکیم ³ ابی البركات علی کلام ³
ابی علی فقال له الامام عمر ⁴
ابو البركات ³ لم يفهم بكلام ⁵
کلام lis) ابی علی ولیست له رتبة الادراك
لكلامه فكيف يكون له رتبة
الاعتراض عليه * وایراد الشكوك علی
كلامه ³ فقال له الملك علاء الدولة
: من المستحيل ان يكون حدس
اقوى من حدس ابی علی ام من
الممكن ؟ فقال الامام عمر ⁶
ليس من المستحيل ، فقال له الملك
علاء الدولة ³ ساواك عبد
غيرك ، انت تقول ⁷ لیست له
رتبة الادراك والاعتراض (و)
غلامی الدواتی يقول له رتبة
الادراك والاعتراض ⁸ والزيادة
فتكلم بما يزيد به كلامك علی کلام
مملوك ولا تمل الی سفاهة ، غلامی اقدر
عليها منك ،

* قشور الامام ⁹ فقال له الملك
* علاء الدولة ³ : الحکیم بیهجن
کلام غیره بالبرهان والحدی * السفیه
لوقیعة ¹⁰ والبهتان فاطلب اعلی

(Persian) (1) This is just the opposite of what Baihaqi has said.
(2) This is not the sense of the original.

(4) N الخيامی انه (8) N omits. N يقول (2) N للحيامی (1) (Arabic)
in the original and in يقول (7) N omits. (6) N الخيامی (5) N کلام
N. (8) From G and N 2. of. the Persian version. (9) N قشور الخيامی
بالسفه والوقیعة (10) N

(lis.) فاطلب (1) على الدرجتين ولا
تقنع باجنس (باخس lis) الرذيلتين
فقام الامام ملجأ (ملجأ lis)
بالسكوت،

الدرجتين ولا تقنع¹ باخس
الرذيلتين، فقام² الامام عمر³
ملجأ بالسكوت،

(f. 23 b) (3) ابو المعالى عبدالله
(5) بن محمد (f. 24 a) المباحي
(كذا) و هو عين القضاء
از شاگردان امام عمر خيام بود و از
شيخ محقق احمد غزالي نیز اقتباس
علوم کرد و اشراق قلبيش بانوار
مشاهدات از فيض آن حضرت شد
کتابي نوشت و آن را زبدة الحقائق
نام نهاد و در انجا سخنان صوفيه را
باحقايق يوناني آميزش داد و امروز
آن کتاب علق مطلبه (مضنة lis.)
صاحب دلانست

(f. 68 b) و المعالى عبدالله بن محمد
المباحي⁴ (المباحي lis.)
كان من تلامذة * الامام
عمر الخيام و تلامذة الامام احمد
الغزالي⁵ * و صنف كتابا و سماه
زبدة الحقائق⁶ و خلط فيه⁶
كلام الصوفية (f. 69 a) بكلام
الحكماء

(f. 25 b) الفيلسوف ابو حاتم المظفر
الاسفزاری حکیمی با دانش و
رهنمائی و معاصر فیلسوف عمر خيام
بود و میان ایشان مناظرات بسیار و
معارضات بی شمار بوده لیکن بایگاه
(بایگاه lis.) بلند از ایشان هر دو خيام
را بوده و علم القال (اثقال lis.)
و حیل بروی غالب بود ..

الفيلسوف⁶
ابو حاتم المظفر الاسفزاری
كان حکيما معاصرا * للفيلسوف
عمر الخيامي⁷ و بينها مناظرات⁷
ولكن⁸ المظفر عنه بعيد والغالب
على المظفر علوم⁹ الهيئة و علم⁹
الاتقال * والحيل (6) و كان
حايبا⁷ (حانيا lis.) رؤفا بالمستفيدين

الخيامي (1) يقنع in the original. (2) فقال in the original. (3) N
المباحي المعروف بعين القضاء N 2 المباحي المعروف بعين القضاء (4)
الخيامي و احمد الغزالي (5) N omits. (6) N omits. (7) N omits. (8) N
علم (9) N

على خلاف طيبيه (طبيعة . lis)
الخيامى

(f. 73 a) * السيد الامام الفيلسوف
شرف الزمان عهد الايلاق¹

The Persian version
omits this remark.

..... * (f. 73 b) وقد
اختلف شرف الزمان الى الامام
عمر الخيامى والى غيره²

(f. 26 b) الحكيم على بن عهد الجحازى
القانى (القانى)
نود سال بزيست و در سنه ست و
اربعين و خمسا يه بجوار حق رفت و
او از شاگردان امام عمر خيام بود ،

(f. 77 b) * الحكيم على بن عهد الجحازى
القانى عاش تسعين سنة و مات
فى سنة ست و اربعين و خمسمائة و كان
(من) تلامذة الامام عمر³

(f. 29 a) الفيلسوف عهد بن احمد
المعمورى اليهتى كان تو (تو . lis)
در رياضيات و كتابى در دقائق
مخروطات تصنيف كرد كه در ان
تصنيف (غير) مسبوق بود و امام
عمر خيام در تفويق و تميز او از
اقران معترف بود.

(f. 91 b) الفيلسوف⁴ عهد بن احمد
المعمورى اليهتى كان تو (تو . lis)
بى (بنى) موسى فى الرياضيات
..... * و * صنف كتابا فى دقائق
المخروطات ما سبقه بها احد⁵ *
و كان بين كتب قطب الزمان منه اصل
والاعمال التى يتعلق (يتعلق . lis)
بالحساب والاقال (اقال) وغير
ذلك يساعده (تساعده . lis) مساعدة
عظيمة والامام⁴ عمر الخيامى
يعرف⁶ (يعرف . lis) سريره
(بتريزه . lis) * و متانته⁴ فى تلك
العلوم ،

Arabic (1) N السيد عهد بن الايلاق (2) N N2 (and two other MSS. of the
Nuzha) : وهو من تلامذة ابى على بن سينا But G p. 76 has practically
the same remarks as Baihaqi. (8) N omits this article. In the article
on him in the *Ta'rikh Baihaqi* (f. 141b) occurs this passage :

و چون قان خراب شد باينسابور انتقال كرد و انجا بامام عمر خيام و غير
او اختلاف داشته است در طب و غير آن

معترف⁶ N (6) و كتب فى المخروطات (ما) ما سبقه احد اليه⁵ N (5) omits (4) N

ADDENDA.

(a) The following passage occurs in a MS. of the *Nuzhah*, which belongs to the Library of the *Nadwa*, Lucknow. This MS. was copied from an original dated 1029 H., which in its turn was copied from another dated 773 H. in Tibriz. The text of this MS. is somewhat different from that represented by N, N₂, and the British Museum Copy, which do not contain the passage; nor does the *Durrah* give its translation. The passage, however, is found in G. (p. 78,) in the portion which is called there الرسالة الملحقة بصوان الحكمة

ابوالعباس اللوكري [p. 29]

سبق¹ اقترانه الخيامي وابن كوشك والواسطي في ميدان الحكمة ولا يشق احد منهم غباره² وان قوما هو صدرهم لكبار واربعة هو اولهم لخيار،

G after giving the above adds in the Margin:³

الخيامي اذا عد حكما نرسان فهو ازخرهم بحرا وارفعهم قدرا واطولهم في رياسيات باعا وامدهم في القياسات الخطابية انفا ساثم له شعر شرق (يشرق) صوب المزن بمائه وشرق (يشرق) ارجا (ء) الفضل بضيائه

بدن (تدين) الى الدنيا بل السبعة العلى بل الفلك الاعلى اذا جاش خاطري
اصوم عن الفحشا (ء) جهرا وخفيه عفا و افطاري بتقد يس فاطري
وكم عصبة ضلت عن الحق فاهتدت بطرق الهدى عن فيض المتقاضي
لان صراطي المستقيم بصاير نصن (نصن) على وادى العمى كالتقاطر

(b) Since the above was written it has become possible for me—thanks to the kind efforts of Drs. Nicholson and Ritter—to refer to the contents of a Constantinople Manuscript (called C in the foot-notes), which is comprised of three treatises, viz.

(i) the *Muntakhab Siwan al-Hikmah*

(ii) the *Tatimmah* of Baihaqî

(iii) the *Itmam al-Tatimmah*, also called *ar-Risala al-Mulhaqa bi Tatimmatî Siwan'il-Hikmah*.

The unknown author of the third treatise, the *Itmam*, abridged the *Siwan*, and appended to it the other two treatises. He does not name himself in the work. He must have composed the *Itmam* after A.H. 586, the date of the

(1) G سبق (2) G adds ولا يحضره احضاره (3) Abû Ishâq

Fakhr al-Dîn Ibrahim al-Ghadanfar of Tibriz, who copied this note, must have flourished before 692 H., the date of transcription of G.

(4) كالقناطري G.

death of Sheikh Shihâb al-Dîn al-Suhrawardî al-Maqtûl to which he refers. Ghadanfar, who abridged the above-mentioned three treatises tells us, that the author of the *Itmam* was contemporary with Khayyâm and Abu'l-Salt Omaiya (d. 529 H.) but there is nothing in the articles on these in the *Itmam* to support that view. On what other authority he based that probably incorrect remark one does not know.

The article on *al-Khayyami*, which has just been quoted from G is Ghadanfar's abridgement of the article in the *Itmam*, the full text of which is given below :

الفيلسوف حجة الحق¹ عمر بن ابراهيم الخيامي
إذا عد حكما نراسان فهو از حرم بحر و ارفعهم قدرا و اطولهم في الرياضيات
باعا و امدهم في القياسات الخطائية² نقاسا حدث القاضي الامام عبد الرشيد
بن نصر بن الحسين انه اجتمع (معه ؟) مرة في الحمام بمدينة مرو
فستل عن معنى المعودتين و سبب تكرار بعض الفاظها * فابتدأ يسرد³ كل قول
نادر⁴ و يورد⁵ كل شاهد شارد حتى أتى بما لو جمع بلغ حجم مجلدة ،
هذا مقامه المحمود في التفسير مع انه لم يمتط⁶ غار به فما ظنك بعلم⁷ انفذ فيه
عمر ، حتى استدى (تسدى ؟) غار به ثم له شعر يشرق صوب المزن بمائه و يشرق
ارجا الفضل بضياته قال

وقال

سبقت⁸ العالمين الى المعالي بحسن⁹ خليقة و علوهم
فلاح لحكمتي نور الهدى في ليال بالضلالة¹⁰ مد لهم
يريد الجاحدون ليطفئوه و يابى¹¹ الله الا ان يتم¹²

وقال

تدين لي الدنيا الايات¹³

وقال

و ما ساقى فقر اليك و انما ابى¹⁴ عزوف¹⁵ النفس ان عرف الفقرا
و لكنني ابغى¹⁶ التشرف انه حبيبة نفس حرة ملئت كبرا
وقال

إذا قنعت نفسي الايات¹⁷

(1) C (2) الخطايه C (3) نابتدا اسرد C (4) نادر C (5) Lower dots not marked in C (6) سعت C (7) إلى C (8) Already quoted from G in the *Addenda* (a) (9) C (10) Already quoted above from the *Nuzha* on p. 715.

وقال

زجيت دهر الايات¹

ولواعطاني الدهر اختياري² * بحسب السر³ مني والطوية
لسرت على جفوني⁴ كي ازجي⁵ لدى مغناك من عمرى البقيه

وقال

أظلت رياح الطارقات (ر) واكدا او انطبقت منها الحفون⁶ الرواقدا (كذا)
تحملت⁷ الافلاك اورث⁸ دورها فصرن حيارى قد ضللت المرشدا
ففى قلب * بهرام وجيب⁹ وروعة وكيوان اعشى ليس يرعى¹ المراصدا
لذاك تمادت دولة الترك وانبرت (9) بنو النترك يبنون⁴ السماء مصاعدا

(1) Already quoted above from the *Nuzha* on p.715. The second verse has
ذوخلة خانا which lends support to my reading

(2) C احتياري (3) C بحسب السير (4) Lower dots not marked

رن C (8) C محملت (7) C الحفون (6) C ازجي C (5) C in

بهرام وجب C (9)

MOHAMMAD SHAFI.

LITERARY RELATIONS BETWEEN ARABIA AND INDIA ¹

THE idea of translating the literary works of other languages had occurred to the Arabs from the middle of the first century A.H. While Syria remained the centre of government, Greek and Syriac had the first share of their attention. But when the Abbasids made 'Irâq their metropolis, the Indian and Iranian languages had their turn. When the fame of Mansûr's patronage of letters had spread far and wide, a Hindu scholar, learned in astronomy and mathematics, came with a deputation from Sind and brought a Sanskrit Siddhant (Book of Principles) to Baghdad. By the orders of the Khalifah he translated it into Arabic with the help of Ibrâhîm Fazâri, a learned mathematician at the court.² This was the first time that the Arabs appraised the intellectual attainments of India.³ Hârûn sent for physicians from India who made the Arabs realise the stupendous possibilities of India's genius. Later on, under the patronizing care of the Barmakids, books of medicine, astrology, astronomy, literature and ethics were translated from Sanskrit into Arabic. Thus to India's fame was added a glowing aura.

To show how, through these translations, India won a high place in the estimation of the Arabs, I shall quote the thoughts of two or three old Arab authors, of whom the first is Jâhid, a famous litterateur, philosopher and theologian. As he was an inhabitant of Basrah, he had relations with India.⁴ He died in 255 A.H. He has written a tract on the academic discussion whether the black races are superior or the white. He gives his verdict in favour of the Blacks. In this connection he says :—"The inhabitants of India are highly meritorious in astrology and medicine. They have a peculiar script. In medicine, too, they have a supreme insight. They have in their possession some strange secrets of the art of Aesculapius.

(1) By Sulaiman Nadvi, translated by Saidul Haq, B.A. (Hons.).

(2) *Kitabu'l-Hind*, Bîrûnî p. 208 (published in London).

(3) *Akhbaru'l-Hukama*, Qiftî p. 177 (Egyptian edition).

(4) Read the account of Amar bin Bahr-ul-Jahid in Ibn Khalliqan.

They have medicines for some very fell diseases. In making busts and statues, in making pictures out of colours, and in architecture they are superb. They are the inventors of chess which is a game of mental gymnastics. They make fine swords and know how to wield them. They know incantations to annihilate the effects of poisoning and to cure aches. Their music also is enchanting. One of their musical instrument is known as 'Kankla' (?) which is played on by striking a chord strung in a gourd. It sounds like the guitar and the conch-shell. . . . there is every variety of dance, and they have got different kinds of script. There is an uncommon fund of poetical wealth and oratorical affluence in their possession. They know the arts of medicine, philosophy and ethics. The book 'Kalilah wa Dimnah,' has come to us from them. They have plenty of courage and commonsense and many qualities which are wanting even in the Chinese. Cleanliness is a noted feature. They have good looks, tall stature and a taste for perfumes. It is from their land that the peerless ambergris comes for the use of kings. Streams of high thinking flowed down from India to Arabia. They know incantations which, when chanted, annihilate the effects of poisoning. They are the inventors of astronomical calculations. Their women are expert singers and their men are expert cooks. Dealers in monetary transactions do not entrust their purses to any except them. The treasurer of every such dealer in 'Irâq must be a Sindhi or the son of a Sindhi. Their natural bias is towards figuring, monetary transactions and things like these. They make very honest and faithful servants."*

The next person is Ya'qûbî who was a traveller, historian and scholar. It is said that he also came to India. He died about 278 A.H. After writing down the legendary history of India in his history book, he says :—

"The inhabitants of India are wise and of capacious thinking. In this respect they excel all the nations. In astronomy their calculations are most perfect. Siddhant (The Book of Principles), which has been of use even to the Greeks and Iranians, is a monumental product of their intelligence. In medicine their insight is wonderful. Their books on this science are *Charak* and *Nadan*. There are many other books on this science. They have got books on logic and philosophy. There are many books

* v. *Risalah Fakhru's-Sudan 'ala'l Beydan*, Jâhid, *Ma'jumu Risâ'il ahid* p-81 edited 1324 A.H. (Egypt).

of which much detail is found.”¹

The third description is by Abû Zeyd Seyrafi who flourished towards the end of the third century A.H. He writes:—

“The educated people in India are known as Brahmins. Among them are poets living at the court and basking in the sunshine of royal favour, and also astronomers, philosophers, fortune-tellers and magicians. They are in large numbers in Kannauj which is a large town in the kingdom of ‘Jawz’ (جوز).”²

In fine, because of the patronage of Mansûr and Hârûn ar-Rashîd, and because of the appreciative generosity of the Barmakids, scores of *pandits* (scholars) and *veds* (physicians) went from India to Baghdad. Their services were requisitioned in the Medical and Literary departments and they translated into Arabic many books on mathematics, astronomy, astrology, medicine, literature and ethics. It is a pity that the Indian names of these *pandits* have become so completely metamorphosed in the Arabic that now it is quite impossible to pronounce them correctly. Perhaps, to my mind, one reason is that they were mostly the followers of Buddha's creed and the cast of the names of those times is different from that of present-day Vedic names. Many names are simply titles. The hash which has been made of these Indian names in the Arabic language is similar to the mess which has been made of Arabic names in European languages.

However, the names of these Indian scholars and physicians which occur in the writings of the Arabs are these:—Bahla, Manka, Bazigar (Bijakar?), Filbarfil (Kalap Rai Kul), Sindbad. These names have been given by Jâhid who, after writing down these names, has suggested other names. He writes that they were all invited from India to Baghdad by Khâlîd al-Barmakî and that they were all physicians.³

Ibn Abî Useybah has mentioned, among these physicians, Manka's son, and Bahla's son who had embraced Islam and was named Sâlih. Ibn Nadîm has given another name, Ibn Dhan. These three were noted physicians at Baghdad. In another place he has given us the names of those scholars of India whose books on medicine and astronomy were translated into Arabic. Their names are:—

(1) *Tarikh Ibn-e-Waze* (sic.), Ya'qubi, Vol. 2 p. 105, (Leyden).

(2) p. 127.

(3) *Kitabu'l-bayan* p. 40, (Egypt).

Bakhar, Râjâ, Mankâ, Sâhir, Ankû, Zankal, Araikal, Jabhar, Andi, Jahâri.¹

Manka.

Ibn Abî Useybah has written in his book, *Tarikh-ul-Atibba* (history of physicians) that Mankâ was proficient in medicine and treatment. Once Hârûn Ar-Rashîd fell seriously ill. All the physicians of Baghdad having failed to achieve any measure of success, somebody suggested the name of this Indian physician. He was invited to Baghdad, all the travelling expenses having been sent to him. By his treatment the Khalifah was restored to health. The Khalifah rewarded him profusely. He was appointed in the Translation Department for translating Sanskrit books.² May we interpret Mankâ as Manik?

Salih bin Bahlah (صالح بن بهله)

He was also an expert in Indian medicines. Ibn Abî Useybah has included him in the list of expert physicians in Baghdad. Once, when the cousin (paternal uncle's son) of Hârûn Ar-Rashîd was suffering from apoplexy and the famous Greek physician at the Court, Gabriel Bakht-shiyu (جبريل بختشيوخ) had despaired of his recovery and given the verdict of death, Ja'far al-Barmaki presented this Indian physician at the court and suggested his treatment. The Khalifah accepted the services thus proffered. Sâlih bin Bahlah carried out the treatment with marvellous success.³

Ibn Dhan (ابن دهن)

He was the chief medical officer in the hospital of the Barmakids. He was also one of those who were engaged in translating Sanskrit books into Arabic.⁴ Professor Sachau, in the introduction to *India*, has tried to ascertain the original of the name 'Dhan' (دهن). His researches indicate that this might have been 'Dhanya' (دهنيا) or 'Dhanan' (دهن). This name was probably adopted to resemble the word 'Dhanuntari' (دهنوتري) which

(1) *Fihrist*, Ibn Nadim, *Dhikr Kutub Tibb-wa-Nujum*.

(2) *Tarikhul-Atibba*, Vol. 2 p. 83 (Egypt) and *Fihrist Ibn Nadim*, p. 245.

(3) *Tarikhul-Atibba*, Vol. 2, p. 84, (Egypt).

(4) *Fihrist Ibn Nadim* p. 248.

is the name of the physician of the gods in *Manushastra*.¹

Books on the following arts and sciences were translated from Sanskrit into Arabic :—arithmetic, astronomy, medicine, astrology, parables, politics, games and amusements.

Arithmetic.

The Arabs especially state that they learnt the art of figuring the notation from 1 to 9 from the Hindus.² Hence the Arabs call these figures by the name of Indian numerals. The nations of Europe learnt them from the Arabs and called them Arabic numerals. The exact date when the Arabs learnt this method from the Hindus is shrouded in obscurity, but the probability is that the *pandit* who came in 156 A.H. with a *siddhant* from Sind to the court of Mansûr at Baghdad, taught the Arabs this method. In my opinion, the truth is that there is a description of these figures in the 18th and 24th chapters of the *Siddhant* and thus the method became current among the Arabs. In Arabic the figures were at first written in words. Later on the Arabs, like the Jews and the Greeks, wrote them down as Hurûf Abjad (Letters A B C D). This method is still current in Arabic astrology for reasons of brevity and convenience, and in the East dates are often kept on that basis. However, Muhammad Bin Musa Khwarazmi first cast these Indian figures in the Arabic mould.³ In the article on numerals in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Vol. XIX, p. 867) the forms of ancient Eastern Arabic and Western Arabic numerals have been quoted from inscriptions and MSS. A glance at this article will show how these numerals travelled from India to Arabia. In Arabia these figures were corrected and arranged by the court astronomer of Mâ'mûn Rashîd named Al-Khwarazmi (780 A.D. to 840 A.D.) and they went to Europe through Andalusia. In Europe a particular branch of mathematics is called Logarithms, Alogrithms, Agoritims, Alogrism. They are all corrupted forms of Al-Khwarazmî.⁴ The Andalusians

(1) Introduction to the English translation p. 33.

(2) *Rasa'il Ikhwan-us-Safa* arranged in the 4th century A.H. *Fasl fi ma'rafat Hidayati'l Huruf*, and *Khulasatu'l-Hisab* (Bahâuddin 'Amali) published in Calcutta and the commentary thereon by Maulvi Ismatullah, and *Kashfu'z-zunun* and *Kitabu'l-Hind* (Birûnî) p. 98 (published in London).

(3) *Tabaqatul-umam* (Sâ'id of Andalusia) p. 14 (Beyrut).

(4) *Encyclopædia Britannica* Vol. XIX p. 867 (Column 2).

called these Indian figures *Hisâbu'l-Ghubâr* (arithmetic of the dust), perhaps because the Hindus, as is still the custom in village *patshalas*, used to teach these figures by writing them on the ground. The European numerals are derived from these 'Numerals of the dust.'

One practical proof of the non-Arabic origin of these figures is that, contrary to all Arabic rules, they are written from left to right, but the Arabs read them from right to left. Ibn Nadim has given us, under the heading of Sindh script, these figures and has taught the method of writing these figures from 1 to 1,000. It is also obvious that this method became prevalent among the Arabs owing to the Sindhi *pandits*.

Next to Al-Khwarazmî who flourished in the 3rd century A.H., corresponding to the early years of the 9th century A.D., the man among the Muslims who took the most active interest in Indian mathematics, is 'Ali bin Ahmad Naswi (علي بن احمد نسوى) 980-1040 A.D. who is the author of *Almagna' fi'l-Hisabî'l-Hindî* لمقنع في الحساب الهندي

Many other books on the same subject were published afterwards, though Greek arithmetic was translated into Arabic much earlier, during the time of Al-Khwarazmî.¹ Still the high esteem in which Indian arithmetic was held did not decline. It will be heard with amazement that this Indian arithmetic had become popular even with the masses. The celebrated Muslim physician-philosopher Bû Alî Sînâ (بوعلی سینا) or Avicenna (428 A.H. to 1015 A.D.) had during his childhood learnt Indian arithmetic from a vegetable-seller who was an expert in the art.²

Astronomy and Astrology.

It has been mentioned above that, in 154 A.H. (770 A.D.) or thereabout, a certain *pandit* came with a book on astrology along with a deputation from Sind to Baghdad.³

(1) The best information available on this topic in English is H. Sutar's article *Arithmetic*, in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* Volume 22, p. 815, published in 1916. There is a detail in 2 or 8 pages in the *Mafatihul-'ulum* (مفاتيح العلوم) by Al-Khwarazmî (381 A.H.) under the heading *Hisabu'l-Hind* p. 198 (published in Leyden 1895 A.D.).

(2) 'Uyûnu'l-Anba' (عيون الأنباء) Vol. 2 p. 2 (Egypt).

(3) *Tabaqatu'l-Umam* by Sâ'id of Andalusia p. 49 (Beyrût).

The full name of this book in Sanskrit is 'Barhamspat Siddhant' popularly known in Arabic *As-Sind-Hind* (السند هند). After this another Sanskrit book known in Arabic as *Arjbahdh* (ارجبھد) and pronounced in Sanskrit as *Aryabhat* was translated into Arabic. Then there is the third Sanskrit book whose famous name in Arabic is 'Arkand' (آرکند) and whose less famous name is Ahrquan (اهرقن). Its original Sanskrit name is 'Khanda Khadek.' The *pandit* through whom the first *Siddhant* was translated into Arabic had two pupils, Ibrâhîm Fazâri and Ya'qûb bin Târiq. Each of them translated the *Siddhant* into Arabic in his own way. Hindu astronomy is founded upon the division of time known as, 'Kalap' (कल्प). Like other ancient nations they believed that the moon, the sun, Saturn, Jupiter and other heavenly bodies which the Arabs called the Seven Planets were all flung into space at the same time at the vernal equinox and began to move at the same time. After millions of years when the Seven Planets arrive at the same point all together, there is utter annihilation and the world starts into life again. The number of Solar years between the two points is called 'Kalap' (कल्प). According to the calculations of Barhamgupta one 'Kalap' equals four thousand and three hundred and twenty millions of years. The reckoning of days is also made from this calculation. The Arabs called this 'Kalap' by the name of *Sani-us-Sind-Hind* سنی السند هند (the years of the *Siddhant*). The days were known as *Ayâmu's-Sind-Hind* (ایام السند هند).

Since the calculation of billions and millions was a little trying, Aryabhata, towards the end of the fifth century A.D. cut the 'Kalap,' for the sake of convenience, into its thousandth part known as 'jag' and, 'mahajag.' The book written on this principle of Aryabhata is known among the Arabs as *Arjbhar* (ارجبر) or *Arjbahdh* (ارجبھد). The 'jag', was known as 'Sani Arjbahdh' (سنی ارجبھد) or the Era of Aryabhata. The Arabs made a mistake in getting at the original meaning of the words 'As-Sind-Hind,' and 'Arjbahr,' as they thought that these words meant the principle of reckoning. They wrongly thought that 'As-Sind-Hind' (السند هند) means, Ad-dahru-'d-dâhir' (الدهر الداهی) or Eternal Time and that 'Arjbahadh' means 'the thousandth part.' This last

book was translated into Arabic by Abû'l-Hasan Ahwâzî.

Ya'qûb bin Târiq learnt in 161 A.H. the method of 'Arkand' (آرکند) that is Khand or Khandaik from this or some other *pandit*. The author of this book is Barham-gupta, but some of its principles are different from those of the *Siddhant*.

These three books started the Siddhantic method among early Arab astrologers, though a little later the book known to Arabs as the *Majisti* (مجسطی) of Batleemoos (بطليموس)¹ was translated into Arabic and though an observatory was established during Mâ'mûn's reign and many researches were made, still for a long time Arab astrologers, from Baghdad to Spain, were busy drawing inspiration and making deductions from this Indian *Siddhant*. They made *précis* and prepared commentaries, corrected mistakes and made improvements. This went on till the 5th century A.H. (11th century A.D.), that is, till Bîrûnî's time. Though Greek and Iranian principles were applied to the horoscope made by Khwarazmî during the reign of Hârûn Ar-Rashîd, yet the very basis lay upon Hindu principles of astronomy. Hence this book was named *As-Sind-Hind-us-Saghir* (السند هند الصغير) or The Smaller *Siddhant*.² In a similar fashion Hasan bin Sabbah, Hasan bin Khasîb, Fadl bin Hâtîm Tabrîzî, Ahmad bin 'Abdullah Marwazî, Ibnu'l-Admî, 'Abdullah and Abû Reyhân al-Bîrûnî did a lot of research work in connection with the correction and improvement of the *Siddhant* in the third, fourth and fifth centuries. The Greek principles and personal researches were also added.

The principle of the *Siddhant* travelled to Spain in the 4th century A.H. Muslama bin Ahmad Majritî (an inhabitant of Madrid) who died 398 A.H. (1007 A.D.) made a *précis* of the horoscope of Khwarazmî's *Sind-Hind-Saghir*. Abû'l Qâsim Asbagh *alias* Ibnu's-Samh of Spain, who died 426 A.H. (1035 A.D.), prepared a great horoscope based on Siddhantic principles.

Later on, to widen the horizon of knowledge, side by side with researches, people drew inferences from the principles of the *Siddhant*. Ibrâhîm Zarqâlî (ابراهيم زرقلي) of Spain has done so in his book on the astrolabe known as 'Safhatu'z-Zarqâliyah' (صفحاته الزرقالية). Through the Arabs of Spain this book of *Siddhant* reached the Jews

(1) i.e. Ptolemy—Editor "I.C." (2) Qiftî p. 178 (Egypt).

and the peoples of Europe. The Jewish scholar, Abraham son of Ezra has, in his Hebrew books, prepared horoscopes based on some principles of the *Siddhant*.¹

Sanskrit Technical names in Arabic.

Due to personal researches Arab astrology went through many stages of progress. One obsolete and two extant technical names from Sanskrit which still exist in Arab astrology point out how astrology journeyed to Arabia. Beside the name *Siddhant*, a Sanskrit technical name exists in old Arab astrology — *Kardajah* (كرده). The original Sanskrit name is *Karamjiya*. The later technical name for it is 'Witr Mistawi' (ورمستوى). The extant technical name which is still current in Arab mathematics and trigonometry is the word 'Jeyb' (جيب) which means a 'pocket.' It is the Arabicised form of the Sanskrit 'Jeeva.' From this technical names like 'Jeybu't-tamam' (جيب التمام) *Juyub Mankusah* (جيوب منكوسه) *Juyub Mabsutah* (جيوب مبسوطة) *Mujeyyab* (مجيب) etc. sprang up. By much chopping they were minced into Arabic forms. Nobody to-day would ever suspect that they are non-Arabic.

The last word is *Auj* (اوج) which in astrological terminology is the name for *acme* or the highest point.² This word has been so long current in Arabic, Persian and Urdu that nobody ever suspects its Indian origin. This is the reason why this root is not found in purely Arabic dictionaries. The same is the case with 'Jins' (جنس) which is a technical name in Arab logic and is the Arabicised form of the Greek word 'Genus.' In Arabic this word is used as 'Jins' (جنس), *Majânisah* (مجانسه) and

(1) The mention of Sidhahind (سدها هند) *Arjbahdh* (ارجهند) and *Arkand* (آرکند) is in Mas'ûdi, Qifti and the *Kitabu'l-Hind* of Bîrûnî. All these books are before me. But in 1909 and 1910 A.D. an Italian scholar delivered very learned lectures in Arabic on the history of Arab astrology. The information put down here is taken from lectures No 21, 22 and 23. Something is taken from *Tabaqatu'l-Umam* of Sâ'id of Andalusia p. 50 (Beyrut).

(2) Some are of opinion that its original is the Persian word *Aug*, (اوك), as is written in Khwarazmî's *Mafatihul-'Ulum* (p. 221, Leyden) (his word occurs in the old Persian dictionary of Asadi Tûsî. But the dea is that this word has gone into Persian from Arabic.

Tajnîs (تجنيس). There is no trace of this word in old Arabic.

Two more words are worth looking into. The Hindu scholars had, while discovering the movement of planets, calculated the meridian which passes through the half of the globe's surface. This half, in their opinion, was Lanka, known to Arabs as Sarandîb (سراندیب) and now known as Ceylon. The Hindus thought that it lies on the equator. The point at which the equator and this particular meridian cross each other is known among the Arabs as 'Qubbatu'l-'Ard' (Dome of the Earth). The Arabs calculated longitudes from the Ceylon meridian. That is why early Arab geographers called Ceylon 'Qubbatu'l-'Ard' (Dome of the Earth).

Again the Arabs thought that the Ceylon meridian passes through Ujjain also, which is a town in Malwa. In the *Siddhant* the calculation of longitudes is made from Ujjain. Therefore they calculated longitudes from Ujjain. The Arabs, with their own peculiar twang called this Ujjain, Uzain (أزين). Then by some hazard it became Urain (أرين). Hence every middle point was known as Urain (أرين). Sharîf Jarjânî, a famous Muslim Philosopher has testified to it in his book of Definitions.¹ Another word 'بذماسه' (Badhmâsah) has been used by old Arab astrologers. This is the Sanskrit word 'adh-masa' which means lunar months.

Some people wrongly think that, since mathematics is ascribed to Hindustan, therefore the numerals in Arabic are known as 'Hindsa' (هندسه). It is astonishing to find that even a man of learning like Frederick Rosen, who published the *Algebra of Mûsa Khwarazmî* in 1831 in London, seems to have missed the mark.² But this is the Arabicised form of the Persian word 'andâzah' (اندازه) whose verb is used in Arabic as 'Handasa' (هندس) and 'Handaza' (هندز).³ This word originally meant 'engineering.' Later on, in Persian and Arabic it wrongly came to mean figuring. The correct vowelising is 'Handasah'

(1) Vide pp. 158, 168 with commentaries. Consult *Sawa-us-Sabîl* (سواء السبيل). Mr. Arnold on *Jeyb* (جيب) and *Auj* (اوج) and the *Book of Definitions* by Jarjânî p. 7 published in Egypt in 1806 A.H.

(2) *Algebra* by Khwarazmî, English introduction p. 196, 197 (published in 1831 in London).

(3) *Mafatihul-'Ulum* by Md. Khwarazmi p. 202 (Leyden).

and not 'Hindsa.' In Arabic 'muhandis' (مهندس) means an engineer and not an arithmetician.

Hindus and some Modern Research.

In the problems given us from Indian astrology by the Arabs two things exactly coincide with modern theories. According to Barhamgupta there are 365 days, 6 hours, 12 minutes and 9 seconds in a year; and according to modern researches there are 365 days, 6 hours, 9 minutes and $9 \frac{23}{100}$ seconds in a year. The same is the case with the movement of the Earth. Aryabhata and his followers believed in the helio-centric system. Barhamgupta has thrown doubts upon the objections that have been made against Aryabhata in connection with this theory.

This is the theory accepted to-day.

Medicine.

The third science which the Arabs got from India is medicine. Some books on medicine were translated into Arabic through the Syriac and Greek languages during the time of the Ummeyyads.¹ Under the rule of the Abbasids this work was carried on incessantly. It has been mentioned above that the beginning was made when the physician named Mankâ (منك) was invited from India to prescribe for Hârûn Ar-Rashîd. The Khalîfah was cured. Thus the attention of the Government was drawn to Indian medicine, and the Barmakids took an appreciable part in the progress of Indian medicine. The Barmakids had appointed a *Ved* (Indian physician) as the officer-in-charge of their hospital.² Their interest did not stop there. Yahya ibn Khâlîd al-Barmakî sent a man to India to fetch drugs and medicinal herbs³ and appointed a *ved* in the Translation Department of the Government to translate into Arabic Sanskrit books on medicine.⁴

In like manner the Abbasid Khalîfah Al-Mowaffaq bi'llâh sent, in the 3rd century A.H. men to India to make inquiries about Indian drugs.⁵ This fact has been noted

(1) '*Uyumu'l-Anba' fi tabaqat'il-atibba, Tadhkirah Masir Joya wa Mukhtasiru'd-Dawal* (Abûl Faraj Mauti) p. 192. Beyrût.

(2) *Fihrist Ibn Nadim* p. 245.

(3) *Fihrist Ibn Nadim* p. 345.

(4) *Fihrist Ibn Nadim* p. 245.

(5) Introduction to the English Translation of *Kitabu'l-Hind*, Sachau, p. 80.

by Sachau in his Introduction to *Kitabu'l-Hind*. I have not come across this fact in Arab history books. However, incidentally it has been found that the Abbasid Khalifah Mu'tadid bi'llah (279 A.D. to 286 A.D.) sent Ahmad ibn Khafi Ad-Deylami versed in mathematics and the use of the astrolabe, to India to enquire about certain things.¹

This also is known that the Khalifah Mu'tadid b'llah had literary relations with Sind. When there was a great lunar eclipse at Dabal (a port of Sind) in the month of Shawâl, 280 A.H. and there was a terrible earthquake, in which a hundred and fifty thousand persons were buried alive, the "writers of epistles" sent the news over to the court of the Khalifah.²

Translation of Books on Medicine.

Among the medical books in Sanskrit translated into Arabic two are remarkable. One is the book of Shasharat called *Sasru* (سرور) by the Arabs. This book is in ten chapters. There is a detailed account of diseases and symptoms. By order of Yahya bin Khalid Al-Barmaki, Mankâ translated it into Arabic so that it might serve as a medical guide-book in the hospital of the Barmakids. The second is the book of Charak who was a Rishi (sage) and a renowned physician of India. This book was first translated into Persian and then from Persian to Arabic by 'Abdullâh bin 'Ali.³

The third book is known in Ibn Nadîm as *Sandistan* (سندستان) and in Ya'qûbi as *Sandhshan* (سندھشان). In another edition of Ya'qûbi's book it is written as *Sandhastan* (سندھستان). Its original in Sanskrit might be either *Sandhistan* or *Sandesan*. Ibn Nadîm gives its meaning as '*Khulasa-e-Kamyabi*' or the Essence of Success, and Ya'qûbi as '*Sîrat-i-Kamyabi*' or Way of Success. To me Ya'qûbi's version seems to be the correct one. However, this book was translated by Ibn Dhan (ابن دهن) the chief medical officer in the hospital of Baghdad.⁴

(1) *Sawanih Huseyn bin Mansur* edited by Louis Massignon of Paris in 1914 A.D. (p. 44) Siyûti.

(2) *Tarikhu'l-Khulafa* (Siyûti) p. 880 published in Calcutta.

(3) Ibn Nadîm, p. 308.

(4) Ibn Nadîm, p. 308 and Ya'qûbi p. 105.

The name of the fourth book is given by Ya'qûbî a Nadân (ندان). Ibn Nadîm has made no mention of it. There is an account of the diagnosis of four hundred and four diseases in this book. There is an account of the treatment of diseases only.¹ A book on the different names of drugs and herbs was translated. In it drugs are known by many names, sometimes one drug having ten names. This book was translated into Arabic by Mankâ for the use of Suleymân bin Ishâq.²

A book was translated in which there was a detailed account of the properties, effects and physiological action of Greek and Indian medicines and of the differences in the division of the year into seasons.³

Ibn Nadîm has given us the name of another Indian medical book known as Astangar (استانگر) and translated by Ibn Dhan (ابن دهن). Two books of a 'Ved' (physician) named 'Nawkashnal' were translated. In one of the books was an account of a hundred diseases and a hundred medicines. In another book was an account of false apprehension of diseases and the causes thereof.

A book of a Hindu woman named 'Ra-oo-sa' (راوسا) was translated, in which there is an account of the diseases of women.

Another book on the treatment of pregnant women, a short book on drugs and herbs, and a book on intoxicants—they were also translated.⁴

Mas'ûdî, writing about a medical book, says:—A voluminous medical book was written for Rajah Kûrash (راجہ کورش) in which there was an account of the cause and treatment of diseases. Drugs and herbs were illustrated.⁵

Describing beverages, Ibn Nadîm mentions, 'Itri' (اتری) which might be ascribed to a physician named Itri. In Ibn Nadîm the name of another *pandit* is Saobarm (ساوبرم).⁶ The original name might be Satyavaraman (ستیورمن) whose book named Satya (ستیا) has been mentioned by Al-Bîrûnî.⁷

(1) Ya'qûbî, p. 105

(2) Ibn Nadîm p. 308 and Ya'qûbî p. 105.

(3) Ya'qûbî, p. 105.

(4) There is a mention of the above seven books in Ibn Nadîm p. 308

(5) Mas'ûdî, Vol. 1, p. 162 (Paris edition).

(6) Ibn Nadîm p. 305.

(7) Introduction to Sachau's *India* p. 88.

Books apart, let me describe those influences of Sanskrit and Hindustan which still exist in Arab medicine. I purposely exclude the influences which crept into Arab medicines during the reign of the Mughal emperors in India, as it is a separate subject. Here we are concerned with those influences which made their mark upon Arab medicine in the 4th century A.H. In this connection, let us take those medicines which travelled down from India to Arabia and for whose research the Barmakids and the Khalifah sent certain persons to India. The names of many medicines are Indian, not only in origin but in philology too. There is at least one medicine ascribed to India whose name is heard even in the Prophet's time, that is 'Zanjabil, (زنجبیل). The name occurs in the Qur'ân.¹

Two words in Arabic, one the name of a medicine, and the other the name of a food, are astonishingly queer. The medicine in question is 'Itrifal' (اطریفال) which is so well-known that it is on the tongue of every physician and patient. Md. Khwarazmî writes in the 4th century A.H. "This is the Sanskrit word 'Triphal' (त्रिफल) or three fruits. This is made of three fruits 'Halilah' (هليله), 'Balilah' (بليله) and 'Amlah' (آمله).² Khwarazmî writes "Amlah (Mango) is a fruit in India. This is mixed up with honey, and 'amlah' (امله). Then we get what is called 'Anbajât' (انبجات)." This should be called 'guranba' (گرانبه) or the pickle of mangoes.

The queerest word is 'Bahtah' (بهطه) which is explained by Khwarazmî thus:—"This is a kind of food for the sick. This is a Sindhî word. Rice is boiled with ghî and milk and then it is prepared."³ Perchance it is our Hindustâni 'bhât' (بهات) or cooked rice which, to the Arabs, was a light food for the sick. Take it as 'khir' (کھیر) or 'firini' (فیرینی), a sort of liquid preparation of milk and rice.

Veterinary Department.

In the Veterinary section the book of 'Shânaq' (شاناق) or Bhânak was translated.⁴

(1) *Sahih Bukhari*, Vol. 2, p. 489, *Kitabu'l-Mard*. (كتاب المریض)

(2) *Mafatihul 'Ulum* by Khwarazmî p. 186.

(3) *Mafatihul 'Ulum* by Khwarazmî p. 177.

(4) *Mafatihul 'Ulum* by Khwarazmî p. 167.

Astronomy, (نجوم), Astrology (جوتش), Science of Amulets (جفر), and Geomancy (رمل).

Everybody knows how far these are connected with India. These became current in Arabic from the time of the Khalifah Mansûr, who ascended the throne in 147 A.H. Mansûr was deeply interested in these things, so that, when Baghdad was built, everything was constructed with reference to horoscopes made for that purpose. At first the Persian astronomers were influential at the court, but later on Hindu astronomers wielded influence. It appears that after Mansûr's time Indian books on this science were translated into Arabic. Of these astronomer-pandits the most famous is Pandit Kankâ. Ibn Abî Useybah has written that he was a noted physician.¹

On the basis of the researches of Sachau the original name is Kanknaya (ككنايا). A famous physician of this name who was an authority on Indian medicines had flourished earlier in India.²

Ibn Nadîm has mentioned four books of this *pandit*.³

1. 'Kitabu'n-Namudar fil'-a'mar (كتاب النودار في الأعمار) the book about age, etc.

2. *Kitab asrari'l-Mawalid* (كتاب اسرار المواليد) the book about births.

3. *Kitabu'l-qaranat-al-Kabir* (كتاب القرائات الكبير) the great book about cycles of years.

4. *Kitabul-qaranat-as-Saghir* (كتاب القرائات الصغير) the small book about cycles of time.

Ibn Abî Useybah says that this is a book on medicine, but Ibn Nadîm includes it among books of astronomy. It is possible that it contains both the sciences, as in old medical books there is found much astronomy. Ibn Abî Useybah has mentioned two other books of his.⁴

1. *Kitab fi't-tawahhum* (كتاب في التوهم) The book on Mesmerism.

2. *Kitab-fi-ahdathul-alam waddaur fil qaranu* (كتاب في احداث العالم والدور في القران) The book on the Epochs of the World and the Movement of Stars. The author quotes from the Muslim astronomer Abû Ma'shar

(1) 'Uyun-ul-anba' fi tabaqati'l-Atibba. Vol. 2 p. 38 (Egyptian edition).

(2) Introduction to India, p. 82.

(3) Introduction to India, p. 270.

(4) 'Uyunu'l-anba' fi tabaqati'l-Atibba, Vol. 2, p. 38 (Egyptian edition).

of Balkh (272 A.H. or 886 A.D.) "In the opinion of the *pandits* of Hindustan Kankâ is the greatest of astronomers.

'Atârud bin Muhammad, a Muslim astronomer who flourished in the 2nd century A.H., had written a book on Indian *jafar* (science of Amulets.)¹. Besides, Ibn Nadîm has given us names of three more Hindu astronomers.²

1. Jawdar of India (جودر ہندی). His book is on births etc. *Kitabu'l-Mawalid* (کتاب الموالید).

2. Nahak or Nayeg (نہک نایک) of India. His book is the book of secrets (*Kitab asrari'l-Masa'il*).

3. Sanghal of India (سنہل). His book is the Great Book of Births (*Kitabu'l-mawalid-ul-kabir*). Bîrûnî has also mentioned Sanghal's name in connection with astronomy.³

A book on palmistry was translated into Arabic from a certain Indian language.⁴

There is a book called '*Zajru'l-Hind*' (زجر الهند) on Indian omens.⁵

Ophidia.

The Indians are noted for their knowledge of serpents and of incantations to charm serpents. This science is known as 'Sarap Vidya' (ophidia). The book of a *pandit* named 'Rai' was translated in which there is an account of the kinds and poisons of serpents.⁶

There is mention in Arabic of another Hindu *pandit's* book on the same subject.⁷

Toxicology.

India is noted for the science of poisons too. In the description of 'Hind' in *Atharu'l-bilad*, Zakarya Qizwîni mentions the name of a herb as 'bîsh,' used to kill another in the guise of friendship. 'Bîsh' is the Sanskrit word '*bish*' which means poison. Kings were greatly in need of

(1) Ibn Nadîm p. 278.

(2) Ibn Nadîm p. 271.

(3) *Kitabu'l-Hind* p. 76.

(4) Ibn Nadîm p. 814.

(5) Ibn Nadîm p. 814.

(6) Ibn Nadîm p. 808.

(7) '*Uyûnu'l-anba' fi tabaqati'l-atibba* p. 38 (Egypt).

(8) '*Uyûnu'l-anba' fi tabaqati'l-atibba* p. 88 (Egypt).

acquaintance with this science for the preservation of their lives. The name of Chanak's book on war has been mentioned above. The last chapter in that book is 'Food and Poison.' It appears that there was a book of his on poisons, which book existed in Arabia till the 7th century A.H. (13th century A.D.). Ibn Abi Useybah wrote a full description of this book in 668 A.H. (1270 A.D.). "This book is in five chapters. Pandit Mankâ or Manik translated this book into Persian for Yahya bin Khâlid Al-Barmakî with the aid of Abû Hâtim Balkhî. 'Abbâs bin Sa'id Jauhari re-translated it for the Khalîfah Mâmûn Rashîd (218 A.H.). In Ibn Nadîm's list there is mention of a book on poisons translated from Sanskrit into Arabic. The author's name is not mentioned."¹

Music.

In the description of Jâhid which has occurred above, he praised Indian music and has particularly mentioned one-stringed instruments. Among the publications of Baghdad there is no trace of any book on Indian music, but Qâdi Sâ'id of Andalusia, a literary historian, has written: "An Indian book on music named Nâfir (نَافِر) has reached us. The literal meaning of Nâfir is 'Fruits of Wisdom.' In it there is a description of tunes."² It would be no wonder if this were the Persian word 'Nawbar' (نَوْبَر = New fruit) and this book might have been translated into Arabic from the Persian translation. A Hindu friend of mine suggests in this connection that this might be the Sanskrit word 'nad' which means 'sound.'

Mahabharat.

There is a Persian book named Mujma'ul-tawârîkh in the Ancient Indian History section in the Paris library in which there are some tales from the *Mahabharata*. In the introduction to the book it is written that Abû Sâlih bin Shu'eyb translated this book from Sanskrit into Arabic. Again in 417 A.H. Abû'l Hasan 'Alî Jabalî, secretary to the library of a certain rich man of Deylama, translated it into Arabic. Elliot has given a summary account of it.³

(1) *Vide* p. 817.

(2) *Tabaqatu'l-Umam* by Qâdi Sâ'id of Andalusia p. 14 (Beyrut).

(3) *History of India* by Elliot, Vol. 1, p. 100.

Politics, War and Diplomacy.

On these subjects the books of two Hindu scholars were translated from Sanskrit or Pâli into Arabic. The Arabs mention one of them as Shânâq (شَانَق) and the other as 'Bâkhar' or 'Bâjhar' (بَاكِهَر بَاجِهَر). Perhaps the first name is 'hawk' and the second name is Vyaghar. The subject of Shanâq's teachings is : The management of war, the selection of persons by the kings, the arrangement of battalions, food and poison.¹ Vyaghar's book is about swords, their quality and the signs thereof.² Another book translated from Sanskrit into Arabic is known in Arabia as "*Adabul-mulk*" or Theories of State. The name of the translator of this book is Abû Sâlih bin Shu'eyb. The date is not known. The Persian translation which is extant was done in 417 A.H. by Abû'l-Hasan bin 'Alî Jabâlî, secretary to the library of an Amîr of Deylama.³

Chemistry.

Whatever the origin of old chemistry, there is trace of the translation of a Hindu pandit's book on this science. *Khatif* (خَاطِف), a book by the famous Arab Chemist Jâbir (جَابِر) bin Hayân (حَيَّان), is ascribed to India.⁴ But the name of this Hindu pandit has not been ascertained.⁵

(1) Ibn Nadîm, p. 315.

(2) Ibn Nadîm, p. 315.

(3) Elliot, Vol. I p. 112.

(4) Ibn Nadîm, p. 358.

(5) Ibn Nadîm, p. 359.

SULEYMAN NADVI.

(To be continued.)

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LEXICOGRAPHY OF
THE SHAH NAMA

(Continued from "Islamic Culture" Vol VI. No. 2, p. 260).

ل

لا جورد "Dark, black," (Sh. N., IV., 1920, *et passim*).

کنون او نشست بر سوک و درد شده روز روشن بر ولا جو

Now she is sitting mourning and sorrowful, bright day to her (now) dark.

لشکر افروز (as لشکر فروز in Steingass): "Famous in battle." (Sh. N., IV., 1873).

ماتم "Mourning." (Sh. N., I., 366).

که رستم منم کم مماناد نام نشیناد بر ماتم پور سام

For I am Rustam—perish my name!—May the son of Sâm sit in mourning for me!

[The son of Sâm; *i.e.*, Zâl, Rustam's father].

م

ماندن "To be in addition, to still be," (Sh. N., IV., 1887)

سپه ماند از بردع و اردبیل از ارمینیه سست پی یک دو خیل

ازیشان برزم اندرون نیست باک چه مردان بردع چه یک مشت خاک

There are still troops of Barda', Ardabîl, and Armenia—one or two squadrons of slow and negligent men;

(But) there is no fear of them in battle—the men of Barda' are no better than a handful of dust.

[The rebellious general Bahrâm-e Chûbîn is speaking of some additional troops of Khusrau Parvîz, most of whose army is in favour of himself].

— "To allow, to suffer." (Sh. N., IV., 1887).

بدین رزمگه امشب اندر مباحش نمان تا شود کنج و لشکر تلاش

Do not remain to-night on this battle-field: do not suffer the treasure and the army to be dispersed.

[Advice of Gardûy to Khusrau Parvîz in the latter's contention with Bahrâm-e Chûbîn].

ماه "Moon, a beauty." (used punningly in Sh. N., I., 889).

چنان بود ایوان زبس خوب چهر که گفتی همی بارد از ماه مهر

The palace-room was so full of beauties that the sun seemed to stream from moons.

[i.e., the faces of the moons (beauties) were as effulgent as the sun].

مايه

ازین ماه "To the value of this, or these." (Sh. N., IV., 1858).

بمهر آن درمها بیدره درون بیاورد و گفت آنچه از طیسفون
بیاید ازین ماه دیبای روم که بیکر بریشم بود زرش بوم
نخرید تا آن درم نزد شاه برند و کند مهر آن را نگاه

He brought that coin with the (new) inscription in a bag, and said (to the merchant), That which in Ctasesophon

You may find to the value of this in Grecian brocade with designs in silk upon a golden ground—

Buy it, so that they may take the coin to the King, and he may see the (new) stamp on it.

[Bahrâm-e Chûbîn has coined money in the name of Khusrau Parvîz the son of King Hurmuzd].

مايه دار A "strong support," (by power, valour, or wealth). (Sh. N., I., 461).

وگر دشمنی آمدستت پدید که تیار ورنجش نباید کشید
من اینک بهر کار یار تو ام چو جنگ آوری ماه دار تو ام

And if any enemy has appeared before you, the trouble and pain from whom cannot be borne,

Here am I, your friend in every matter, and when you fight, a strong support to you.

مر (Mar) : A "hundred thousand." (Sh. N., IV., 1778-8).

درم چند باید بدو گفت مرد دلاور شمار درم یاد کرد
چنین گفت کای بر خرد ماه دار چهل مر درم هر مری صد هزار

The man asked him how many "dirams" were wanted. The valorous (envoy) mentioned the number of "dirams,"

Saying, "O wise and wealthy man, forty units of "dirams"—each unit consisting of a hundred thousand."

چو شیروی ترسنده و خام بود همان تخت زیر اندرش دام بود
بدانست مردم شمر هر که دید که روز بزرگان بنخواهد رسید
(as مردم شناس) : A "judge of men." (Sh.N., IV., 2043).

Since Shîrûy was fearful and inexperienced, and was entangled in (the difficulties of) the throne,

All judges of men who saw, knew that a (bad) day would overtake the grandees.

[The grandees fearing that between Shîrûy and his deposed father, Khusrau Parvîz, they would suffer injury, advise the death of the latter].

مزد (muzd), مؤد (muzhd); as ثواب "Future reward for good works." (Sh. N., III., 1509).

ببخشید دینار و کنج و درم بمؤد روان جهاندار جم

Give away the "dinârs," the treasure, and the "dirams," to secure a future reward for the soul of the world-holder Jamshîd.

[Bahrâm Gûr finds the treasure of Jamshîd and gives it all away to the deserving poor].

مشك (mishk): "Black sealing-wax." (Sh. N., IV., 1755).

یکی درج زرین سرش بسته خشك نهاده برو قفل و مهری ز مشک
فرستاد قیصر سوی ما ز روم یکی موبدی نام بردار بوم

A golden casket with its lid hermetically fastened, a lock upon it, and a seal of black sealing-wax

Has been sent me by the Kaisar from Rûm (in charge of) a famous Mûbid of the country.

من (Man, for a manu, a "maund").

بمن سنجتن "To weigh by the 'man,' to weigh." (Sh. N., IV., 1840).

دو بردیمانی همه زه بفت بسختند هر یک بمن بود هفت

Two (bales of) striped garments of Yaman all woven with gold they weighed by the "man" and each one came to seven.

مهر (muhr) : "The inscription on a coin." (Sh. N., IV., 1858).

آنچه از طیسفون * * * *

بیایید از بن مایه دیای روم که پیکر بریشم بود زرش بوم
 بخزید تا آن درم نزد شاه برند و کنند مهر آن را نگاه

Whatever Grecian brocade with silk design and golden ground you find in Ctesiphon to the value of this (coin)

Buy, that they may take the coin to the King, and he may look upon the inscription on it.

[Bahrâm-e Chûbîn is coining money in the name of Khusrau Parvîz].

میان

در میان نهادن "To expose to danger." (Sh. N., IV, 2036).

زن و کودک و بوم ایرانیان باندیشه بد منه در میان

Do not by evil thoughts expose women and children and the land of the Persians to danger.

[Admonition of Khusrau Parvîz to his son Shîrûya].

میانه "Moderation, a middle course." (Sh. N., III., 1409).

میانه گزینی بمانی بجای خردمند خواندت پاکیزه رای

(If) you choose moderation you will remain in a happy condition ; and the wise will call you a man of good judgment.

[In the maxims of Ardashîr-e Bâbakân on government].

میگسار A "cup-bearer," (as ساقی). (Sh. N., I., 344)

یکی جام میخواست از میگسار نکرد ایچ رنجه دل از کارزار

He demanded a cup of wine from the cup-bearer ; he did not trouble his heart at all about battles.

ن

نازیدن (with به) : "To delight or glory" (in), "to be proud" (of). (Sh. N., IV., 1783).

سپاسم بزدان که فرزند هست خردمند و دانا و ایزد پرست
 و زایشان بهر مزدناز انترم برای و بهوشش فرازانترم

Thanks be to God I have sons, wise, learned, and pious ;
But among them, I am proudest of Hurmuzd ; I think
more of his judgment and intelligence.

[Nûshîrvân is speaking to his Vazîr, Buzurjmihr].

نامزاور (as ناسزا) : “ Unmerited ”. (Sh. N., IV., 2055)

شب تیره و روز دینار داد بسی خلعت نامزاور داد

He gave away gold coins by night and in the day
many a robe of honour unmerited he gave.

[Speaks of Gurâz, a worthless king of Persia].

ناکاره دیده زرنج “ Uninjured, intact, unused.” (Lit
“ Inexperienced as to injury. ”) (Sh. N., IV., 1788).

زدیای چینی و زربفت پنج بیارید نا کار دیده زرنج

Take fine (yards) of Chinese brocade and gold tissue
unused and intact.

نسیره A “ descendant.” (Sh. N., IV., 1790).

پس از وی ز بتویک نسیره بود که بایل و کوس و تبیره بود

سپاهی بتازد برواز حجاز اگر چه ندارد سلیح و جهاز

After him a descendant of yours will come—one with
elephants and drums (of war).

An army from Hijâz will assail him, though without
arms and military equipment.

نخستین که “ The first time that.” (Sh. N., I., 363)

کسی کو بکشتی نبرد آورد سر مهتری زیر گرد آورد

نخستین که پشتش نهد بر زمین نبرد سرش گر چه باشد بکین

اگر بار دیگرش زیر آورد * * * *

روا باشد ار سر کند زو جدا برین گونه بر باشد آیین ما

He who wrestles in strife, and brings down the head
of a chief to the dust.

The first time that he puts his back upon the ground,
would not cut off his head, although a foe,

If he bring him down a second time,

It will be right then if he cut off his head,—such is the
usage among us.

نزد

نزد (nazd-e): "In comparison with." (Sh. N., IV. 1930).

جهاندار چون نامه ها را بخواند مرا و را بکسی زینت نشاند
بدو گفت اے مرد بسیار دان تو بهرام را نزد ما خوار خوان

When the King had read the letters, he seated (the envoy) on a golden seat.

He said to him, "O man of much knowledge, call Bahrâm, in comparison with me, of slight importance."

[Bahrâm-e Chûbîn has written letters to Kusrau Parvîz's generals which come to the hands of Khusrau].

بنزد (ba-nazd-e): (as nazd-e). (Sh. N., IV., 1856).

ز پرویز خسرو میندیش نیز کنو یاد کردن نیرزد پیش
بدرگاه او هر که مهتر بود بنزد برادرت کمتر بود

Think not either of Khusrau Parvîz, for to mention him is not worth a mite.

The greatest man at his court is only a minor person in comparison with your brother.

[Yalân Sîna, a Persian hero who is with Bahrâm-e Chûbîn on a campaign, is speaking with the latter's sister Gurdiya in favour of her brother's assuming sovereign power].

نژند (nizhand): "Depressed," *i.e.*, "evil," (as fortune) (Sh. N., I., 457).

دل شاه ازان کار شد درد مند پر از غم شد از روزگار نژند

The King's heart was afflicted by that matter ; he was full of grief at evil fortune.

[Garshîvâz has been vilifying Siyâvash to Afrâsiyâb his brother].

نشان

جا بگاه نشان "The assigned place." (Sh. N., I., 475).

پیاده می برد مویش کشان چو آمد بدان جایگاه نشان
میگسند پیل ژیان را بخاک نه شرم آمدش زان سپید نه باک

(Garuy) dragged him only on foot by his hair ; when he reached the assigned place,

He threw the formidable and mighty (Prince) to the ground, having no shame or fear before that leader.

[Garûy, a kinsman of Afrâsiyâb, has been deputed by Garsîvaz, the latter's brother, to murder Siyâvash, the son of Kai Kâ'ûs].

شان بردن (with سوی) : "To indicate" (to), "to inform." (Sh. N., I., 365).

ازان نامداران کردن کشان کسی هم برد سوی رسم نشان
که سهراب کشته است وافکنده خوار همی خواست کردن ترا خواستار

Of those proud famous heroes someone will surely inform Rustam

That Suhrâb had been killed and wretchedly cast down—he intent upon seeking him.

[Suhrâb is speaking to Rustam whom he does not recognize, and by whom he has just been mortally wounded].

نشست A "saddle-horse." (Sh. N., II., 516).

پدید آن نشست سیاوش پلنگ رکیب دراز و جناخ خدنگ
همی داشت بر آبخور پای خویش از آنجا که بد پای نهاد پیش

The saddle-horse of the hero Siyâvash saw the long stirrups and the pommel of white poplar.

It kept standing at the watering-place, and advanced not from where it was.

[Kai Khusrau is trying to secure the horse of his dead father Siyâvash which is running loose in the wilds].

نشیب (archaic, nishâb).

نشیب گرفتن "To decline," (as fortune). (Sh. N., IV., 2039).

درستست گفتار فرزنانگان جهان دیده و پالک دانندگان
که چون بخت بیدار گیرد نشیب زهر گونه دید باید نهیب

True are the words of the wise, those of full knowledge who have seen the world,

That when wakeful fortune is on the decline, anguish of every kind must be endured.

نفس (Nafas).

نفس "Association." (Sh. N., I., 436).

سیاوش به پیران نگه کرد و گفت که فرمان یزدان نشاید نهفت
* * * * *

و لیکن مرا با جریره نفس به آید نخواهم جز او نیز کس
Siyâvash looked at Pîrân and said, "The command of God cannot be ignored :

But association with Jarîra suits me well. I wish for no one besides her."

[Pîrân, the Vazîr of Afrâsiyâb, has proposed that Siyâvash should marry the latter's daughter].

نفس شمردن "To take cognizance of the shortness of life." (Sh. N., IV., 1796).

چنین است گه‌ان پردرد و رنج چه نازی بنام و چه یازی بگنج
که این روزگار خوشی بگذرد نفس مرد دانا همی بشمرد

Such is (the practice of) the world, which is full of pain and trouble—why rejoice in fame or aim at wealth !

For this time of pleasure is evanescent ; the wise man takes cognizance of the shortness of life.

—"To afford but a short life." (Sh. N., IV., 1881).

زخوشنودی ایزد اندیشه کن خردمندی و راستی پیشه کن
که این برمن و برنوهم بگذرد زمانه دم ماهمی بشمرد

Think of the contentment (and approval) of God ; make your practice wisdom and rectitude,

For (all) this will pass away from me and you : Fortune affords us but a short life.

نگه or نگاه

نگاه کردن (or نگاه). (with acc.): "To fix upon." (Sh N., IV., 1913).

چو گشت از نوشتن نویسنده سیر نگاه کرد قیصر سواری دلیر

When the Secretary had finished his writing, the Kaisar fixed upon a bold cavalier (as envoy).

— (with در or اندر) : "To fix " (upon), "have recourse " (to). (Sh. N., I., 475).

نگه کرد گر سبوز اندر گروی گروی ستمگر نه پیچید روی

Garsîvaz had recourse to Garûy (for the deed) ; Garûy, cruel wretch, had no aversion. •

[Concerns the projected killing of Siyâvash at the command of Afrâsiyâb].

نگون

نگون اندر آمدن “ To fall headlong down.” (Sh. N., IV., 1829).

چنان زار و نومید بودم ز بخت که دشمن نگون اندر آمد ز تخت

I was so afflicted and hopeless, when (lo !) my enemy fell headlong from his throne.

[Rejoicing of King Hurnuzd at the defeat of Sâva].

نگ (as غیرت) : “ A sense of honour.” (Sh. N., I., 468)

جو تاج بزرگی بچنگ آیدش بکین دست یازد که نگ آیدش

When the crown of majesty comes to his possession, he will turn his hand to vengeance (for me) in his sense of honour.

[Siyâvash, anticipating his death, is speaking of the vengeance a yet unborn son of his will exact].

نوشدن (with به) : “ To be unexampled ” (in or for). (Sh. N., IV., 2047).

سدیگر که بالا و رویش بود بپوشیدگی نیز خویش بود
بدانگه که من جفت خسرو شدم بپوشیدگی در جهان نو شدم

The third (qualification is) that she should be tall and beautiful, and that her temperament should incline her to seclusion.

For seclusion, when I became the consort of Khusrau Parvîz, I was unexampled in the world.

[Shîrîn is speaking of the qualifications required in the wife of a King].

نهادن

نهادن (with بر) “ To decide ” (upon ; e.g., a course). (Sh. N., IV., 1780, and 1886).

1780 :

برین بر نهادند و گشتند باز همه پاک بردند پیشش نماز

• They decided upon this and returned, all paying him sincere homage.

[The Greek envoys have agreed upon the tribute and indemnity to be paid to Nûshîrvân].
1886 :

بران بر نهادند یکسر سپاه که يك تن نگردد ز فرمان شاه

The army all decided upon this, that not a single man would turn from his allegiance to the King.

[i.e., the King Khusrau Parvîz, who is opposed by the ambitious general Bahrâm-e Chûbîn].

—“ To conclude, to come to the conclusion. (Sh. N., IV., 1882).

چو پیروز گشتی تو بر ساوه شاه بران بر نهادند یکسر سپاه
که هرگز نبیند یکسر شکست چو از خواسته سیر گشتند و مست

When you gained the victory over King Sâva, the army all came to the conclusion

That they would never suffer defeat, satiated and intoxicated as they were with plunder.

[Khusrau Parvîz is speaking to the rebellious general. Bahrâm].

فرو نهادن (with از) : “ To exempt ” (from). See
فرو نهادن

نهان

نهان “ Lost to view or memory, forgotten.” (Sh. N., IV., 1770).

چنین داد پاسخ که هر کو جهان بفرزند ماند نگردد نهان

He thus gave answer, “ Whoever leaves a son to succeed him in the world is not lost to memory.”

[Nûshîrvân's answer to one of the questions of a Mûbid].

در نهان — (Sh. N., III., 1408).

هر آنرا که خواهد بر آرد بلند هم اورا سپارد بخاک تزد
نماند جز از نام او در جهان همه رنج با او شود در نهان

Whomever (Fortune) wills to exalt, him also it consigns to the gloomy earth (at last).

Naught but his name remains in the world ; all his toil is with him lost to view.

[From the records of Ardashîr-e Bâbakân].

نهفت

“To be disregarded or ignored.” (Sh. N., IV., 1928).

جهاندار خسر و بموسیل گفت که رنج تو کی ماند اندر نهفت
بکوشیم تا روز توبه شود همان نامت از مهران مه شود

The world-possessor, Khusrau, said to Mausil, “How should your toil and trouble be ignored ?

I will endeavour to improve your fortunes ; to make your fame excel that of the great.”

“To disregard or ignore.” (Sh. N., IV., 1760).

چنین داد پاسخ که فرمان ما نورزید و بنهفت پیام ما

He thus gave answer, “ He has not obeyed my command and has disregarded fealty to me.”

—“ To nullify.” (Sh. N., I., 415).

گرافر آسیاب این سخنها که گفت پیمان شکستن نخواهد نهفت
هم از جنگ جستن نگشتیم سیر بجایست شمشیر و چنگال شیر

(But) if Afrâsiyâb by breaking faith shall nullify the words he has spoken,

No more are we yet tired of making war—in place will (then) be sword and lion's claws.

“To set right.” (Sh. N., I., 461).

همه راز این کار با من بگوی که من با سمت زین عمار چاره جوی
بیایم همه کار نیکو کنم همان شاه رازان بی آهو کنم

Tell me all the secret of this affair, and then I will find a remedy for your troubles.

I will come and set all things right ; I will render the King innocuous.

[Siyâvash is sympathizing with Garsîvaz, Afrâsiyâb's brother in his supposed troubles].

ورغ (Varêgh not Varîgh. Rhymes with (archaic, “Mêgh.”) “Name of a place in Rûm.” (Sh. N., IV.-1910).

وزان دیر چون برق رخشان زمین بیامد سوی شارسان ورغ

Then from that monastery like lightening flashing from the cloud he went on to the city of Varêgh.

هری (Hirê, not Hirî) : "Herat." (Sh. N., IV., 1816)

چنان بازگردی زدشت هری که بر تو بگریند هر مهتری

You will return from the plain of Herat in such wise that every chief will weep for you.

[There are other examples of the "Majhûl" rhyming in Sh. N., IV., 1817 and 1818 and in Ch. M., p. 127].

هزیمت

هزیمت شدن "To meet with defeat, to be routed." (Sh. N., IV., 1825).

پراز آب شد دیده ساوه شاه بدان تا چرا شد هزیمت سپاه

The eyes of King Sâva were full of tears as he wondered why (his) army had met with defeat.

همانکه (as همان که or همچنان که) : "Such as," (Sh. N., IV., 1861).

ز شهرت یکی بسته زندانیم بگوهر همانا که خود دانیم

مرا گر بخواهی تواز شهر یار دوان باتو آیم درین کارزار

I am a prisoner in bonds, a fellow-citizen of yours, in nature such as you yourself well know.

If you petition the King for me, I will accompany you with alacrity on this campaign.

هوش داشتن "To have or retain life, to live." (Sh. N., III., 1461).

بدان را نمانم که دارند هوش اگر دست یازند بد را بکوش

I will not let the wicked live if they aim at persistence in wickedness.

[From words of Yazdagird I, on his accession to the throne].

ی

یاد آمدن "To be mindful of, to be thinking of." (Sh. N., II., 527).

کنون دل بسوگند گستاخ کن بخنجر و را گوش سوراخ کن

چو از خنجرت خون چکد بر زمین هم از مهر یاد آیدت هم ز کین

Make your mind easy now as to your oath : pierce his ear with your dagger.

When his blood drops from your dagger on the ground, you may be mindful of kindness as well as of hostility.

[See Note under گستاخ کردن].

یاد کردن (with accus., از or بر of the thing, and به of the person): "To speak" (of to a person), "to mention" (to). (Sh. N., IV., 1902, and 1840).

(with بر):

وگر خود برانی که گویی می بندل راه کژی بخوئی می
زبند این دو پای من آزاد کن نخستین بخسرو برین یاد کن

And if you really mean what you say, and seek not the path of falseness in your heart,

Free my two feet from fetters, and speak of this (matter) to Khusrau (Parvîz) at once.

With accus:

دو بر دیمانی بیك سونهاد دو موزه بنامه نکر دایم یاد

The two bales of striped cloth of Yaman he put aside; nor did he mention at all in the list the two pairs of boots.

[Bahrâm-e Chûbin in sending treasure and booty to King Hurmuzd reserves some for himself. The boots, by the way, are richly adorned with jewels].

یادگار "An inscription to serve as a 'memorial' of existing conditions." (Sh. N., IV., 1916).

یکی عهد خواهم کنون استوار سزاوار مهری برو یادگار
که مازین پس از کین ایرج سخن نرانیم زان روزگار کهن

I would now have a stable agreement, with a fitting seal bearing a memorial inscription,

That henceforth we speak no more of vengeance due for (the death of) Iraj—(that we speak not) of those ancient times.

—"A thought significant of a person's mind, a natural thought." (Sh. N., IV., 2036).

سخنانه از یادگار تو بود که گفتار آموزگار تو بود

The words were not of your own natural thought, but rather the prompting of your adviser.

یازیدن (with): "To aim" (at), "to wish" (for), "To think" (of). (Sh. N., II., 515).

ازین آگهی یابد افراسیاب نارد بخورد و نیازد بخواب
بیاید بکردار دیو سفید دل از جان شیرین شود ناامید

Afrâsiyâb will get acquainted with this (if we delay);— he will not look at food nor think of sleep. He will come like the White Demon, and our hearts must (then) despair of sweet life.

یافتن (idiomatic): “To find, to think of, to appreciate the effect of.” (Sh. N., II., 502).

ز رستم پرسید پر مایه طوس که چون یافت پیل از تنگ کور کوس

The most excellent Tûs asked Rustam, “What did the elephant think of the shock of the onager’s rush?”

[By the “elephant” Rustam is meant].

یال

یال بر آگندن “To get big and strong.” (Sh. N., III., 1464).

همی داشتندش چنین چار سال چو شد سیر شیرو بر آگند یال

بد شخاری از شیر گردید باز همی داشتندش ببر بناز

They kept him thus for four years. When he had had milk in abundance and had got big and strong,

He was with difficulty weaned; they kept him (still) indulgently on the breast.

[The Text has ببر نیاز which, I think, is a mistake].

یال بر آوردن “To display one’s power, to make a parade” (Cf. یال بستن). (Sh. N., IV., 2054).

همی گفت شاه کی یک زمان نشینی تو بر تخت زرشاد مان

به از بندگی تو ختن شصت سال بر آگنده گنج و بر آورده یال

He said “To be a king for a (short) while, to sit joyful on a golden throne

Is better for you than to be a subject for sixty years, heaping up treasure and making a parade.”

یکتن “Alone, by oneself.” (Sh. N., I., 398).

پیامدیکی مرد پر خاش جوی بدین لشکر گشن بنهاد روی

تو گفتی ز هستی کنون خاستست که این جنگ رایکتن آراستست

A man (then) came, an ardent warrior, who turned his face towards the numerous army;

As though just risen from a drunken state, he, by himself, prepared to battle with it.

[The warrior was Rustam.

The "drunken state" is that of him who by drinking becomes شیرگیر "ready to take lions"].

—"As one body." (Sh. N., II., 500).

چنین گفت بالشکر افرا سیاب که بیدار بخت اندر آمد بخواب
اگر سستی آرید یکتن بجنگ نماند مرا جایگاه درنگ

Thus spake Afrâsiyâb to the army, "Our wakeful fortune has now gone to sleep.

If as one body you show slackness in the fight, I shall no longer have reason for delay."

یکتنه "As one body." (Sh. N., IV., 1817).

بیاراست بامیسره مینه سیاهی همه یکدل و یکتنه

He placed the left wing and the right in order—the army one in heart and as one body.

(Terms omitted between 1st and 2nd instalments).

بوس دادن

بر زمین بوس دادن "To pay homage." (lit., to kiss the ground.) (Sh. N., II., 496).

چو بر کوهه پیل بر بست کوس همی آسمان بر زمین داد بوس

When he had fastened the drum on to the elephant's saddle, the sky paid homage.

(i.e., the sky, as it were, bowed down in homage before curves more exalted than its own).

[The Turanian King Afrâsiyâb is making preparations for war with Rustam who has killed the former's son Surkha in revenge for the murder of Siyâvash the son of Kai Kâ'ûs].

به (bih).

به آمدن (with prep. بر) : To "surpass." (Sh. N., II., 529).

یکی تن به آید ز چندین سوار همانا که کین دارد این روزگار

A single man surpass so many cavaliers! Fortune is surely hostile and rancorous.

بهانه

بهانه بودن (with prep. از of person and از of thing) :

"The possibility of cavilling (against) or objecting (to) a person (on the score of) something." (Sh. N., II., 378).

به یشه یکی خوب رخ یافتند بر از خنده لب هر دو بشتافتند

به دیدار در زمانه نبود ز خوبی برو بهانه نبود

They found in the wood a lovely damsel with smiling lips; and both of them hurried on.

None in the world had so lovely a face; on the score of beauty there could be no cavilling about her.

(Cf. بهانه جستن).

بهانه داشتن (with prep. بر of person and به of thing.)

"To be able to allege (against) (on the score of.)"
Sh. N., I., 457).

بر و بر بهانه ندارم بید گراز من بدواندگی بدرسد
زبان برکشایند بر من مهان درفش شوم در میان جهان

I could not allege against him any evil deed ; if I should do him any ill,

The great men would be loud in blame of me, I should become notorious throughout the world.

بهائی کردن (with accusative) : "To fix a price for."
(Sh. N., III., 1465).

وزان پس بمنذر چنین گفت شاه که اسپان این نیزه داران بخواه
بهائی کنند آنچه آید خوشم درم بیش خواهم بایشان کشم

Then afterwards Prince (Bahrâm) said to Munzir :
"Send for the horses of these lance-bearing (Arabs) :

Let them fix a price for any that please me, and I will give them much money (for them). "

بهر (bahr).

بهر برداشتن "To depart." (lit., "to take up (one's) portion. ") (Sh. N., IV., 2001).

جواز کوه و زردشت برداشت بهر همی رفت شادی کنان سوی شهر

When he departed from the hills and plain, he went in joyous mood towards the city.

بهم برزدن (as برهم زدن) : "To mix, confuse. " (Sh. N., III., 1413).

دو بازی بهم بر نباید زدن می و بزم نخچیر و بیرون شدن

Two entertainments should not be confused : wine-drinking at the feast, and going forth to hunt.

[i.e., one should not hunt after indulging in wine-drinking].

بهم بودن "To be in common with, to be shared by."
(Sh. N., I., 418).

چو رازش بهم بود با هر دو تن ازان پس که دستم بشد زانجن
بدیشان چنین گفت کز بخت بد همی هر زمان بر سرم بدرسد

When his secret was shared by both those persons, (after Rustam had left the assembly),

He said to them : " Through (my) ill-fortune some evil befalls me every moment."

بی آزار "Unharmed, without hindrance, trouble."
(Cf. بی گزند). (Sh. N., IV., 2030).

بہی زان دو بالش برمی بگشت بی آزار گردان بر قد گذشت
بدین گونه از شاد و درد مہی ہمی گشت تا شد بروی زمی

The quince moved gently from the cushions, passed rolling without hindrance to the throne.

And so, from the throne of grandeur it went on till it reached the ground.

بی بن (equivalent to بدن or بد اصل) : "Base, ignoble ; base-born." (Sh. N., IV., 1880).

چہ گفت آن خردمند شیرین سخن کہ گر بی بنان را نشانی بہ بن
بفرجام کار آید تریغ و درد بگرد درنا سپاسان مگرد

What said that eloquent wise man ? " If you give firm footing to the base,

You will have pain and trouble in the issue—do not have any intercourse with ingrates."

[It is implied here that the base are always ungrateful].

بی تار و پود "Disorganized, in disorder." (Sh. N., II., 522).

چو پیران یامد بزر دیک رود سپہ بد پراگندہ بی تار و پود

When Pirân came near to the river, his troops were scattered about and in disorder.

—"Disturbed." (Sh. N., IV., 2001).

ز نالیدن بوق و بانگ سرود هوا گشت از آوازی بی تار و پود

The air was disturbed by the noise made by the blare of the trumpet and the loudness of the song.

بی ریغ "Inoffensive." (Sh. N., II., 504).

توبی ریغ را ریغ معای هیچ ہمہ مردی و داد دادن بسیج

Give no pain to the inoffensive ; let your aim be naught but manliness and justice.

بی کار "Disengaged" (from some particular occupation). (Sh. N., IV., 1428).

بیو سید پا و رکیب و را همی خیره گشت از نهیب و را
چوبی کار شد مرد خسرو پرست جهان جوی فرمود تا بر نشست

He kissed his foot and stirrup, and was dazed through awe of him.

When the loyal man was disengaged (from this act of devotion) the King ordered him to mount on horseback.

بیگانه "alien" (to the straight line ; i.e., deviating, as the third square of the knight's move in chess). (Sh. N., IV., 1745).

همان رقتن اسب سه خانه بود بر قف یکی خانه بیگانه بود

The night's move was over three squares ; in the move one square was alien (to the straight line).

بی گمان "Certain, assured." (Sh. N., IV., 1894).

چو بندوی شد بی گمان کان سپاه همی باز نشنا سدا و را از شاه
فرو داد و جامه خویش تفت بپوشید و بی باک بر بام رفت

When Bandûy was assured that the army (of Bahrâm) did not distinguish him from the King.

He came down, and after quickly resuming his own clothes, ascended to the roof again without fear.

[Bandûy persuading Khusrau Parvîz to escape from the fortified refuge to which they have fled, assumes his clothes and insignia and displays himself on the roof to Bahrâm's troops, who take him for the King].

بی منش "Nauseating, disgusting. (Sh. N., IV., 2003). (contrast بد منش which in Sh. N., IV., 2002 means "nauseated, disgusted.")

چنین گفت خسرو که شیرین بشهر چنان بد که این بی منش طشت زهر
کنون طشت می شد بمشکوی ما بدین گو نه بو یا شد از بوی ما

Thus spoke Khusrau : “ Shîrîn in (her own) country was even as the disgusting bowl of poison ; She has now, in my palace become (as) the (same) bowl (filled) with wine : thus has she become fragrant through my scent.’

(بویا here is neuter and means “ fragrant ” ; in Masnavî, III, 38 it is transitive and means “ smelling, a smeller”).

C. E. WILSON.

(To be continued.)

POSTSCRIPT

TO THE ARTICLE ON THE PERSIAN ART EXHIBITION OF 1931

The objects from Luristan.—Since the first part of this article was published a monograph on the bronzes of Luristan, fully illustrated, has been issued in the “*Ars Asiatica*” series written by M. Godard, Director of Archaeological research in Persia, who is claimed to be the only European who has visited the cemeteries where the finds were made. He confirms the attribution of this art to the Kassites and considers that it began towards the end of their rule in Babylonia, in the twelfth century B.C., when it received influences from an invading people from the north, congeners of the Kassites, who settled in Transcaucasia. It reached its apogee between the ninth and sixth centuries B.C., when it received some Assyrian elements, and survived to the Achæmenid period but not later. M. Contenau, in the third volume of his *Manual d'Archeologie Orientale*, also recently published, gives a short account of the objects which he appears to fix at about the seventh century B.C. That the art arose at the beginning of the Iron Age is proved by the presence in small numbers of bronze swords, soon giving way to iron ones, which are abundant; when the Iron Age began in these regions is not sure but it was not later than the twelfth century B.C. and may have been two centuries earlier. M. Godard found no traces of the actual burial of horses with their masters, but only the occasional presence of a horse's bone in a tomb: in this practice may probably be seen a trace of an earlier custom of horse-burial which is adumbrated also by the almost universal presence in the tombs of horses' harness, notably bits. The bars of the bits were of two kinds, jointed and straight; bits with jointed bars seem to have been in actual use during the owners' life while those with straight bars were almost certainly of a ceremonial funerary character, usually very

small, such as would fit no known breed of horse, but sometimes of outstanding size, even to ten inches in width; these, according to M. Godard, were used as neck-pillows for the dead man. The bits with jointed bars have simple branches, of a practical nature, while the others bear highly decorated branches, most impracticable; the decoration of the latter is of a religious and prophylactic nature, consisting of many varieties of the theme of the hero-protector Gilgamesh fighting wild beasts and monsters; similar decoration is also applied to pin-heads, made very large and quite impracticable; they too are obviously of a ceremonial character. The tombs were also supplied with many other prophylactic objects in bronze, adorned with the same themes; they were mounted on tubes and pins in a curious way which has led to their previous classification as heads of ceremonial staffs. Of all the funerary objects the most significant are the statuettes, similarly mounted, of the great Mother-goddess who through all the regions of the Eastern Mediterranean and in Mesopotamia was the revered Protectress of the Dead (see the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. XV, pp. 29, ff. As in the early age of ancient Egypt, male figurines were sometimes introduced in imitation of the female and represented in the characteristic pose of the latter). In short it is evident that these people were possessed of a great pre-occupation to arm their dead with plentiful magical means of protection in the after-world, to which end they adapted even their domestic pin-heads and their bits, symbolical, probably, of the horses which were once buried with them, thus making of them mere vehicles of spiritual machinery much as the Egyptians did in the earliest times, *mutatis mutandis*, with their great votive palettes for face-paint, or as, in another way, the early Christians used the carved ivory diptyches which served as envelopes for the wax tablets on which newly elected consuls informed the bishops of their election; first they re-used the tablets for the lists of deceased "saints" which were read out periodically in the churches and later used the ivory envelopes as vehicles for paintings of sacred subjects, to be exhibited in the church.

Besides the prophylactic objects discussed above, the usual things buried with the dead in most early peoples were placed in the tombs by the Kassites, weapons, ornaments and vessels for food and drink.

A correction is to be made with regard to bird's head finials: a certain number of them are found added to the

more complicated bronze figures ; this feature may have been derived from the "Scythian" art, though its use by the Kassites differs from that of the Scythians ; perhaps, as M. Godard finds grounds for supposing, it came from the Sumerians in whose art occurs, but is very rare. However another possible link with the Scythians may be supposed in the general use of portable whetstones, often decorated.

The Kassite objects are highly stylized, in a convention of their own, vigorous and lively. The lions and other beasts have often much elongated necks and in fact are sometimes resolved into necks and heads only ; the bodies are also usually elongated, often with shortened limbs, and frequently suggest decorative elements in archaic Chinese bronzes. They are exceedingly homogeneous in style and were most probably manufactured in one centre, from which they were distributed by barter to all the Kassite country.

G. D. HORNBLLOWER.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

MR VAKIL ON ROCK-CUT TEMPLES*

Mr. Kanaiyalal Vakil is almost the only Indian art-critic known to us to-day in whom enthusiasm is less evident than real knowledge of his subject. We are already indebted to him for some valuable contributions to the study of the Buddhist art of India, and this detailed and commented description of the rock-cut temples in the immediate neighbourhood of Bombay adds greatly to our debt and will increase his reputation. Mr. Vakil is not a follower of any one in or out of India. He has a judgment of his own and is not afraid to state it ; he is not intimidated by the mere volume of opponent views whether they come from India or from Europe.

“ One of the incredible enigmas of the current fashionable literature on Indian art,” he writes in his account of Elephanta, “ is the amazing complacency with which its exponents speak of Indian sculpture uniformly, and, as it were, in the bulk. The varying grades, dimensions, qualities, place or period of Indian sculpture are of practically little or no significance for them. Their imposed, arbitrary and rigid, stereotyped formulas about “schools” and, undefined and often overlapping, “styles” have created for Indian sculpture a cast-iron uniformity which it does not, very fortunately, possess. When the artist escapes from the erudite irrelevancies and massive muddle of the antiquarians, he will be able to see more clearly the rich, almost infinite, variety of Indian art and sculpture. He will see, what few, very few of the antiquarians have seen, the unquestionable artistic qualities of, say, the “Dwarpalas,” or guardians of the gate, of the Elephanta temple. Burgess was, it is true, one of the few who recognized ‘the style of the sculpture’ of these Dwarpalas as, ‘on the whole, superior to that of many other

**Rock-cut temples around Bombay.* by Kanaiyalal H. Vakil
Bombay. D. B. Taraporevala, Son and Co., 1982, Rs. 8,

figures in the cave.' But the antiquarians who have hitherto usurped the domain of Indian art see in the 'style of sculpture' not the style, quality or mode of living art but a 'style' or 'school' determined by a date or decorated by an iconography."

These are the words of one sure of his knowledge and not afraid of a decided utterance. Again upon the subject of Elephanta: "Let us first endeavour to understand the distinction of Indian sculptures from those sculptures that have been with exasperating vagueness of the sentimental *litterateurs* and antiquarians described as "Oriental" or "Asiatic." To a student of sculpture, the distinction would be easily noticeable, the distinction which the Indian sculptor's feeling and sense for volume, for cubic contents, acquire for Indian sculpture and secure for it exceptional artistic values. This sense or feeling for volume may be considered to be practically absent in the surface sculptures of, say, Egypt or Asia Minor.

"What are the characteristics which distinguish the sculptures at Elephanta from the Indian sculptures of other periods and places? Students of Indian sculpture know how from Bharut, Sanchi, Amravati to Karli the Indian sculptor gradually builds up a co-ordinated and definable style which ultimately is reduced to license and decaying uniformity. The process is a common feature in the historic evolution of Indian sculpture. It could be noticed in the sculptures of the period to which the Elephanta sculptures belong. But the sculptures at Elephanta have remained singularly detached from license and decay.

"The sculptures of the earliest times, as those of Bharut, reveal simple statements of observed truths and daily environment of life. The sculptures at Sanchi suggest more definitely conscious power of the sculptor who has, naturally, grown more ambitious as well. At Amravati, where the cycle of Indian sculptural evolution reaches its decadent phase, the freedom, the instinctive, unsophisticated, wholesome joy of life, which one found in the Mathura sculptures, deteriorates into a restless license and the *ennui* peculiar to the sculptors who portray the fashions, foibles and artificial elegance of court life... The royal pairs carved at Karli point to the other phase where the technical efficiency of the sculptor and his free power are deliberately subordinated to, and effectually employed for, art rendered easily significant by the human

touch, clear, and confident. But the human figure, which received continued attention and organic growth at Sanchi, Karli, Mathura and Amravati is indicative of a phase in the evolution of Indian sculpture altogether distinct from the sculptures which could be seen, for example, at Ajanta, Elephanta or Ellora, distinct not so obviously from the point of view of the carver's skill as from the range of the aim and scale which directed it towards different artistic problems."

Though the last sentence quoted is rather obscure we incline to think that the historical aspect of Indian sculpture has never been so justly visualised as in the above and other passages of this unpretentious but exceedingly illuminating book.

Many people visit Elephanta ; comparatively very few have penetrated to the rock-cut temples at Jogeshwari, Mandapeshwar and Kanheri which are also at a little distance from Bombay. These as well as those at Elephanta are carefully surveyed and expounded by Mr. Vakil, who has also added an appendix on the recently discovered rock-cut images at Parel on Bombay island itself. Mr. Vakil is probably the most competent guide living in the region chosen for this work, and even readers well acquainted with the subject will derive benefit from his guidance. The book is an addition to the literature of Indian art all the more valuable in that it is the work of one who cares for art and not antiquity.

M. P.

THE NEW EDUCATION IN GERMANY*

A good psychologist has declared that, as a result of every great war, the winner and the loser exchange ideals and mentalities. Certain it is that as the result of the last great war ideals which were regarded as essentially British have been adopted by Germany, while in England a certain dogmatical attitude of mind, which before the war was abhorred as Prussian, is now prevalent. In Mr. Syed Ali Akbar's comprehensive and very interesting survey of the German School system we can see how, since the Revolution which synchronised with the end of the war, the rigid and uncompromising examinational system of the last years of the Monarchy has been relaxed just at the very time when in England the tendency seems

**The German School System.* By S. Ali Akbar. Bombay. Longmans Green & Co., 1922.

to be to place a series of rigid educational tests or hurdles in the way of every child. Also the tendency of the present German State system is distinctly pacifistic while that of the English State system is much less so than it was before the war. Under the old aristocratic and monarchical regime, the full benefits of education were ostensibly restricted to certain classes of the population, though under Kaiser Wilhelm II. with his well-known care for "the little man," opportunity was much more widespread than has been generally recognised. The aim of the Republican *Reich* is to afford equal opportunities to all.

"The Revolution," Mr. Ali Akbar writes, "has affected not only the elementary schools but also the middle and secondary schools, which have now been so reorganised as to satisfy more effectively the social and economic conditions of the country. Part-time education in a vocational school has been made compulsory for all young employees between 14 and 18 years of age, while additional facilities for receiving secondary education have been given to talented children in rural areas by making it possible for such children to join a special kind of secondary school, called the *Aufbauschule*, at the age of 13.

"While training in citizenship is still an important aim of the schools, this training now means training in responsibility and leadership rather than in obedience and submission to authority. The students' self-government movement has been introduced in all the secondary schools, and there are also students' clubs and societies for organising games, debates, dramas and other analogous activities.

"The democratic principles which lie at the root of the post-war reforms in Germany have been applied to the teaching profession also. The Federal Constitution provides that the opportunities for training given to teachers in the elementary schools shall be similar to those enjoyed by the secondary school teachers.....Now, all those who wish to become teachers in the elementary schools are required to pass the Leaving or 'Maturity' examination of a high school and thereafter to undergo training either in the special pedagogical academies which have been established in many States in recent years, or in a university. All teachers in public schools"—not to be confused with English public schools which are, in fact, the reverse

of public—"have the rights and duties of State officials, and the value of the service of teachers in the elementary schools is considered to be as great as that of teachers in the secondary schools."

That is as it should be, and the whole description shows the excellent intentions of the Post-War Government. Mr. Ali Akbar is concerned with the system rather than its working, but he does refer to the unwieldy size of classes and the paucity of teachers owing to the financial depression. From German friends, some of whom are engaged in working the educational system here described, the present reviewer had received the impression of a notable decline in educational achievement hardly less than in discipline, as compared with pre-war days. It is notable that the reforms and new experiments mentioned were all conceived before the war.

The general view of German schooling given by Mr. Ali Akbar is so attractive that he does well to warn his readers that it is not suited to the conditions which prevail in other countries, whose inhabitants must seek their inspiration, as the German people have done, in their own traditions. But the perfect cleanliness and the care for the health and general welfare of the students which characterise it might be imitated with advantage everywhere, and especially in India.

"The school buildings are invariably airy and bright and kept so neat and clean that not even a scrap of paper can be seen on the floor, waste-paper baskets being provided in the class-rooms as well as in the corridors."

"Big towns have whole-time school doctors and elsewhere there are half-time school doctors. . . . There are school nurses to help the doctor in his examinations."

"In the case of backward children, efforts are made to detect backwardness as early as possible and special methods are employed for educating such children."

The system of education chosen and elaborated by the most thoughtful and conscientious of modern peoples at so great a crisis in its fate must be of universal interest, and Mr. Ali Akbar gives us a clear and, so far as we are able to judge, complete view of it.

M. P.

ASTROLOGY AS RELIGION*

That there is truth in astrology the Eastern world has never denied. It is only in the West that a science once

* *The eloquence of Astrology or God's ways to Man.* By Kutbuddin Sultan, M. R. A. S., Madras. Theosophical Society, Adyar. 1930.

so universally honoured has, or could have been, set aside as worthless without careful investigation. We cannot, therefore, see the need for this extremely earnest, even passionate, plea for the religious recognition of astrology, which, though in English, is quite evidently designed for Eastern readers. Mr. Kutbuddin Sultan is at pains to show that astrology is not in conflict with religion but a part of religion ; whereas the Western contention would be that it is not irreligious but possibly unscientific. He is an eloquent pleader, and in this book he expounds, at points convincingly, his view of the religion which includes astrology. So just and cogent are many passages, and so interesting are his views as a whole for their originality, that it seems to us a great pity that in his eagerness to prove that the astrological and theosophical religion which he champions is something new and above all existing religions, he has published a clear libel on Islam. On page 106 he has written :

“ It is the deep-seated conviction of every Mussalman that because of the faith he follows he is qualified for salvation and his is the special as well as glorious privilege to enter heaven and enjoy its blessings *which are denied to the followers of all other religions who are to be the victims of hell* ” (The italics are our own).

This false statement, amazing from the pen of one who has a Muslim name, he supports with a version of the *Mithaq* which the vast majority of Muslims in the world have never even heard of ; and that also he declares that “ every Mussalman believes. ”

The Qur'ân says :

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَالَّذِينَ هَادُوا وَالنَّصَارَى وَالصَّابِئِينَ مَنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ
وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَعَمِلَ صَالِحًا فَلَهُمْ أَجْرُهُمْ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ وَلَا خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ
وَلَا هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ .

“ Lo ! Those who believe, and those who are Jews, and Christians and Sabæans—whoever believeth in Allah and the Last Day and doeth right—surely their reward is with their Lord, and there shall no fear come upon them neither shall they grieve ”

And again :

قُلْ إِنْ كَانَتْ لَكُمْ الدَّارُ الْآخِرَةُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ خَالِصَةً مِنْ دُونِ النَّاسِ

تَمَنُّوا الْمَوْتَ إِن كُنْتُمْ صَادِقِينَ وَلَنْ يَتَمَنَّوَهُ أَبَدًا بِمَا قَدِمْتُمْ أَيْدِيَهُمْ
وَاللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ بِالظَّالِمِينَ .

“ Say (unto the Jews) : If the abode of the Hereafter in the providence of Allah is indeed for you alone and not for others of mankind (as ye pretend), then long for death (for ye must long for death) if ye are truthful.

“ But they will never long for it because of that which their own hands have sent before them. Allah is aware of evil-doers.”

And yet again :

وَقَالُوا لَنْ يَدْخُلَ الْجَنَّةَ إِلَّا مَنْ كَانَ هُودًا أَوْ نَصَارَى تِلْكَ أَمَانِيُّهُمْ
لَنْ هَأْوَاءِ نَحْنُ أَنْ كُنْتُمْ صَادِقِينَ .
بَلَى مَنْ أَسْلَمَ وَجْهَهُ لِلَّهِ وَهُوَ مُحْسِنٌ فَلَهُ أَجْرُهُ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِ وَلَا خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ
وَلَا هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ .

“ And they say : None entereth Paradise unless he be a Jew or a Christian. These are their own desires. Say : Bring your proof (of what ye state) if ye are truthful.

“ Nay, but whosoever surrendereth his purpose to Allah while doing good, his reward is with his Lord, and there shall no fear come upon them neither shall they grieve.”

There is no warrant whatsoever of Mr. Kutbuddin's statement, and every educated Muslim can and will refute it. It marred our pleasure in his further arguments, making us fear that, since he was wrong in an assertion we could check from our own knowledge, he might possibly be wrong in others upon subjects strange to us.

M. P.

MODERN INDIA THINKS*

In order to counteract the stultifying and deadly influence of the idea that India's culture belongs solely to the Past and that the Present has nothing new to show,

**Modern India Thinks*. A Symposium of Suggestions on problems of Modern India. Compiled by Keshavjee H. Luckmidas. Foreword by Kanaiyalal, H. Vakil. Bombay. Taraporevala 1982. Price Rs. 6.

Mr. Keshavjee R. Luckmidas has here collected the sayings and writings of eminent Indians and Anglo-Indians of to-day.

In his interesting and thoughtful foreword Mr. Kanaiyalal H. Vakil, the well-known critic, says : " Almost the first reaction in India of its cultural re-discovery in the West was the reformative impulse which Western devotion, scholarly diligence and logical reverence, expressed in the religious, social and educational institutions, established or helped to establish in India..... India aspired to be modern and, like all modern nations, began to think seriously of its industrial and economic conditions..... India ceased to be the parade-ground for international "religiosity." It began to touch, first-hand realities, realities as they were found in the perspective of far-flung international events and currents of thought. The challenge to the Indian mind was direct and uncompromising. It compelled India to think, think for herself, think of her position in international life, present and future..... were it not for the iron necessities of the now restless dynamic aspiration for freedom, the nation would perhaps have never escaped its timid, enervating, anæmic mental attitude. It would have refused to live outside its past. Fortunately it is, as of old, facing reality, not romance. Fortunately it has set the pace for the advance march. It is acquiring the courage to think. "

Some of its thoughts are here collected and set forth under eleven headings : Civilization, Culture, Æsthetics, Ideals, Education, Work, Wisdom, Character, Nation-building and Social Service. Among the names of the thinkers are Rabindranath Tagore, Sister Nivedita, Sir Leslie Wilson, Justice Ranade, Swami Mukerji, Aurobindo Ghose, Sir J. C. Bose, the Rt. Hon'ble J. Ramsay Macdonald and Dr. Besant. The book will be useful to both lecturers and students. It is published in convenient form and has a sufficient glossary and index.

M. E. P.

" THE MOGOR MISSION " *

The story of the Jesuit effort to evangelize the Mogul Empire, from the earliest Mission of 1580 to their final disappearance in 1803 is here fully told in a work of pro-

* *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul.* By Sir Edward Macalagan. (Oates and Washbourne, Ltd.,) 17s. 6d.

found scholarship and in a style to intrigue even the general reader in a tale of zeal, devotion and adventure. This is the first attempt at a comprehensive survey of an episode of absorbing interest in the history of India, and though the learned author submits that "the whole field of information has not been tapped" a mere glance at the array of references given at the end of each chapter shows that here is a harvest from every available field.

Of all such sources of information none is so graphic, and eloquent of the perils of the Mission, as the letters written by the Jesuit fathers themselves, and happily—in part—preserved. "These letters" as Sir Edward Maclagan remarks "bring us, as nothing else could, into touch with the personalities of the men who bore the burden of the Mission, and make us realize the devotion which inspired them in carrying out their allotted duties. Written as they were in distant localities, amid uncongenial or even inimical surroundings, in circumstances very often of discomfort, solitude, ill-health, depression and disappointment, by men who had abandoned the ordinary recreations of life... they form a marvellous monument of the vitality and enthusiasm inspired by the Society to which the writers owed obedience."

In 1576 two Jesuit priests arrived in Bengal and, by their refusal to give absolution to certain followers who had defrauded the Mogul Government, attracted favourable notice from Akbar. He then induced a priest, Julian Pereira, to come to the Court at Fatehpur Sikri. On the advice of this pioneer the Emperor then despatched an ambassador to Goa with a *farman* to the Fathers there stationed; it ran thus—

'Order of Jelâl-ud-dîn the Great, King by God appointed. Fathers of the Order of St. Paul, know that I am most kindly disposed towards you. I send 'Abd-ulla, my ambassador, and Dominic Pires to ask you in my name to send two learned priests who should bring with them the chief books of the Law and the Gospel, for I wish to study and learn the Law and what is best and most perfect in it. The moment my ambassadors return let them not hesitate to come with them let them bring the books of the law. Know also that so far as I can I shall receive most kindly and honourably the priests who will come. Their arrival will give me the greatest pleasure, and when I shall know about the Law and its perfection what I wish

to know, they will be at liberty to return as soon as they like, and I shall not let them go without loading them with honours and gifts. Therefore let them not have the slightest fear to come. I take them under my protection. Fare you well.'

The response was a Mission led by the devout Rudolf Aquaviva and Antony Monserrate, to whose observant writings we owe much ; they arrived at the Mogul Court on February 27th, 1580. A frontispiece to the volume before us reproduces the scene as portrayed by an artist of the Court. In Father Monserrate's own words—" When they entered their outlandish appearance created a stir. All eyes were turned on them. People stopped, agape with wonderment, rooted to the ground and forgetting to get out of the way betimes, for who were those men coming along, unarmed, dressed in long black robes, with their faces shaven, and their close-cropped heads stuck in hats !"

Aquaviva, a well-born Italian, stands out in the records as an enthusiast with dove-like manner yet lion-like heart. Such a character was bound to meet with the esteem of Akbar, and the hopes of the Mission rose high. From the Jesuits' letters we get a direct light on the keen interest shown by the Emperor in Christianity. And also from the well-known contemporary writings of the historians Bâdaonî and Abu'l-Fazl, the one an orthodox Muslim, the other writing more from the standpoint of Akbar's own eclecticism.

Badaonî duly notes these " learned monks from Europe who are called *Padre* and have an iniallible head (Mujtahid-i-Kâmil) called *Papa* who is able to change religious ordinances as he may deem advisable for the moment and to whose authority kings must submit, brought the Gospel, advanced proofs for the Trinity, demonstrated the title of Christianity, and made the religion of Jesus current The attributes of the accursed anti-Christ and his qualities were ascribed by these accursed men to his Lordship The Best of the Prophets (God bless him and his family and preserve him from all Impostors)."

When the Mission first came to Fatehpur " Akbar, while still a professing Muslim, had broken away from orthodoxy. He had not yet definitely abandoned Islam nor had he promulgated the Dîn Ilâhî, but he had in June 1579 begun to recite the *Khutba* himself and in September of the same year he obtained from the leading ' Ulama and lawyers a pronouncement recognizing his interpreta-

tions of Islam as binding on the nation. In 1575 he had started a system of religious conferences in the 'Ibâdat-Khâna at Fatehpur and these, though confined at first to various phases of Islam, had since been extended so as to include the representatives of Hinduism, Jainism and Zoroastrianism. On the arrival of the Jesuits he was able to include a Christian element, and scarcely were the Fathers arrived than they were plunged into the turmoil of these disputes. To retain a true perspective of the debates it must be remembered that Akbar was pursuing with equal interest his enquiries into other forms of faith, but in the Jesuit narration we naturally hear mainly of the controversies between the Christians and the Muslims. . . ."

But Akbar was a bad listener. Neither the reasonings of the priests of this Mission nor of the members of two subsequent ones could induce him to take the final step nor to change his way of life. To Islam alone he became hostile. The Fathers declared that "The Emperor is not a Muhammadan, but is doubtful as to all forms of faith and holds firmly that there is no divinely accredited form of faith, because he finds in all something to offend his reason and intelligence, for he thinks that everything can be grasped by reason. At the Court some say that he is a heathen and adores the sun. Others that he is a Christian. Others that he intends to found a new sect. Among the people there are various opinions regarding the Emperor. The more intelligent consider him to be neither Christian nor heathen nor Muhammadan, and hold this to be the truest. Or they think him to be a Muhammadan who outwardly conforms to all religions in order to obtain popularity."

After alternating hopes and failures the Mission to Akbar was eventually recalled. It ends on a note of optimism (but little justified, as it turned out) from the pen of the courageous Aquaviva—"Where we are" he wrote "is the true India and this realm is but a ladder which leads to the greater part of Asia; and now that the Society has obtained a footing and is so favoured by so great an Emperor and by his sons, it seems not fitting to leave it before trying all possible means to commence the conversion of the continent of India; seeing that all that has so far been done has been merely on the sea-coast."

After the death of Akbar the fortunes of the further Missions fluctuated under Jahângir, Shâh Jahân and Aurangzeb. Direct proselytizing was not a feature of their

efforts ; a great deal did they rely on ceremonial, vestments, processions, and other scenic appeals to the eye. Their converts were mostly those of humble birth, of whom comparatively few were Muslims, who were, as one of the priests feelingly remarks, "as hard as diamonds to work upon."

As the story of their labours (so ably set out in these chapters) unfolds we get an impression that converts came for various reasons, but that some were certainly obtained by the example of the pure, Spartan life of these devoted men, which appealed to the good that is in all.

The *farmans* granted to the Jesuits under Akbar and Jahângîr giving them leave to preach and convert were not confirmed by Aurangzeb, who decreed for a time that no Hindu should change his religion for any faith but that of Islam. And whatever political backing and prestige, as well as financial support, the Jesuit Missions had received from the Portuguese at Goa were seriously weakened by the losses there sustained at the hands of the Dutch and the English.

For our knowledge of Akbar and the Mogul Court we are indebted more to Father Monserrate, the chief colleague of Aquaviva, than to any other European. He was not only chosen to be tutor to the Prince, but accompanied the army and, what is of more import to us, for two and a half years wrote up his experiences every evening in a diary, a manuscript abstract of which is still in existence. His greatest work is a detailed and carefully prepared account of Akbar and the Mission of 1580-82 entitled "*Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius*"; the subsequent history of this work and its rediscovery in recent years is of the greatest interest.

Sir E. Maclagan's scholarly volume forms a valuable record, not only of the Jesuit Mission itself, but of allied topics such as its influence on Mogul Painting, the Congregations, Churches and Residences, and the amazing Tibetan Mission of 1603 led by that intrepid character Benedict de Goes. The general arrangement of the subject, the index, bibliography and detailed references add greatly to the usefulness of a delightful work.

AKBAR*

This interesting and sympathetic sketch may well serve to whet the appetite of those not yet acquainted with the well-known records of Akbar's life and times. Akbar's achievement as a conqueror was to fight for his inheritance, secure it, and then, kingdom by kingdom, "to annex in an almost incessant series of wars the countries surrounding his frontiers, till his empire stretched from sea to sea. . . ." His still greater achievement as a ruler was "to weld this collection of different states, different races, different religions, into a whole. It was accomplished by elaborate organisation—Akbar had an extraordinary genius for detail—still more by the settled policy which persuaded his subjects of the justice of their ruler. Akbar's conceptions were something new in the history of Asiatic conquerors. Though a foreigner, he identified himself with the India he had conquered. And much of his system was to be permanent. The principles and practice worked out by Akbar and his ministers were largely adopted into the English system of government."

He towers in history as a conqueror who far surpassed the standards of his day; but it is his personality, his humanity and deep interest in the things of the spirit, far more than his achievements that draw the student irresistibly.

His isolated acts of oppression stand out by contrast in the life of a man known for tolerance. In the West "The Great Mogul" was a sort of fairy-tale. Yet here were all the marks of a civilisation closely parallel with that of Europe, though so different on the surface. The external magnificence might have some touches of the barbaric; but then what barbarities mingled with the refinements of European courts! What dirt was disguised by the perfumes! Refinements were here—in the court of Akbar—of every sort; not only luxurious appointments and the gratification of the senses, but a love of letters and the arts.

"Poetry was held in high honour, and the ingenuity of the Persian poets' 'conceits' could rival those of Marini and his northern imitators. Painters and architects abounded, under the direct patronage of the emperor, who himself had learnt to draw and was a skilled musician, besides

*"Akbar" by Laurence Binyon. London, Peter Davies Ltd., 5 sh net,

being a worker in half a dozen handicrafts. If theological disputation and religious animosities were a sign of high civilisation, these rivalled in fierceness those of Western countries; but while in Europe the disputants burnt or massacred one another in their zeal, and devastated whole countries in the name of religion, here in India a restraining power prevented arguments from ending in the use of swords; here was a monarch who actually believed in toleration.

“Standing in the full daylight of history, Akbar appears to us between two shadowy yet strangely contrasted worlds; between the world of his Central Asian ancestors, a world of torrential human energy, idolising that energy for its own sake, and possessed with the fever of the hunt, whether of beasts or of men—for Akbar’s gigantic hunts are like an echo of Tamerlane’s campaigns of slaughter—between that world of furious action, passing like a dream, and the world of India, which could revel indeed in luxuries and cruelties, but which could also produce the exalted spirits of Buddha and Asoka, speaking to us from a far remoter past than those wild conquerors, but with voices that still live and move us. Akbar, too, is possessed with insatiable energy, he seems action incarnate; and yet at the core of his nature is something alien to all that, something that craves for thought and contemplation, that seeks justice and desires gentleness.”

R. C.

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